

MIM Notes

The Official Newsletter of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

Bound Volume

Founding Documents of MIM

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Edited by MCØ

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Maoist Internationalist Movement Founding documents

In the fall of 1983, the MIM (then called RIM) had its equivalent of a founding congress. All members participated in putting together three documents. The documents became the first official literature of the organization.

Since that time MIM has had no national congress. The group has delegated responsibilities for various day-to-day activities to individual comrades in unofficial capacities. Outside of what is in the founding documents and the MIM Theory issues that have received a majority vote through the mail, no comrade is permitted to speak for the group.

The original documents name MIM as a "revolutionary communist pre-party," "struggling to find the line that must lead revolution." Seeing no way around Lenin's contributions regarding a vanguard party, the documents state MIM "will either join or form a party with the necessary political and ideological line to lead revolution."

"Manifesto on the International Situation and Revolution"

[This document reflected the desire of MIM members to take stands regarding the "cardinal" questions, such as the nature of the Soviet Union and China and how revolution could come about in the United States. Also, the second half of the document reflects something of the local debate in Cambridge that MIM emerged out of.

Since the time this document came out, MIM has changed its official line from trying to prevent WWII to trying to end the current WWII.

Readers should remember that RIM was MIM's previous name—ed., 7/87]

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is a revolutionary communist pre-party.

Revolution is possible in the U.S. within a few years as seen in the examples of countries that were relatively stable until war brought revolution. World War I, for instance gave Lenin and the Bolsheviks the opportunity to seize the state in Russia. The old ruling group could no longer rule, primarily because it could not muster support for a losing war effort. Likewise, in China during World War II, the war of liberation against the Japanese gave Mao and the Chinese Communist Party the chance to grasp the reins of state power.

The U.S. today is headed for war. Building the military at a record-breaking rate for peace-time, the U.S. already has sufficient quantities of nuclear arms to vaporize the world population several times. Also, the war-makers are producing ever more deadly weapons, including the MX missile and neutron bomb. Every opportunity it gets, the U.S. government acclimates its people to the idea of war while building up for war in a material sense.

(RIM) is not in favor of war. However, the (RIM) recognizes that only socialist revolution can end the current imperialist-instigated wars in Southern Africa, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Eritrea and Afghanistan among others and prevent an imperialist WWII. In the profit-run economies of the U.S., U.S.S.R., China, Japan, England, France and Italy for instance, there is overproduction, or more generally, the anarchy of capitalist production. Both the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialists are called imperialists because they are forced to compete for control of the world sooner or later. With the largest economies within their respective blocs, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. lead their imperialist and sub-imperialist partners in strategies to export capital. Ultimately, the rival imperialist camps support only those governments that import capital in the form of loans, labor contracts, means of production, weapons or consumer goods. Both the U.S. bloc and the Soviet bloc must expand, through war if necessary, in order to invest ever growing quantities of capital and retrieve a profit. This is why the U.S. is not just preparing for war, but driven towards war.

U.S. imperialism, war and repression curse most of the world in one way or another, but the U.S. cannot always keep control in the face of ever tougher Soviet rivals and ever more determined revolutionary struggles for liberation. Vietnam, for example, was a costly war for U.S. imperialism that by itself started to shake the U.S. in the 1960s.

Now that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are contending for control of the whole world, the chances for revolution to overthrow all imperialism are much better than in the 1960s.

Should revolution fail to stop the current U.S. war as it intensifies, the consequences would be conventional war on a scale not yet seen, or possibly, nuclear war. From the study of history, a highly organized revolutionary party must find the path most likely to produce a successful revolution not a lost opportunity and W.W.III.

Anti-imperialism and anti-militarism are the two most important political principles of the (RIM). Internationalism is the most important ideological principle or vision of the (RIM). Strategically, these principles mean that the (RIM) is dedicated to leading struggles in this country toward the weakening and eventual defeat of the U.S. state. Never will the (RIM) ally itself with the U.S. ruling class. As the U.S. calls for ever greater wars, the (RIM) will stand with the people internationally and work for revolution to prevent further war.

Defeating the American state does not mean cheerleading for every so-called Third World liberation struggle. However, (RIM) is not vague about the importance of the struggles in the Middle East, Central America and Southern Africa at the moment. The combination of liberation movements and Soviet competition in these regions makes for a situation that compels the U.S. to war most urgently. Concretely, (RIM) leaflets and discussions must detail all U.S. attacks on the people of the world. Through this exposure, people who seek justice in ridding the world of American imperialism will rally to our cause.

Furthermore, the U.S. wars must be exposed to demonstrate the opportunity that will arise as the U.S. is defeated in wars across the globe. That opportunity will allow the (RIM) to offer its vision of government—of an end to the wars—and to lead the soldiers sick of fighting unjust wars, the proletariat that never had an interest in capitalism and everyone else whose life is ruined by war. In sum, the (RIM) is needed to inform the people of the nature of the U.S.'s war around the world and to provide a strategy to get out of the war by tackling imperialism by its roots.

All this differs from Trotskyism in a number of ways. First, U.S. imperialism with its modern technology is not good for the people. The export of capital does not lead to development of so-called Third World countries, rather a drainage of their resources. Indeed, profits are so high because labor is so heavily exploited. Of the Soviet Union under Lenin's and later Stalin's leadership, Trotsky said, "the most modern achievement of American technique transplanted into all branches of

economic life—that indeed would be the first stage of socialism." U.S. imperialism is no more progressive in South Africa, despite all its technical aid, than the rape of Afghani women by Soviet troops.

Secondly, this slavish worship of foreign technology, surpassed only by that of the current leadership in China, is rooted in Trotsky's belittling of the peasantry. According to him, "many sections of the working masses, particularly in the countryside will be drawn into the revolution and become politically organized only after the advance-guard of the revolution, the urban proletariat stands at the helm of the state. . . . nothing remains for the peasantry to do but to rally to the regime of the workers' democracy. It will not matter much even if the peasantry does this with a degree of consciousness no larger than that with which it usually rallies to the bourgeois regime." Characteristically, Trotsky advocated waiting for the proletariat to industrialize all of society. Rather than push for the collectivization of Soviet peasant agriculture, he wished for a socialism of the proletariat alone. According to Trotsky, the peasantry was too incapable to understand modern production organization. He discounted the potential of the peasantry in building socialism and making revolution and expected the proletariat to impose militarized labor on the peasantry as "the basis of socialism" or fight a civil war against the peasantry.

Thirdly, Trotskyists expect predominantly peasant countries—El Salvador, for instance—to await Western proletarian liberation before they attempt to build up socialism. When Stalin led the Soviet Communist Party to fight for socialism in a predominantly peasant country, Trotsky promised to overthrow Stalin in the next war—World War II. As far as Trotsky was concerned an alliance with Hitler against Stalin's socialist Soviet Union was perfectly acceptable since the fascists and Soviets were "symmetrical phenomena" with a "deadly similarity in many of their features." Trotsky clearly referred to Hitler and Mussolini when he said, "the revolutionary centre of gravity has shifted definitely to the West."

Luckily, in the East, Mao Zedong did not listen to Trotsky. Even though he did not have the technology of the Japanese imperialists or the Guomindang, he defeated both by channeling the force of hundreds of millions of peasants into a direction under the leadership of the proletarian line. He did not wait for the proletariat to grow from its infinitesimal size in China to make revolution and defeat imperialism.

In fact, Mao and the so-called "gang of four" led the Cultural Revolution in which the line of waiting for experts and technicians to build socialism was crushed. Mao saw that if men like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping had state power they would promote economism so that workers would not concern themselves with the state while it was stolen from them; adopt a commandist line and lord over the supposedly stupid masses and squelch the potential of the masses to build socialism. This is just as their counterparts Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov have done in the Soviet Union. To avoid a Soviet-style restoration of capitalism, Mao and the "gang of four" launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against the high-ranking party officials on the capitalist-road. Relying on high school and college youth in the Red Guard movement, Mao initiated and spread the Cultural Revolution nation-wide. The GPCR offers the world the most advanced lessons available in fighting economism, workerism, commandism and the line of experts in control. Of his lifetime accomplishments, Mao said his most important were "Driving Japanese imperialism out of China and overthrowing Chiang Kai-shek, on the one hand, and, on the other, carrying through the GPCR." That Mao saw the GPCR as so important shows that proletarian control of the state is the first and foremost objective of advancing the revolution and preventing regression to the old and oppressive ways of life.

Class struggle, especially revolutions, drive history forward. Class relations are and always have been characterized by class struggle. The decisive and most important aspect of class relations is the struggle for control of the state. This is part of what Mao means by "ideological and political line is decisive in everything."

What all revisionism has in common is the replacement of the decisiveness of class struggle with that of things and technology. Accordingly, in both Soviet and Chinese society experts in production and technology are accorded the highest positions. Revisionism—for example, the theory by which the productive forces are the most revolutionary element of society—in the hands of the top ranking people in the party amounts to a class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. That is to say that revisionist party officials, if they succeed, take control of the state and establish social-imperialism. Then, the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is no longer important in determining how the economy is arranged. Just as in the capitalist economies, anything that increases production—bigger wage differentials, the establishment of a larger and more anti-proletarian technical elite and the reduction of opportunities for the broad masses—becomes imperative. Profit criteria are restored and production becomes totally tied to the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. However, with the restoration of the anarchy of production, social-imperialism's days are numbered.

Neither before nor after the revolution will the (RIM) wait for class relations to change. The (RIM) will not even wait for the proletariat itself. "Workerism"—worship of the workers whatever they do—and "economism"—waiting for economic conditions to dish up revolutionaries on the silver platter, especially through wage struggles—are not only not ways of advancing the revolutionary line now, they are also good ways to blow a revolutionary opportunity.

The U.S. imperialists will not fall at the will of the (RIM). Still, by exposing every atrocity against the exploited and war-stricken people, (RIM) hastens the time when the imperialists will not be able to rule and brings closer the opportunity to seize state power from those driven to nuclear war by the logic of capitalism.

RADACADS History

[Many people ask where MIM comes from. They often assume that MIM is a splinter from another group. Actually, MIM's founding members were all too young to have politically experienced the '60s and early '70s. They evaluated existing groups by working with them, found them lacking and simply formed a new group in the '80s.

RADACADS at Harvard U. provided a core of people who themselves were involved in many other groups in the area, especially the Peace Alliance and the South Africa Solidarity Committee. RADACADS formed in order to fight a common line in these groups that opposed aggressive educational work as "alienating"—ed., 7/87.]

Who are we?

We are part of the revolutionary internationalist movement. Organizationally, the RADACADS originated out of anti-apartheid, anti-nuke, Salvadoran solidarity and anti-racist movements. The best way to know who we are is to look at the work we have done. The RADACADS' line is best described in an essay on the "International Situation and Revolution."

Spring '82

Led the movement to stop Harvard's attempt to end its ban on bank loans to South Africa
Rally 125 people to demand an open meeting on South Africa that was attended by 300.

RADACADS formed.

Petition for Dennis Brutus circulated starting at his K-School talk.

Summer '82

"Resisting the Draft" with Ben Sasway, the first indicted draft resister. Speakers from B.A.A.R.D. and Mass Open Resistance. 50 people. National press.

Dennis Brutus at class reunion.

Protest for Dennis Brutus in front of Derek Bok's office. 20 people. Front page *Crimson*.

Dennis Brutus, Michael Useem, "Racism and War, War and the Draft." 75 people. *Bay State Banner*.

Fall '82

Movie "Attica" with Federation for Progress and Amandla. 600 attend.

Marx study group.

Heckled ex-Black Panther sell-out to the Moonies, Eldridge Cleaver. 10 people. *Crimson*.

'83

Disruption of KKK recruiting film "Birth of a Nation." 12 people in INCAR contingent.

Heckling of Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority president. 10 people. Front page *Crimson*. Also in conjunction with INCAR.

Marx study group.

Howard Zinn, William Freund. "South Africa." 30 people.

Dennis Brutus, Muhammad Kenyatta, William Freund, Brad Mank. "Apartheid, Divestiture and Deportation." 125 people. Boston TV.

Noam Chomsky, with other groups at Public School of Health. "Update Mid-East." 200 people.

Initiated protest against South Africa investments.

Built "Open Meeting on South Africa" with other anti-apartheid groups. *Crimson*.

Poetry reading with Dennis Brutus. 125 people.

Revolution Film Series:

"Hearts and Minds" on Vietnam. 125 attendance.

"Discarded People" on South Africa. Public and student government: 150.

"Eritrean Liberation." Attendance 20.

"Paris" '68 revolution attempt. 50 people.

"Reds" 500 people.

Speakers from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.

May 1st rally. RCP led.

Most of all, the RADACADS set up tables to pass out leaflets and distribute books. We are the editors, publishers and partial authors of "Harvard and South Africa." We are also completely responsible for "South Africa and the United States" and the "US and Lebanon." Our research uncovered Harvard's South African investments in companies that have not even signed the Sullivan Principles—contrary to Harvard's previously stated policy.

In the past, our members have attended rallies and put together many public events. Some of these events include a forum with two Maoist Salvadoran guerrillas attended by 200 and built in conjunction with the R.C.Y.B. as was a forum on Marxism and anarchism attended by 50.

Join, Finance and Work with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement—Formerly RADACADS

The (RIM) directs its energies into leaflets, book sales, films and speakers that change public opinion about the most important political topics of the day, such as Lebanon, Central America and Southern Africa. Creating public opinion—changing minds—is important in itself, but many people ask, "where does it lead? What are the concrete benefits of such work?"

Some say that (RIM) should do charity work. Undoubtedly, a large impact of changing people's minds is that various charities benefit from (RIM) work. People who do not agree with (RIM) enough to support (RIM) turn around and support various charities instead. Indeed, (RIM) has directly aided the struggle of Dennis Brutus against deportation from the US; (RIM) has raised money for legal defense of prisoners in South Africa and raised money for Salvadoran refugees here and for Salvadorans in need of medical supplies in El Salvador. However, all this is done as a subordinate aspect of our work to create public opinion. This work gets done in passing, as a by-product of our work. (RIM) believes that as a strategy charity can never provide more than temporary and limited relief.

Those that agree with (RIM) about charity often say (RIM) should work to reform various policies. Again, (RIM)'s work does exert an influence on those people who only vote as their contribution to political life. For instance, someone who has heard (RIM) expose US ties to apartheid is less likely to vote for candidates that blatantly support such ties. Still, (RIM) sees that elections at this time only encourage people to think that it is enough to spend two minutes in a voting booth to end the world's problems. (RIM) recognizes that presidential campaigns, for example, involve billions of dollars of media hype to convince people that one vote for one capitalist candidate will make a big difference. To vote in such an election is only to legitimize the whole process. The capitalists will never give anyone the means to challenge their interests through electoral campaigns. Even if they did, they would dissolve such an election through military force as in Allende's Chile and install fascism.

The same goes for demonstrations. (RIM) influences people to go to demonstrations and (RIM) has initiated several large demonstrations. However, people who judge (RIM) by the number and size of its demonstrations or its attendance at other demonstrations are in effect saying that demonstrations will reform the capitalist system. (RIM) supports demonstrations by creating public opinion and by attending demonstrations to create more public opinion.

In the end though, the first and most important imperative of (RIM) work is to contribute to the formation of a highly organized party with an extremely clear direction to lead revolution. It would be nice if charity and reform could solve the world's problems, but (RIM) believes that the capitalist system is intransigent and inherently compelled toward imperialism, war and repression. Therefore, there

must be a proletarian party prepared to lead the seizure of state power when the opportunity arises. (See "(RIM) Manifesto on the International Situation and Revolution.")

Ultimately, "political and ideological line is decisive" in the formation of a party as Mao would say. To have the unity necessary to lead a revolution, party or pre-party members must struggle ceaselessly over questions of party line. Also, revolutionaries have the duty to struggle to find the best possible path to revolution. There are many parties out there that have a high degree of unity around a line that is either non-revolutionary or conducive to blowing a revolutionary opportunity.

(RIM) sees its duty as struggling to find the line that must lead revolution. (RIM) will either join or form a party with the necessary political and ideological line to lead revolution.

What do you think?

Do you want to join?

Do you want to finance our efforts to create public opinion? Do you have a specific issue or project in mind?

Do you want to work with (RIM) on some issues?

Correspond with (RIM). Take the initiative! Strike up a conversation. Do you have an idea about a leaflet or broad-sheet? Send us your analysis.

Maoist Internationalist Movement, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

Subscribe to **MIM Notes**, unofficial anti-imperialist/ militarist/revisionist newsletter, .30 an issue for as many issues as desired. Appears irregularly, approximately once a month. Free to prisoners.

Also, **MIM Theory**, unofficial papers to build the program, line and theory of MIM. Distributors vote on each paper as to whether it should become official literature of the organization. Same subscription policy as MIM Notes.

Which group do belong in?

Do you know all the "lines?" Don't be a geographical opportunist (someone who only knows about the groups in his or her area). Send for a chart of groups to the left of social democracy in the United States, complete with addresses, subscription rates, ideological description and comment by MIM comrade. Special chart for prisoners on where to obtain free literature. 40 cents or free to prisoners or those who take out a subscription for a dollar or more.

Group name	Address	Group self-description	Comment
Maoists :			
Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)	<i>Revolutionary Worker</i> PO Box 3486 Chicago, IL 60654 75 cents/issue. \$20/ year. Liberation Distributors \$2 for Declaration of RIM. (See Below.)	Claim to uphold Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought Bob Avakian, chairperson. PO Box 5341 Chicago, IL 60680	This is the signatory from the USA of the RIM. Obviously MIM's nearest "competitor."
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (Several parties from several countries)	<i>A World to Win</i> BCM London WC1N 3XX UK \$5/magazine	Has a declaration from 1984 that upholds the Cultural Revolution and claims to end international confusion since 1976.	This group has been a good influence on the RCP.
Adelaide Anti-Imperialist Study Action Group	PO Box 88 Cowandilla 5033 AUSTRALIA		Reissues RCP lit.
<i>Mass Line</i>	Mass Line Publications Munirka Village New Delhi 110067 INDIA	Maoist newspaper. Large circulation.	Not necessarily RIM parrots.
Revolutionary Nationalists:			
African People's Socialist Party (APSP)	<i>Burning Spear</i> PO Box 27205 Oakland, CA 94602 (415) 569-9620 .50 \$10 subscription	Currently has free Huey Newton campaign. Lists program in paper.	Stokely Carmichael. Perhaps does not pick up the gun at the moment.
Prairie Fire Organizing Comm.	<i>Breakthrough</i> PO Box 14422 San Francisco, CA 94114 6\$/4 issues	Also John Brown Book Club Supports liberation of internal Black colony.	Supports armed struggle now.

There is a lot of confusion out there about the various divisions within the "Left" or "Marxism-Leninism" that MIM has fallen victim to many times. Many people think that we are the Spartacist League because of Spartacist organizing efforts in Cambridge, MA where we used to be based. Even more people confuse us with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement because that used to be our name before today's Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (composed of various groups across the world) started calling itself that. This list is to give people information on the political spectrum to the left of social democracy in the United States.

Groups wishing to get on or off the list should write and explain why. Also, any group wishing to correct or update information in the list is encouraged to do so.

MIM DISTRIBUTORS
PO BOX 3576
ANN ARBOR, MI 48106-3576

Group name	Address	Self-description	Comment
<u>Maoist-influenced:</u>			
Progressive Labor Party (PLP)	2211 Church Ave. Rm. 210 Brooklyn, NY 11226 (718) 282-9000 GPO Box 808 Brooklyn, NY 11202 PO Box 104 Deal Kent, CT 146SR ENGLAND	Was official Maoist party in '60s. Broke when Mao shut down Red Guards in 1969. Sees China and USSR as state capitalist. Supports student-worker alliance with industrial worker base. Upholds Marx, Lenin and Stalin.	Ultraleft supporters of 516 in China. Not a bad second choice after MIM Was about one-half of SDS.
New Democratic Movement	111 E. 25th St. Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 366-0788 work hr Brenda Blom	Works in Jackson campaign. Minority of members are former Communist Workers Party (CWP) members. CWP is defunct.	Considers USSR and China socialist. Used to take more Maoist positions.
<i>Socialist Politics</i>	\$10 for 4 issues Circulation 2020 W. State St. Suite 168 Milwaukee, WI 53233	Independent Marxist journal of theory.	
Iranian Student Association Throughout the U.S. (I.S.A.)	<i>Iran in Resistance</i> PO Box 7191 Austin, TX 78712 .75/issue		Anti-revisionist. Don't understand their disagreements with Mao.
<u>Stalinist:</u> New International Distributors	International Correspondence PO Box 471, Ansonia Sta. NY, NY 10023	Opposes Mao. Supports working in Jackson campaign to destroy Democratic Party.	Had something of an internal coup d'etat. Interesting
<u>Other:</u> Proletarian Warriors	A New World Rising Box 33, 77 Ives St. Providence, RI 02906	building "international revolutionary networks"	Wild stuff. Many addresses.

MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT (MIM) IS A COMMUNIST GROUP THAT UPHOLDS MAO AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. WE ARE A NEW GROUP THAT FORMED ON OCTOBER 1ST, 1983 AS THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT (RIM). RENAMED (MIM) ON MAY 1ST, 1984, THE (RIM) WAS PRECEDED BY THE RADACADS AND INDIVIDUAL ALLIES IN VARIOUS MOVEMENTS. (MIM) MEMBERS ARE WORLD CITIZENS, NOT AMERICANS, AND THEREFORE UPHOLD INTERNATIONALISM AS A GUIDING VISION.

THE (MIM) STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTION IS PREMISED ON ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-MILITARIST EDUCATIONAL WORK AGAINST

Group name	Address	Self-description	Comment
<u>Dengists:</u> League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS)	<i>Unity</i> PO Box 29293 Oakland, CA 94604 .50 \$3/6 months <i>Also East Wind and Forward.</i>	Upholds China today as socialist. Has blown with the wind there. Upholds Three Worlds Theory. Supported Mondale and Democrats in 1984.	Hard-working, opportunist. Worked in an anti-draft group two years without revealing identity, then purged. Members may be honest, but like Sparts, group ranks high on shitlist.
Freedom Road Socialist Organization	Boxholder PO Box 7726 Oakland, CA 94601	Works in Jackson campaign. Sees RCP as ultra-left. Seeks revolutionary unity on program for USA. Sees USSR as an enemy. Seeks merger with LRS.	Conglomerate of Proletarian Unity League (PUL), Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWH) and Organization for Revolutionary Unity (ORU)—Eurocommunists, Hua Guofengists and Lin Biaoists.
<u>Hoxhaites:</u> Marxist-Leninist Study Group, PO Box 25716, Chicago, IL 60625			
U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization, Box 265, 310 Franklin St., Boston, MA 02110	Workers Advocate PO Box 11942 Ontario St. Sta. Chicago, IL 60611 (312) 243-5302		Paper much improved from days when it merely issued pamphlet dogmas in newspaper form.
U.S.-Albania Friendship Assoc.	National Executive Comm. PO Box 429 Jamaica Plain, MA 02130 (617) 522-7550		
Albania Affairs Study Group	Gamma Pub. House Albania Report PO Box 206 NY, NY 10008	Info., documents on Albania.	
Liberation League PO Box 13851 New Orleans, LA 70185		Did union and anti-white supremacist work last we heard.	
ACPRC	PO Box 27314 Raleigh, NC 27611		

<u>Trotskyists:</u>	Address	Self-description	Comment
Spartacist League	<i>Workers Vanguard</i> Box 1377 GPO NY, NY 10116 \$5/24 issues	Trotskyist revolutionaries who defend Soviet economic organization in the USSR.	Many enemies of the people. Agents of state discredit and disrupt other groups.
Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL)	<i>The Torch</i> PO Box 1288, GPO NY, NY 10116		
Revolutionary Workers League (RWL)	<i>Fighting Worker</i> Box 1297 Detroit, MI 48231		
Socialist Workers Party (SWP) All Peoples' Congress (APC)	.75 or \$3/12 wks. <i>The Militant</i> 410 West St. NY, NY 10014	Dropping Trotsky. Support every liberation group. Publish Cuban speeches.	The largest group on this list. Competes with DSA and social democracy. Extreme opportunists.
Workers World Party <i>Workers World</i>	.50 \$2/10wks. 46 W. 21 St. NY, NY 10010	Appeals to Maoists by calling Deng retrograde.	Similar to SWP.
	<i>Bulletin</i> PO Box 33023 Detroit, MI 48216 .35 \$30/year		
	<i>Spark</i> 2068 N. CA Chicago, IL 60647 \$4/6 mths.	See summer '86 <i>Class Struggle</i> "Our Policy Toward the Trotskyist Movement" for honest self-criticism.	

Group name	Address	Self-description	Comment
<u>Anarchists:</u>			
YIPpies	<i>Overthrow</i> PO Box 392 Canal St. Station NY, NY 10013	Covers drugs, culture and politics.	Earthy and outrageous.
<i>Fifth Estate</i>	\$5/year PO Box 02548 Detroit, MI 48202	Spring 1987 issue holds the automobile responsible for ecological disaster.	Another wild tabloid.
<i>Kick It Over</i>	PO Box 5811, Stn A Toronto, ONT M5W 1P2		
<i>Open Road</i>	Box 6135, Stn G Vancouver, BC V6R 4G5		
International Workers of the World (IWW)	<i>Industrial Worker</i> 3435 North Sheffield Suite 202 Chicago, IL 60657 \$1.50/6 months	Also called the Wobblies, this group has a great legacy. It represents anarcho-syndicalism in the U.S.	

Group name	Address	Self-description	Comment
Assorted: Bay Area Socialist Organizing Comm. (BASOC)	PO Box 1839 San Francisco, CA 94101	"anti-revisionist, anti-ultraleft"	
Socialist Labor Party (SLP)	<i>The People</i> 914 Industrial Ave. Palo Alto, CA 94303 (415) 494-1532 .25/issue \$4/year	Established 1891 USSR bureaucratic state despotism. Actually "Marxist- De Leonist"	Used to show Maoist influence. Not M-L.
Communist Party (CP)	.25/issue \$15/year <i>People's Daily World</i> 239 W. 23 St. NY, NY 10011 (212) 924-2523		This is the official fraternal party of of the CP Soviet Union. Get the pro-Kremlin view of the US here.
<i>National Alliance</i>	216 W. 102nd St. 2nd fl. NY, NY 10025	Community organizer with direction. Attack Democrats. Work for Farrakhan.	Pro-Soviet. Exposes New Right. Not necessarily M-L despite core leaders.
National Workers Party	<i>Underground Nation</i> PO Box 645 Randallstown, MD 21133	Non-sectarian. Supports many groups and parties.	Reprints MIM articles. Don't know much about it.
<i>The Guardian</i>	33 W. 17th St., NY, NY 10011. .90/issue. \$27.50/year.	"independent radical newsweekly"	Used to have Maoists and M-Ls around.
<i>Line of March</i>	<i>Frontline</i> PO Box 2729 Oakland, CA 94602 \$3/3 months (415) 535-0145	"Marxist-Leninist" Refute Maoist position on USSR.	Picks up where Guardian and CP leave off.

Maoist Internationalist Movement

PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Special for prisoners:

Free newspaper in English or Spanish.

Challenge/Desafio
GPO
PO Box 808
Brooklyn, NY 11202

This is the Progressive Labor Party's paper.
Definitely substantial and worth getting.

Free magazine.

Breakthrough
PO Box 14422
San Francisco, CA 94114

Same address for the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee.
John Brown Book Club.
Revolutionary nationalist line.
Sees liberation of Black colony in US.

Prisoners' Revolutionary Lit. Fund
Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Associated with Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) — Maoist. Write here for books. Ask about their paper *the Revolutionary Worker*.

Free newspaper.

Industrial Worker
3435 North Sheffield
Suite 202
Chicago, IL 60657

This is the paper of the International Workers of the World.
Also called Wobblies, the IWW represents anarcho-syndicalism in the US.

Free newspaper.

Frontline
PO Box 2729
Oakland, CA 94602

As a pro-Soviet, "Marxist-Leninist" group, this is not our favorite, but the paper is well-done technically and is fairly substantial.
Line of March line.

Free newspaper or donation.

Militant
410 West St.
NY, NY 10014

This should be called the Reformist.
The group was formerly more Trotskyist, but increasingly slides right.

Free newsletter.
Southern Coalition on Jails & Prisons
PO Box 120044
Nashville, TN 37212

Mainstream.
Very brief.

MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

What's your line?—Corrections

It's easy to get confused about groups to the left of social democracy. The first draft of the "What's your line?" charts had some mistakes.

Hoxhaites:	GROUP SELF-DESCRIPTION	COMMENT BY MEM COMRADE
<p>Voice of Revolution U.S. M-L Organization Box 265, 310 Franklin St. Boston, MA 02110 \$5/year sub.</p>	<p>Continues to sell Hoxha books in prominent fashion. Hails 9th Congress of Party of Labor of Albania 11/3-7/86</p>	<p>Appears to have Albania franchise. MLP used to have franchise, but there appears to have been a split.</p>
<p>Marxist-Leninist Party Workers Advocate PO Box 11942 Ontario St. Sta. Chicago, IL 60611</p>	<p>This paper is the one that seemed much improved. It appears MLP may have criticisms of Hoxha and Albania.</p>	<p>Appears to have franchise of somewhat successful neo-Hoxhaite movement in Nicaragua. Is distinct from USMLO.</p>
<p>Other: Socialist Party The Socialist 516 W. 25th NY, NY 10001 \$5/year, free to prisoners</p>	<p>Puts feminism, anti-militarism, tradition of Eugene Debs right up front. Generally opposes Democratic Party.</p>	<p>For those who cannot stomach communism or cannot commit to revolution, the SP is clearly a better choice than the chauvinist DSA.</p>
<p>Organization for a Marxist-Leninist Party Workers' Truth Boxholder PO Box 5830 Chicago, IL 60680 \$3/year 3-4 issues</p>	<p>Has fraternal parties in Iran and Italy. Sees self as reestablishing Marxism-Leninism after 60 year void. Trotsky, Stalin and Mao all seen as phony.</p>	<p>Seems well-versed in Trotsky, ignorant of Mao.</p>
<p>Socialist Labor Party The People see previous charts</p>	<p>Marxist-de Leonist.</p>	<p>Never showed a Maoist influence. That was Communist Labor Party.</p>
<p>Communist Labor Party People's Tribune PO Box 3524 Chicago, IL 60654 \$10</p>	<p>Supports Black belt nation.</p>	<p>Used to show Maoist influence, now just tad left of CP.</p>
<p>Forward Motion PO Box 1884 Jamaica Plain, MA 02130 \$2.50 for current issue.</p>	<p>Support Mel King in Boston. Support New People's Army in Philippines. Marxism.</p>	<p>Cheerleading. The Guardian in magazine form.</p>

MIM NOTES

104
9/24/84

UNOFFICIAL FORUM OF THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

MONDALE: WAR TO KEEP CENTRAL AMERICA

Walter Mondale, the Democratic Party's presidential candidate said that he favored last year's invasion of Grenada. In an interview on September 15th, Mondale justified the invasion of the sovereign country by saying that Americans were in jeopardy.

At the same time, Mondale announced his intention to quarantine Nicaragua under certain circumstances. Mondale implied that the use of force might be necessary if the Russians or Cubans set up a base in Nicaragua.

The liberal Democrat's honesty during an election campaign is particularly significant because it demonstrates a fundamental unity between the Republicans and Democrats. Those who are working for a genuine peace should not have any illusions about Walter Mondale as their candidate.

The American two-party system is really a one-party system for imperialism and war. Anti-war activists do not have a choice in this election. They must stay out of it and work to undermine the system that offers two candidates in favor of war against the Central American people and global conflagration with Soviet imperialist rivals.

THE FAILURE OF THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS STRATEGY

The Republicans and Democrats legitimize their rule of American society by confusing us with the "lesser of two evils" game. For example, many people who are opposed to Reagan's role in the invasion of Grenada, the invasion of Lebanon and US terrorism against the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua will work for and vote for Walter Mondale.

History shows, however, that this will not work. Woodrow Wilson ran as a liberal Democrat on a "He kept Us Out of War" slogan. When he was re-elected as president, he took the US into WWI to get a share of Europe's colonies and global dominance and to increase profits from military production in the US.

Long before the grandfather of Mondale liberalism--Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt--took the US into WWII for global domination, arms manufacturers were making profits selling to both sides in WWII. US bankers were also working in on British banking because the British desperately needed US money and munitions in their war against Germany.

Democrat Harry Truman dropped the A-Bomb, not once but twice on Japan. Later he overthrew the government of Korea in another American invasion.

Then there was the US invasion of Vietnam and it was Democrat Lyndon Johnson who escalated American troop use to 500,000. Lyndon Johnson, a Southerner had a vice-presidential running mate from Minnesota named Hubert Humphrey, whose anti-communist credentials were established by his sponsorship of the Communist Control Act of 1954 and his purging of the Minnesota Democratic Party also during the McCarthy era. When Johnson and Humphrey won the 1964 presidential election it was Mondale who was appointed to finish Humphrey's Minnesota Senate term. Mondale fit well as Humphrey's protege and was re-elected in 1968.

Mondale was loyal to Humphrey who was loyal to Johnson. In 1964, Mondale said he had "great confidence" in Johnson's war in

Vietnam. While the Democrats were still in office, Mondale never opposed the Vietnam War. It was only in 1969, after public opinion polls showed a majority opposed to the war and after a Republican was elected president that Mondale opposed the Vietnam War.

It was not the election of a liberal Democrat that ended the Vietnam War. The Vietnamese people beat the US army led by Richard Nixon. In fact, history shows that Democrats like Mondale will do the most to oppose war--for their own opportunist reasons--when they are out of power. Apparently, the two parties have decided they can not afford to lose American dominance of Central America because not even candidate Mondale is making promises about opposing the war in Central America.

In any case, Mondale led the Humphrey presidential campaign in 1968 when the Democrats were most exposed as perpetrators of the Vietnam War. That kind of loyalty was repaid in 1976 when Southerner Jimmy Carter had only one opponent in the Democratic Party left to defeat--Hubert Humphrey. Walter Mondale was chosen vice-presidential candidate to pacify the Humphrey wing of the Democratic Party.

THE CARTER/MONDALE ADMINISTRATION

Mondale and the other liberals in the Carter Administration failed to bring about the social change that liberals support in theory. The Carter Administration was supposedly pro-Black, but the Black/white median income ratio fell from .57 to .56 under Carter--a record drop. Meanwhile in South Africa, the only country in the world where white racism is the law (as opposed to covered up by the law) Carter opposed even the most cosmetic reforms that would require American companies to pay Black South Africans the same as whites for the same work. In addition, US trade with the apartheid government reached record highs.

The Carter Administration also resumed military support of Nicaragua starting in 1977 with a \$2.5 million pact. That aid continued through 1978 when Israel took over the US job of arming the murderous Somoza regime. Also in 1977, Carter offered El Salvador military aid, but the junta found it more profitable to reject it under the guise of independence from the Yankees. After a coup in El Salvador in 1979, the US again offered military aid. In 1980, the US provided \$90 million in economic aid and \$5.5 million in "non-lethal" military aid. Much more aid was slipped under the table through agencies like the Inter-American Development Bank which coughed up a \$45.4 million loan. Since 1979, over 40,000 Salvadorans have been killed by government-sponsored death squads--mostly under the leadership of Napoleon Duarte who the Carter Administration supported with further aid upon his election in 1980.

Of course, the Carter Administration paid the price for its support of murder of tens of thousands of Iranians by the Shah and his SAVAK special forces. The Iranian Revolution nearly succeeded in wiping out all of the US's influence and means of domination in Iran, so great was the spontaneous hatred for America.

Despite this record, Mondale promises that there will be

more emphasis on "national security" and less emphasis on "human rights" under his 1984 administration. (New York Times, 9/18/84)

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR TRAP

The costs of a presidential campaign strictly construed run into tens of millions of dollars. When one adds in the media coverage and other hype connected, the cost of a candidate runs into hundreds of millions of dollars. Is it any wonder that millionaires run for president? Why should it be surprising that Mondale and Reagan really amount to the same thing-- imperialists who have differing views of how to conquer the world for American business?

Mondale sits on the board of Control Data Corporation and Geraldine Ferraro's husband is a real estate millionaire. It's not surprising that established business and media treat the presidency as their game. Nor is it surprising that the capitalist candidates throw out a tax cut to the middle classes to interest them in the election and give them a stake in the system. Elections would be a pretty boring game for millionaires without a tax cut issue to rile up the middle class.

What is surprising is how many people think they can beat this game by playing it. The same people who admit that they play the "lesser of two evils" game think they are realistic and that everyone else is apathetic.

The truth is that despite the multi-million dollar campaign hoopla the lower half of American society is not interested in elections. This mass of people is not stupid. There is just nothing about the two-party non-choice that makes much difference to the non-voters. This is the fault of the political system, not the attitudes of the half of the people who have not voted in the last three presidential elections.

The highest Black turnout at an election since 1974 was 50.5%. Unemployed turnout was at its highest at 43.7%. In 1982, 39.1% of the blue-collar workers, 41.8% of the South, 31.9% of renters and 41.1% of service workers voted as compared to 48.5% of the total for the US.

The two parties combined do not have the support and legitimacy derived from these groups. AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland is the perfect example of who the two-party system represents. He is important as Mondale's single most powerful backer. Lane Kirkland is in favor of war in Central America as evidenced by his participation and support of the Kissinger Commission on Central America. Furthermore, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy established the American Institute for Free Labor Development. The AIFLD assisted the CIA in military coups in British Guiana (now Guyana) in 1965, in Brazil in 1964, in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and Chile in 1974. Today, AIFLD assists the "land to the tiller" program in El Salvador which is modeled after the US Operation Phoenix in Vietnam.

Lane Kirkland is from that section of laborers in this country that benefits from high corporate profits derived from cheap labor under military dictatorships overseas. At best, Mondale represents these highly-paid workers who share in the

spoils of imperialism. A vote for Mondale is a vote for Napoleon Duarte is a vote for Somoza is a vote for the Shah of Iran is a vote for apartheid in South Africa.

NO VOTES FOR IMPERIALISM!
DOWN WITH TWEEDLE-DEE AND TWEEDLE-DUM!

Sources:

"Isolate Nicaragua If It Won't Bend, Mondale Suggests," New York Times, 9/18/84.

Richard Krooth, Arms and Empire.

James Ridgeway, "The Minnesota Twins," Michigan Voice, 9/84.

Facts on File, 12/31/1980, p. 993; 10/19/79, p. 790; 12/12/80, p. 941; 3/25/77, p. 206; 10/8/77, 767.

Trade Unionists in Solidarity with El Salvador, "In Your Name: Introducing AIFLD or How the CIA Uses the AFL-CIO in Central America."

Business International South Africa, A Fresh Look at South Africa, 12/82.

For more info. on any of the above write for a free lit. list. (MIM) Distributors, PO Box 289, Cambridge, MA 02140.

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News Summary

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1984

NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1984

National

~~_____~~, in an interview, said that if ~~_____~~ rejected a good-faith compromise and continued to export revolution in Central America after Washington made a dedicated effort at negotiations, he would respond with a ~~_____~~. The Democratic Presidential nominee also said for the first time that ~~_____~~ to ~~_____~~ [1:6.]

MIM NOTES

104
10/10/84

AN UNOFFICIAL FORUM OF THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

SOUTH AFRICA: ARMY CALLED OUT AGAINST PEOPLE

On October 7th, the world's police state par excellence called on its army to quell the rebellion of Blacks against apartheid. The forces were deployed in Soweto where defiance of white colonial rule is running strong despite the infamous police massacre of over 1,000 schoolchildren there in 1976.

Once again schoolchildren are at the forefront of the action with 150,000's boycotting the oppressors' schools which grind out unskilled Black laborers for South Africa's gold and diamond mines. The separate Black schools are funded one-tenth per capita of what the white schools receive.

The recent wave of protest of white settler rule in South Africa has involved rent struggles, bus fares and school conditions and union struggles, but above all recent changes in the apartheid Constitution. Riots broke out when elections to an advisory Parliament were held for the country's so-called Coloured peoples which are any minority in South Africa which is not purely white or purely African in background. The so-called Coloured people are a smaller fraction of the population than the 15.5% white settler fraction. The 73% African population was excluded from even any so-called democratic rights and the Constitution emphasizes increased separation of the Africans into the "homelands." The Coloured peoples, however, did not jump at the chance to a seemingly second class citizenship over the Africans. Less than 20% of the "Coloureds" voted in the elections for the segregated Parliament.

The boycott of the elections demonstrated on a national level the farce of white settler rule and provided a single national opportunity for protest. At a time when the whole world was supposed to see a repeat of the Central America election farce, the whole world saw rebellion and hatred for imperialism. At a time when the Western media was cultivating South Africa's "mellow" image by pointing to agreements with Angola and Mozambique, the oppressed masses made it clear that the South African army would have to be used at home.

The South African ruling class itself knows it must "reform or die" as in the words of its prime minister. The Constitution in enhancing executive powers acknowledges that apartheid will have to move fast to multi-racial capitalism or see capitalism go under with the liberation of the African Azanian nation called South Africa.

The apartheid rulers want to keep the lid on protest while they move to coopt a Black middle class. The white capitalists need Black technicians and managers because of a white labor shortage, but they have to improve education to get them. They need housing for their workers in the cities because it is easier to be established in the white cities than in the undeveloped homelands where the Blacks live. This requires desegregated residency (as opposed to the pass-law system which mandates that Africans live in restricted areas) or government efforts to develop the reservations called "Bantustans." In other words, the capitalists need to drop parts of their segregation and national oppression apparatus, but this will provide opportunities for Black empowerment and liberation. In the end though, only the Blacks themselves have the will, capability and desire to

set right the injustice and exploitation that is even now holding back the development of the white-dominated economy.

For example, all whites are required to spend two years in the armed forces and a lifetime of reserve duty. Also, the increase of the police force by 45% to 68,000 brought on by the recent riots is a further drain on the white labor force, so the whites have stepped up recruitment of Blacks into the army and security forces. The question is whether the Blacks will be loyal in the advent of revolution. As it is, only a third of white youth say they are willing to die in a war to defend apartheid. What will this figure be for the Blacks recruited? How long will the bourgeoisified white working class agree to serve more army time? How long will these same white workers agree to abolition of the privileges that made them "bought off"--better paid and higher ranking by law--relative to the Black workers? The white capitalists can not easily ease the national oppression they designed without endangering the class distinctions they seek to maintain.

South Africa is already in a state of war against its people. By their own admission 80 people have died in the violence--police violence against the masses. The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Reagan and Mondale all deplore "the violence," but they do not say who and what system is responsible. The US government is only willing to criticize South Africa to the point that reforms seem necessary to save capitalism and a US ally. For example, the US and England were unwilling to provide sanctuary for six "Coloured" fugitives who were ordered into indefinite detention for unspecified reasons amidst the recent "Coloured" boycott of the sham elections. Nor did the arrest of 600 Blacks at a time when all indoor meetings by Blacks are prohibited provoke outcries from Mondale or Reagan even in this election season. The US has obvious commercial interests in South Africa, but it is also lining up South Africa to go to war against the Soviet bloc. That is why neither Reagan nor Mondale are very critical lately of the only remaining white colony in Africa.

Yet, the US can not count on a stable ally in time of war. Even in the most perfectly designed police states like South Africa, the people resist. As South Africa's army is committed more and more abroad, the people of South Africa will gain the opportunity to overthrow apartheid.

SOURCES:

The New York Times, 9/24/84, 10/7/84, 10/8/84.

International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa,
Apartheid: The Facts, 1983.

"The Limitations of Economic Analysis of Social Change: The Cases of the American South and South Africa."

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MIM NOTES

104

10/19/84 no.3

AN UNOFFICIAL FORUM OF THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT C.I.A. ADMITS FOMENTING TERRORISM AND ORGANIZED CRIME AGAINST NICARAGUA

On October 14th, US intelligence officials admitted that the C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) has provided a manual to anti-Sandinista, pro-US rebels who are working to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. The Sandinista government came to power in a popular revolution in 1979 that swept away the US backed Somoza family regime.

The manual, called "Psychological Operations in Guerrilla War," advises the rebels to use "select terror" to "neutralize" vulnerable Sandinista officials. However, because of an executive order signed by Reagan at the end of 1981, the manual does not explicitly use the words "assassinate" or "kill"---merely "target" and "danger to other individuals in the area of the target." Furthermore, the manual says "if possible, professional criminals should be hired to carry out specific, selective 'jobs.'" One such job is "creating a 'martyr' for the cause." Other instructions involve the blowing up of public buildings, how to justify any murder politically and psychologically, how to whip up anti-Cuban, anti-Soviet sentiment while pretending to live amongst the people and how to blackmail anybody by threatening to make public that they were in meetings with the C.I.A. backed rebels. Thus, it is clear that the US Government has admitted its criminal character.

Why is the US Government revealing itself so clearly? Why doesn't the C.I.A. operate in its usual secretive style?

The press has publicized the CIA's "covert" war for some time. The contras (anti-Sandinista rebels) are known by all to have US funding and US military support. At the same time, the US has admitted that the contras can never win against such a popular government. Also, the US Senate condemned the US mining of Nicaragua's harbors earlier this year. This made the front pages. All in all the US counterrevolution against Nicaragua is quite open.

The US may be trying to influence the current negotiations in Central America between Salvadoran rebels and the Salvadoran regime. The US is backing the Salvadoran regime and wants to make sure that Salvadoran rebels and the Sandinistas do not get too much out of the deal. By showing how "tough" the US is, the US expects to coerce the Central Americas for the desired result.

By releasing such damning information about itself, the US Government has shown how strong its hand is and how much it can get away with. At first, The New York Times did not deem the story worthy of the front page. The Detroit Free Press buried it as a subarticle. It is as though the US Government were saying "don't expect any uproar in the US about the terror we carry out in Central America." Days after the admission, however, Mondale was trying to take advantage of the issue and Reagan ordered an investigation. Democrat Thomas Downey took care not to blame the president and to praise Reagan's anti-terrorism campaign. Still, despite all these confusing moves it is clear that the US Government underestimated the outrage of the people. It also remained to be seen in the confusion whether or not the basic issue of the CIA primer would be lost in sanctimonious drivel. That issue is that there is no correct way to overthrow a foreign government. There is no correct way to run an empire

the way Downey and Mondale would have us believe--terrorist manual or not.

Of course, the US does have \$4.2 billion invested in Central America and another \$4.1 billion loaned to the Central American ruling classes. The US does not want this threatened, especially since three dollars return to the US for every dollar invested; however, investments in Central America do not require such open operations by the C.I.A. Nor did the invasion of Grenada have to occur because the Grenadians were such a threat to US investments. No, the open activities of the US Government can only be explained by the the decision of the Pentagon, the military industries and all the multinational corporations that the US must "stand tall" and "overcome the Vietnam syndrome." We in the US are being acclimated to fight a major war and "prevail."

Precisely because little is at stake in Grenada in terms of investments, it made sense to strike there first as an example to the rest of Central America. Investments, resources and a disciplined wage-earning class, however, are exactly what is at stake in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Europe and Japan.

Just as Grenada was a perfect training ground to oil the US military and propaganda machine for war, Central America has been a place for US muscle-flexing historically. However, while the US may be willing to alienate the workers that are giving them so much profits out of Central America and the US may be willing to damage its "ownings" in Central America just to make an example of the rebels, revolutionaries and pro-Soviet reformists of Nicaragua and El Salvador, there is one hitch. A US invasion of Nicaragua or El Salvador would meet the armed guerrillas there. The US would be the ready target of an anti-imperialist struggle. Ultimately, the US Government would prefer to make a deal through negotiations. It hopes that the reformists in the leadership of the FDR of the Salvadoran rebels and of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua will give the US a good enough deal and a dependable "backyard" in time of war with the Soviet Union.

The US is also open about its desire to take a chunk of the Soviet empire. The US does not rely primarily on covert action to undermine the Soviets. However, the US can not make an easy example out of the Soviets either. Ultimately, the anti-"communist" emphasis of the US in its foreign policy is especially designed to prepare the US for war against the Soviet bloc. Grenada and Nicaragua are perfect for this preparation because the US can point to the relations of these countries to Cuba and the Soviet Union. Of course, the airfield on Grenada was not a military threat to the US. To even refute the obvious lies of US propaganda is almost to miss the point. The US Government does not need to "win" an argument. It needs merely to paint itself as correcting Soviet perfidies and it succeeds in acclimating public opinion to war. The question about Grenada in 1983 and Nicaragua in 1984 is not whether or not "US security" is really threatened by these countries. The question is whether or not the public buys into a war "to stand tall" with the capitalist minority which has a business interest in doing in their Soviet competitors and taking over Soviet turf.

These same capitalists will try to confuse the issue. They will confuse people by getting the Senate to condemn the mining of

Nicaragua's harbors. They will give the people Walter Mondale, who does not oppose the invasion of Grenada or a quarantine of Nicaragua. Mondale will oppose the war drive on the grounds that there is corruption in the Pentagon and the military corporations get hundreds of dollars from the Pentagon for a hammer. This is not the issue. The issue is whether militarism is in the interest of the people of this country and even more, the people of the world. It does no good to oppose only that part of the military which is corrupt. It does no good to support politicians who only oppose wars on the grounds that they have a better strategy.

In the end, the capitalists have an interest in going to war with their Soviet counterparts. The hired laborers of these same capitalists, be they in the US, in Guatemalan Coca-Cola factories or in South African gold mines usually do not. If we keep this perspective in mind, we will have the support of the masses known as the international proletariat. If we explain the issues in the perspective of the international proletariat we can succeed in stopping WWII.

NOTES:

New York Times, 10/15/84, 10/17/84.

Detroit Free Press, 10/15/84.

Jean-Paul Sartre, On Genocide.

"Central America in Crisis." See MIM lit. list.

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MIM NOTES

104

10/24/84 no. 4

AN UNOFFICIAL FORUM OF THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

US KNEW ABOUT NAPALM USE IN EL SALVADOR

SALVADORAN REGIME USES NAPALM FROM ISRAEL WITH US OK

According to the New York Times, the US Government admitted that the government of El Salvador used napalm against the Salvadoran people. Napalm is a chemical weapon of Vietnam era infamy. Its use by the Salvadoran junta indicates its anti-people nature.

The Salvadoran regime implies that it has stopped using napalm. Apparently, the US provided the Salvadorans with A-37 aircraft which are used to drop conventional bombs. The regime claims to be bombing the guerrillas in the Salvadoran civil war.

The US Congress became aware of the napalm use last year but did not inform the American public except in a section in a report buried in the Congressional Record. The so-called democratic government of the US denied the American public important information on which to judge US foreign policy, especially US military aid to El Salvador. The recent admission of napalm use by the Salvadoran regime came six days before the admission that the C.I.A. has fomented terrorism and crime in Nicaragua. (See MIM NOTES NO. 3)

The use of the weapon by a regime that killed 35,000 non-combatant civilians between October 1979 and May 1982 is not surprising. The significance of the New York Times story is that it is part of the attempt by the US Government to make the American people used to US terror and war in foreign countries. (New York Times, 10/9/84, 4)

FOUR C.I.A. SPIES DIE IN EL SALVADOR

Four Americans died in a plane crash in El Salvador. They were spying on the activities of guerrillas opposed to the Salvadoran regime. The plane crashed in heavy rain. (New York Times, 10/20/84)

IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARIES QUESTION SANDINISTA SUPPORT FOR KHOMEINI

Supporters of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries in Iran trying to overthrow the reactionary Khomeini regime and imperialism and liberate Kurdistan questioned Daniel Ortega, a Sandinista leader and coordinator of the Nicaraguan government. In his trip to Iran, Ortega said, "We thank Ayatollah Khomeini, the great leader of the Islamic revolution and also President Khomeini, your Iranian government and people who have stood with us in such a severe condition. . . Nicaragua acknowledges as its duty to defend the Islamic Republic's positions in international gatherings." (Iranian Student Association throughout the U.S., Iran in Resistance, July-August, 1984, p. 13)

The Iranian revolutionaries put out a magazine in the US with a section devoted to solidarity with the Central American peoples. Their criticism of Ortega raised Khomeini's execution of over 40,000 revolutionaries in Iran and his sending youth to be slaughtered in the war against Iraq.

US PUSHES ARMS RACE INTO SPACE

The US rejected the idea of a moratorium on testing space weapons. In a jingoist appeal to "national security," Secretary of State George P. Schultz referred to the new space weapons as part of "our defensive and deterrent forces."

Some of the weapons being tested for space use are intended to destroy Soviet missiles before they reach the US. In the BALT

I agreement limiting such weapons, it was agreed that such weapons constitute a danger because they even undermine the original figleaf justification of deterrence. If one side fired weapons, the militarist rationale was that the other side would too and both would suffer nuclear destruction. Clearly, even by this rationale for the arms race, the new weapons are offensive weapons because they give the aggressor a chance to shoot without being hit back. (The Detroit News, 10/1/84)

US ARRESTS NINE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS IN NEW YORK

The US arrested nine freedom fighters trying to establish a Black nation in the South--a New Afrikaan Republic. The arrests came at a time when the US has taken to "pre-emptive" action against those it accuses of being terrorists. New and vague laws give the state a "legal" excuse for harassing all revolutionaries it dubs "terrorist"--often with no evidence. (New York Times, 10/19/84)

US BANKS SQUEEZED

Despite high interest rates in recent years, the force of competition in the US economy has put the largest US banks in bad shape. Recently, the US Government bailed out the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company with \$4.5 billion. On October 3rd, the eighth largest bank in the country reported a loss of \$70 million in the 3rd quarter. Both banks attracted government attention because the failure of either would start a snowball process of loan defaults. (NYT, 10/4/84)

Indeed, with the lifting of interest ceilings for depositors, banks have had to compete on vicious terms. However, no capitalist economy can carry on such competition for long without a monopoly winner, massive bankruptcies or government intervention. In fact, the difference between a monopoly bank and a federal takeover of all the banks is nil. Who regulates whom also becomes a farcical question. Neither side has a choice in the bargain. The banks can not do without the government and the government can not do without the banks. That is why Karl Marx called the state an "executive committee of the bourgeoisie." The US Government must intervene in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole or face a huge economic Depression and revolution.

Part of that intervention by the US Government is the search for profitable businesses for US banks to do business with, especially to make loans to. That is why the US Government is compelled to make the Third World safe for US business. It lends military aid (good business for US military industries and banks) to regimes willing to squeeze profits out of their workers by force. South Africa is only one big example.

Despite the US Government's securing of business in the Third World for the American economy, the American economy is still in trouble. The weakness of American banks only compels the state to look for new sources of profits for American business. The biggest untapped source is the Soviet bloc. The US Government is preparing for WWII with the Soviet bloc to open up the Soviet bloc to the claws of US business. The Soviet government has already taken over its banks, but it also works for profit, so it is also imperialist. The search for profit must end. Those with no interest in WWII and the cutthroat practices of business must takeover production. That is the only way to eliminate the causes of the current WWII.

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MIM NOTES

104
11/7/84
no. 5

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE KILL 16 IN GENERAL STRIKE

Police shot and killed at least 16 Blacks in South Africa in the last two days. The police shot the protestors in an effort to quell protests associated with a general strike in the Transvaal.

The general strike arose when workers decided to join students who were boycotting school. The student-worker alliance is taking action against the new constitution in South Africa which reconfirms the fourth class citizenship of Blacks in the last major colonial regime in Africa. Hundreds of thousands of students and workers stayed home on November 5th in an amazing display of defiance in a well-tuned police state. By all accounts the strike and boycott has been well organized and quite effective.

That the police killed another 16 Blacks in the general strike shows once again that the state is never "neutral" in class conflicts. In August and September, somewhere between 80 and 150 Blacks lost their lives in protests against the new Constitution. The massacres make a farce of white liberals' claims that South Africa can be changed through persuasion and reform. They also show what a lie "democracy" is right here in the US since without US military and economic aid South Africa could not so efficiently repress its people. (See "US and South Africa" on MIM lit. list.) (Detroit News, 11/7/84)

SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS SEARCH 20,000 HOUSES

The South African army attempted to intimidate Blacks in South Africa by searching houses and making mass arrests. The crackdown and use of the army failed to quell protests. Protests in the face of the army crackdown demonstrated the determination of the people to overcome apartheid despite Western claims that South Africa "is getting better." (New York Times, 10/24/84)

C.I.A. TERRORIST MANUAL FOR NICARAGUA ADAPTED FROM VIETNAM WAR

According to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan the manual that the C.I.A. supplied to rebels trying to overthrow the Sandinista government of Nicaragua was "word for word" from US Army efforts in Vietnam in 1968. (See MIM Notes no. 3 about the manual.) (Detroit Free Press, 10/29/84, 5a)

FMLN CLAIMS TO HAVE SHOT DOWN C.I.A. PLANE

Four US spies died in a plane crash in El Salvador last month. The FMLN said that the US explanation that the plane crashed in rain is ridiculous. The US offered this explanation to give the appearance of not violating the law regarding US forces in combat.

CASUALTIES IN GRENADA COVERED UP

Two former military intelligence officers said that at least 10 combat deaths of Americans in the US invasion of Grenada were covered up. The deaths came in a top-secret operation just before the public invasion. Families of the dead have been told to keep quiet. Also in question is the number of Grenada's dead since there was never a final total. 240 US soldiers and military policemen continue the US occupation of the tiny island a year after the invasion. (New York Times, 10/22/84, 6) (Time, 23

Capitalist goals set by China

PEKING — (AP) — China's new blueprint for invigorating the economy with capitalist incentives and burying Mao Tse-tung's egalitarianism will allow the country to "soar" for the first time since Communist rule began 35 years ago, a high-ranking party leader said.

Monday, Oct. 22, 1984—THE DETROIT NEWS-

11/5/84, 44)

HEAD OF US MEDICAL SCHOOL IN GRENADA QUESTIONS INVASION MOTIVE

Gen. Hudson Austin visited the US medical school once he took power last year. He assured the safety of the US students and saw to their food and water supplies. Thirty hours passed before the US invaders reached the medical students. They had not been harmed in the meantime. No one went onto the US campus to take revenge against the students for the US invasion.

US imperialism needs excuses. That any country with some US citizens in it is open to US invasion shows two things--that the US imperialists fear the world they oppress and that they need to wage war on a grand scale. (New York Times, 10/28/84, 8)

CHINA ADMITS A KIND OF "REVOLUTION"

In frenzied attempts to throw China right back into the Dark Ages, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping has admitted that the establishment of capitalism in China has been a "kind of revolution." Publicly, Deng still does not admit that China is state capitalist.

Recent changes in China have made front pages of the US papers as capitalist. The latest announcements from China are that industrial firms will be independent of the government and have considerable power to fix prices.

If the Detroit News can recognize that China is capitalist, why can't the League of "Revolutionary" Struggle (LRS) or the Spartacist League (SL)? Like the US ambassador they are trying to save China's face for going for capitalism. (Detroit News, 10/22/84, 1)

LEAGUE OF "REVOLUTIONARY" STRUGGLE (LRS) ENDORSES MONDALE

A supposedly Marxist-Leninist newspaper called "Unity" published by the LRS backed Mondale, liberal candidates and issues across the land on November 6th. (LRS) claims to support Mao and Deng of China. Nowhere in the paper did Mao's name appear despite his supposed role in inspiring Deng and the LRS. (Unity, 10/26-11/15/84, 1)

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MIM NOTES

11/20/84
no. 6

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

USA: WAR OVER SOVIET ARMS SENT TO NICARAGUA

US officials imply that the US would go to war to prevent the Sandinista government of Nicaragua from receiving Soviet MiGs, which are advanced military aircraft. (Detroit News, 11/18/84, 7C) The US raised a furor by claiming that MiG-21s were aboard a Soviet ship unloading in Nicaragua. Apparently, Nicaragua either did not unpack the MiG-21 jet fighters from the Soviet ship or there were not any on board. The Sandinistas wisely put off the delivery of the MiGs to the future and defended their right to buy them for defense purposes. In the language of diplomacy the US said it would "not tolerate" a Sandinista purchase of MiGs. US officials said that air strikes or a naval quarantine are possible. (New York Times, 11/8/84, 1)

The US officials have called Nicaragua "another Cuba." Former president John F. Kennedy led the "Bay of Pigs" invasion to reestablish US neocolonial rule in Cuba. The Cubans crushed the US invasion and protected their revolution; although, the Cuban government chose to trade US dependence for dependence on the Soviet Union.

The Sandinistas are preparing for another Bay of Pigs style US operation. Government workers are instructed to fight guerrilla action against US occupiers at night. Meanwhile, the Sandinistas are exposing US plans to the world in an effort to rally public opinion internationally. US officials have been repeatedly forced into denying plans for invading Nicaragua. When the US finally does start more hostilities, the people will remember these lying denials.

In the meantime, the US imperialists have attempted to build public opinion for war against Nicaragua. The US Defense Secretary Weinberger has painted Nicaragua as a military threat to the US: "the Soviets are supplying a great deal of heavy offensive arms to Nicaragua" and "the US is prepared for a great number of contingencies that may have to be taken." (Detroit News, 11/18/84, 7C) In other words, Nicaragua better get into line in the US bloc; continued involvement with the Soviet bloc will mean war. In order to intimidate Nicaragua the US has sent planes over Nicaragua to break the sound barrier at least four days in a row. The US also sent fast ships and planes to harass the Soviet freighter that docked in Nicaragua. (NYT, 11/8/84, 4) The US violates Nicaraguan airspace at will and then says that MiG-21 jet fighters are unnecessary offensive weapons.

In efforts to prepare public opinion for war, high level State Department officials have admitted "a tough policy of intimidation and harassment" according to the Detroit Free Press. (11/13/84, 1) Part of that intimidation includes war games in Honduras which the State Department admits are to keep Nicaragua guessing about US military actions.

Blatant war maneuvers and naked terrorism go together. One front page screamed "Reports Say CIA Manual Was Legal." President Reagan lied desperately saying that there was "nothing in that manual that talked about assassination at all." (Detroit Free Press, 11/11/84, 1) Yes, Mr. Reagan, the word "assassination" does not appear because the CIA is aware of the "law" that says the word "assassinate" can not be printed by the CIA. Now

with this new "law," your men use the word "neutralize" instead. As the US escalates WWII across the globe, the government will more and more openly reveal itself for what it is. The trappings of a "Constitution," of "legality" and "democracy" will serve as an increasingly poor cloak of state terrorism. When the proletariat awakens to this and when there is an opportunity to do so, the people of the US may rise to revolution and cast aside this excuse for "democracy." (For details on the CIA manual of terror against Nicaragua, see MIM NOTES no. 3)

CHILE ROUNDS UP THOUSANDS FOR SLAUGHTER

Faced with increasing protest against its rule, the Chilean junta rounded up thousands of suspected leftists and detained them in a soccer stadium. At least 2,000 were detained from one settlement alone called Silva Henriquez. Church officials collected the names of 440 people arrested. Another 227 people were detained in La Victoria. Chile's government did not say what would happen to the people. (New York Times, 11/17/84, 4)

In 1973, Chile's military led a coup against the elected socialist President Salvador Allende Gossens. The bloodbath that followed also largely took place in a stadium. That bloodbath is the background of the movie "Missing."

The flame of resistance in Chile lives and can not be repressed.

FDR SUPPORTS ELECTIONS

The political representative of most guerrillas in El Salvador favors participation in elections in cooperation with the murderous Salvadoran junta. Social Democrat Guillermo Ungo, head of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), said "we do not want the lion's share of power." "We need elections as soon as possible." (New York Times, 11/17/84, 1)

Ungo, who is fraternally aligned to the reformist Socialist International, probably means what he says because his friends in the Labor Party of Israel and the Socialist Party of France have gained power through the ballot. The pro-Soviet Salvadoran Communist Party also favors laying down arms.

The reformist FDR coalition is very similar ideologically to the coalition that put Allende in power in Chile. Unfortunately, the social democrats and reformist pro-Soviet "communists" do not seem to have learned that it is impossible to "compromise" with butchers--butchers who killed over 40,000 people in El Salvador so far.

GUERRILLA GROUP FORMS FOR ARMED STRUGGLE IN SALVADOR

On November 1st, a Marxist group called the Roberto Sibirian Popular Revolutionary Movement formed. The group apparently favors "popular revolutionary war" and "totally rejects" the FDR's talks with the US-dominated junta. Previously a group called the Workers' Revolutionary Movement formed with similar objections to the FDR. MIM NOTES is unaware of the ideology of either of these groups except that both have been called Marxist. (Detroit Free Press, 11/2/84, 7A)

NONE OF THE ABOVE WINS CRUSHING LANDSLIDE VICTORY FOR PRESIDENT

Despite months of propaganda from the press predicting record turnouts on election day and despite record voter registration of 125 million people, voter turnout for the president eaked out a bare 90 million votes--52.9% of those eligible. This figure is a mere three tenths of one percent higher than the figure for 1980--the lowest turnout since 1960.

Apparently, the efforts of Jesse Jackson and others succeeded in corraling a higher percentage of Black voters than usual. 90% voted for Mondale. The District of Columbia lead the turnout increase at 5.8%. (New York Times, 11/8/84, 16, 17)

None of the above carried every state with an average of 47.1% of the vote. The candidate was said to benefit from the boredom produced by the two candidates who split the bourgeois and middle class vote.

PEACE CORPS PUSHES CORPORATE CREDENTIALS

In a letter to professors across the country, Loret M. Ruppe, director of the Peace Corps boasted of the career development possible through the Peace Corps. "Many multinational corporations and Federal Agencies make a point of hiring returned Peace Corps Volunteers." Not surprising since they hired them in the first place.

WORKER JAILED IN CHINA FOR OPPOSING BOSS

A woman who put up a wall poster about her boss received a one year sentence in the People's Republic of China. She lives in Shenyang, a city in Manchuria. Her crime falls under the rubric of infraction of labor discipline.

In China from 1966 to 1976, Mao Zedong, China's founder and the world's greatest contemporary Marxist-Leninist, workers regularly put up wall posters criticizing their bosses. Indeed, official committees of workers and others watched over and supervised their bosses in the factories. Through this kind of worker control, the Cultural Revolution attempted to insure that no one dominated the workers and that the workers learned to run plants themselves.

Since 1976 a state capitalist counterrevolution overthrew socialism in China. The new ruling class uses prisons and jails to keep workers in line.

However, such repression always encounters resistance. "Reports in the official press acknowledge that there have been work stoppages, sit-ins and heated confrontations between workers and factory managers." (Jim Mann, "Why China's Factory Workers Are Unhappy," San Francisco Chronicle, 10/31/84, C6)

Much of the protest concerns recent "reforms" that drive China further back into primeval capitalism. It seems that the state capitalist class is having a hard time maintaining welfare capitalism and is moving toward free market capitalism. In one instance, the recent "reforms" attempted to cut fringe benefits and to dock pay for failure to achieve quotas. Workers went on strike; marched to the so-called Communist Party headquarters and petitioned against the reforms. The workers won, but two months later the "reforms" went through anyway. (Ibid)

NEW

The Political Economy of the Counterrevolution in China: 1976-84.
Historical roots of the counterrevolution, counterrevolution in science and technology, agricultural appropriation by the state capitalist class capitalist industry, trade union farce, sexism, coercion of labor out of labor-power, the anarchy of production, exacerbation of the division of labor. 240pp., over 500 references, \$6.50 & .50.

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- No. 3 picks up on the big CIA manual flap in Nicaragua and shows East-West contention and how Central America fits in US plans for escalating the current World War.
- No. 4 concerns napalm use in El Salvador, Iran and the problems of US banks.
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MIM NOTES

An Unofficial Forum of the
Maoist Internationalist Movement

12/3/84
no. 7

SOVIETS MATCH US DRIVE FOR WWII

The Soviet Union announced on November 27th that it would match the United States' militarist strategy by increasing its military spending 12% for 1985. The Soviets said they "will not allow the military-strategic equilibrium to be upset." (Chicago Tribune, 11/28/84, 1) The only parallels for US and Soviet military spending this century are prior to World War I and II.

Once again the Soviet Union demonstrates its view of "detente" with the US. This sick "equilibrium" is the steady build up for World War III. Under the guise of deterring the opponent both sides build up for war. The only question that remains is when one side becomes so threatened by the other's build up that it starts a pre-emptive strike and WWII. (For the dangers of the arms race and the causes of militarism see the MIM literature list.)

US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are proving themselves to be inexorably headed for WWII. No weapons can deter them. Indeed, the two economies thrive on sales of weapons to allies and the Third World. The military has become the pervasive and dominant portion of both economies.

Inanimate objects can not "keep the peace." Only a revolutionary change in social relations can prevent the profit-driven collision of empires.

CHILE ROCKED BY PROTEST AMIDST CLAMPDOWN

Even as the Chilean military rounded up thousands of people for detention, exile and probable murder, 13 bombs exploded in the capital of Chile--Santiago. Public transportation was stopped by protests; women shouted against the regime even as they were arrested; wives banged pots in traditional protest; newspapers were boycotted and calls were made for a stay at home strike. (Chicago Tribune, 11/28/84)

Already the Reagan Administration fears "another Nicaragua." The US has criticized Pinochet for not managing his affairs with the proper smoothness. He has alienated even bourgeois conservative forces with "his excessive use of force." With the usual paternalism the US State Department played its God role in Latin America: "We want them to take some constructive steps to help themselves before it is too late for us to help them." (New York Times, 12/2/84)

AFL-CIO BUREAUCRATS LEND LABOR'S NAME TO OCCUPATION OF GRENADA

The Republican Institute contributed \$20,000 to election campaigning in Grenada. The American Institute for Free Labor Development also put in "\$6,000 to 7,000."

The Free Trade Union Institute has allocated more than \$80,000 to the "central labor movement" in Grenada to train the people of Grenada in its future as US neo-colony.

This activity helps the US government to coopt the laborers of Grenada. It is no secret that the US has sent psychological manipulation teams to Grenada to manufacture a political atmosphere favorable to the election and maintenance of a US puppet regime. The US's implicit endorsement went to the New

York Times, 12/2/84) Not surprisingly, the US manufactured a "landslide victory" in the election.

US dominance of Grenada is so important as an example to the world that the US has spent over \$51 million in "assistance" to Grenada. That includes \$19 million for Grenada's airport--now that it's in US hands, \$4.4 million of Agency for International Development money for a mental hospital to replace the one the US bombed in the invasion and \$2.5 million to train management in its job controlling labor. Canada chipped in with \$5 million for a cocoa program and the European Development Bank has loaned \$2.5 million for electric generators. (San Francisco Chronicle, 10/31/84, C5) The US invasion has cleared the way for a massive export of capital from the US imperialist bloc to its new hostage--Grenada.

ISRAELI BOMB PALESTINIANS

Israeli planes bombed supposed Palestinian bases killing five Palestinians and two Lebanese in the Bekaa Valley. (Chicago Tribune, 11/28/84) The Bekaa valley is held by the Syrians and their factional allies of the PLD. The Soviets ran anti-aircraft missile batteries there.

The attack is also significant because it targeted the pro-Syrian PLD at the same time that the Western press has been rebuilding Arafat's image as the leader of the PLD. The PLD's National Council meeting supposedly gave Arafat a decisive victory over pro-Syrian PLD factions.

As usual another year of Israeli genocide against the Palestinians was rewarded by Washington. Israel, the largest recipient of foreign aid receives about 37% of US foreign aid or approximately \$900 per person. For fiscal 1985 the US has already plunked down \$1.2 billion. A total of at least \$2.6 billion is due. (Christian Science Monitor, 12/3/84, 8)

US SINKS CLAWS INTO CHINA

Since 1979, the US has made \$9 billion in direct investments in the People's Republic of China. This is \$2 billion more than China planned according to Beijing Review boasts. (Beijing Review, 11/19/84, 9)

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RECORD NUMBER OF US BANKS IN TROUBLE; NEED WAR FOR BUSINESS

Despite a two year upturn in the economy, 797 banks require government supervision. The number was only 335 in the 1973-75 recession. (New York Times, 10/20/84, 19)

The federal government recently forced two major banks--Bank of America and First National of Chicago to recall some loans and adopt tougher loan policies. The fact that this was done publicly scares some bankers who are "worried about the public's perception of the seriousness of the problem." (New York Times, "Bankers Fear Effects of Regulators' Moves, 11/17/84)

Although the bankers are afraid, they clearly have no constructive solutions themselves so they are all going along with government's pressure to make fewer loans. The bankers know that the US government acts in their overall class interests. For instance, the US government opened up China to US credits and US investments. Even now, on Reagan's trip to China he said "I'll go as a salesman, doing everything I can up to the point of putting a 'Buy America' sticker on my bag." This kind of business in the Third World is an excellent chance

for the multinational corporations and the banks that do the financing to suck profits out of the Third World. The solvency of the US bank system also prevents a massive Depression that would undermine the US government. The banks and government need each other. That is why they cooperate in regulating each other.

The banking practices hardest to regulate involve bank loans to Third World countries. Obviously, inside the US, banks have legal recourse when loans are not paid, but overseas it is not in the interest of US multinational banks to let governments go bankrupt. Indeed, the US banks have an interest in the economic well-being and political stability of the governments that they have made so many loans to. They are counting on the various Latin American governments, for instance. Ultimately the banks must count on the US government to keep such countries in line through war and the promise of further loans to stay in the US bloc and out of the Soviet bloc. They are so dependent on the profits off of foreign loans that they often do not expect to receive their money back on loans--only interest payments.

Bank America, First Chicago, Continental Illinois, Citicorp, Chemical, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, Morgan Guaranty and Bankers Trust have loans out to Latin America totaling \$54 billion. "That represents a disturbing 157% of the banks capital." (Time, 12/3/84, 59) Especially after the 1973 oil crisis, Third World countries were reeling economically. "Banks argue that their foreign loans were encouraged by officials at the US Treasury and Federal Reserve. They feared that developing countries would become economically and politically unstable if credit was denied." (Ibid.)

However, even increasing investments in the Third World are barely keeping the banking system afloat. 71 banks have failed in 1984 so far. That's the most since at least 1977. (Ibid., 48) These failures are actually part of the policy of the US Government which is trying to weed out weak banks. Deregulation, however, has only worsened the competition amongst banks: "As they became free of much federal regulation, banks began engaging in suicidal price wars." (Ibid.) Such competition drives banks to make loans to foreign countries; even though this means implicit reliance on US military force should repayment of loans not be forthcoming. One former vice-president remembers the day he and others decided not to make a loan to Denmark. "Next day, however, a competitor stepped in to make the

loan." "Within several months," "the resistance of my bank colleagues to sovereign lending gave way." (Ibid., 49)

The US government is becoming all the more desperate to find new sources of profits in US business. The biggest untapped source is the Soviet bloc. The banking system problems compell the US to go to war to open up and take away part of the Soviet bloc for US business.

YALE DIVESTS FROM THREE FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Yale University was forced to divest \$4.1 million worth of stock in US companies that operate in apartheid South Africa. The three companies Freuhauf International Ltd., Black & Decker Manufacturing Co, and Adachi refused to even describe what they were doing in South Africa. They even refused to sign the Sullivan Principles, which are a figleaf set of guidelines that certify that a US company does not segregate its facilities and discriminate in salaries. (See NYU lit. list on South Africa.)

The ivory-tower has been rocked for the 1st year by the actions of thousands of students protesting Yale's investment in apartheid. That turmoil also broke out amongst kitchen workers this fall. A strike by kitchen workers has left Yale without food services. Undoubtedly, Yale officials fear the joint worker-student action that was so effective in shutting down universities in the 60s.

SAN FRANCISCO ANTI-INTERVENTION RALLY ATTACKED BY POLICE

Over twenty people were arrested during a demonstration on November 8th against Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to protest US imperialism's plan to invade Central America. The pigs even attacked camera crews from the major television stations. One cameraman said, "it was frightening." But how else can the agents of the ruling class cover up their actions and satisfy their masters who are trying to escalate their war in Central America?

In their escalating war by proxy with the Soviet social-imperialists, US reactionaries have no choice but to stifle dissent. Like the "Clash" says, anybody who thinks there is "freedom of speech" in this country should "actually try it." Progressive people in the anti-intervention movement should unite to work against US involvement and war in the whole world because we can not solve the problem of US imperialism in Central America without overthrowing the pigs and their masters.

ANN ARBOR YOUTH STAGE RUNNING DIE-IN AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

What started as a run-of-the-mill die-in turned into an advanced action against nuclear war on Wednesday, November 21st. High school and college youth, including a contingent of punks marched around the University of Michigan chanting "1, 2, 3, 4 We Don't Want Your Fucking War!" Later when police tried to break up the die-in at a traffic intersection the rejoinder "5, 6 7, 8 We Don't Want Your Fascist State!" was added.

The Peaceniks in the crowd sang "Give Peace a Chance," but when the police pulled out their clubs the demonstration ran from intersection to intersection in Ann Arbor disrupting traffic and chanting the whole way. The faster the three police chased the faster the youth disrupted traffic and spread their message "Hell No, We Won't Glow!" So although the group had the 60s idealism of the chant "Make Love, Not War!", it also had the savvy to run from police rather than turning the other cheek to be clubbed.

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Still, police singled out a major organizer of the event for arrest. Even then, the crowd was advanced enough to surround the police and shout "Let Him Go!" in unison. The police were clearly afraid they had provoked a violent demonstration, but there was no violence and police scurried out of the situation and made their arrest. They arrested one other later.

150 participated in the strongest part of the running march through the streets of Ann Arbor. 35 copies of MIM NOTES no. 6 on the war in Nicaragua were sold to bystanders and participants. The RCP, its youth group the RCYB and its sympathizers also played a strong and positive role in explaining why to run from police and the seriousness of the situation in Nicaragua. (For criticisms of the RCP, see the MIM lit. list.)

WHY THE US IS ESCALATING FROM "SECRET" WAR TO OPEN WAR AGAINST NICARAGUA--EDITORIAL

The US has made plans to bomb, quarantine and/or invade Nicaragua in the first place to counter the Soviet social-imperialists' "interests" in Central and Latin America. The pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban elements of the Sandinista government are a direct threat to US control in its "backyard."

Several US companies still make super-profits in Nicaragua. They are in "unfriendly" territory and aware of the threat posed to them. Bank of America, Texaco, IBM, Quaker, Monsanto, Nabisco, Colgate-Palmolive and Chevron all have immediate interests in Nicaragua. A San Francisco radio station also announced that Bechtel Corporation (the Reagan Cabinet) has had plans in the works since 1976 to build a canal through Nicaragua to replace the outmoded Panama Canal.

Central America is really oil in the US war machine. It provided the path to an easy victory in Grenada. Nicaragua, should it be invaded has a population about one twentieth that of Vietnam. Thus Central America is like practice in the "backyard" for US imperialism. It is a chance to hypocritically complain about Soviet maneuvers for domination; to argue that US economic interests are at stake; to whip up racist-colonialist sentiments against Third World peoples who supposedly need US help in government. Above all it is a place to show that America can "stand tall" and "prevail"--meaning win and set an example to other Third World countries. The US will try to straighten out its bloc as much as it can before going into direct and more intense war with Soviet social-imperialism. Another defeat in Central America would be a real blow to the US imperialists' larger ambitions in Europe and the Mideast.

However, we can not have the illusion that vigils, petitioning Congress and other reformist tactics will be enough to overcome an aggressor determined to redivide the world. Our strategy must have an international perspective. Only through solidarity with the people of the world and by challenging this whole system will we have the power to overcome imperialism and world war.

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MJM NOTES

An Unofficial Forum of the
Maolist Internationalist Movement

1/12/85
no. 8

BLACKS HIT US-SOUTH AFRICA

KENNEDY EXPOSED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Azanian People's Organization led demonstrations in South Africa that exposed Sen. Edward Kennedy. Chanting "Kennedy, go home!", the APO said that Kennedy "must be informed that the oppressed blacks of Azania are not his ticket to the presidency and that our enemy includes the imperialists of the United States." (Detroit Free Press, 1/6/85, -6A)

The South African regime, which does not tolerate political activity by Blacks sent police to physically attack and arrest the demonstrators; even though, Prime Minister Botha says that he and Kennedy are in hopeless disagreement.

The fundamental unity between the US Government including Kennedy and the apartheid regime became readily apparent through the actions of the Black demonstrators. Unfortunately, Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu chose to play the role of mediator and negotiator for the Black people by apologizing to Kennedy for the Black people: "We are sorry that you may discover that those of our community who have disagreed with the invitation we made to you will indicate their opposition. I am sorry." (Ibid.) Tutu has a part to play in his country's liberation, but as a leader he has served as a tool of Kennedy and the West.

SECRET US TROOPS IN COMBAT IN CENTRAL AMERICA

US troops secretly fly missions in Nicaragua and Honduras transporting armed troops, including wounded ones--most likely Nicaraguan Contras. The father of one Warrant Officer Donald Alvey was told "if he ever failed to return from one of those missions, the Army already had a story to make up for his and his crew's disappearance." (Detroit Free Press, 12/16/84) Don died in 1983 in a supposed helicopter crash off the coast of Virginia.

US officials have already acknowledged that the CIA directed attacks on oil pipelines and storage tanks in Nicaragua. Don Alvey may have crashed while training in piranha boats--the same type used in the CIA raid.

Troops like Don give the Army permission to make up stories about their death. Survivors either claim they don't know anything or that what they know is top-secret. "I don't want to go to jail," said one survivor obviously aware of the military's power to discipline him.

The troops are equipped with bribe money in case they crash, unofficial weapons, no uniforms, only civilian clothes, a credit card and explosives to blow up their vehicles. If they get in trouble, the US Government leaves the troops on their own rather than acknowledge embarrassing secret operations.

The emphasis on secrecy occurs because the government does not want to stir up public opinion, especially by violating the War Powers Act, which requires a declaration of war for prolonged combat activities. One high ranking Defense official said "It would not be unusual for things to be done that I would not know about." Reagan himself is cagey. He says "we are complying with the law." Still he admits a US role in disrupting "supply lines which are supplying the guerrillas in El Salvador." (1/12/85)

US SPENDS \$40 MILLION ON YACHT RACE

The Pentagon, NASA and MIT professors are building the yacht that the US hopes to regain the America's Cup that Australia won in an upset in 1983. The \$40 million is justified by patriotism: "It's up to the people of this nation, a matter of national pride" said the director of a NY yacht club coughing up \$12 million. "By God, if anybody can do it, we Americans can." (Ann Arbor News, 12/9/84, B1) Nothing better demonstrates the ridiculous lengths--even manipulating "amateur" sports--the upper classes will go to evoke patriotism. The Pentagon, NASA and yachting millionaires all have an interest in rallying the people to their side with spectacles like the yachting race. They hope the masses of people will not notice what priorities this country has.

\$10,000 WOULD HAVE AVERTED ETHIOPIA FAMINE

Daspalus Enterprises president Alan Parker said that its corporation used multispectral scanners to detect underground water reservoirs five years ago in Libya. He blamed the African region including Ethiopia for lack of \$10,000, political stability and awareness of the technology that could have discovered water and prevented Ethiopia's drought. What the corporate head proves is that multinational corporations are to blame for the famine. (Ann Arbor News, 12/9/84, 1)

ETHIOPIAN REGIME STARVING OUT REBEL AREAS

The Ethiopian regime is not allowing food aid to reach the Tigre or Eritree--two countries fighting a war of liberation against Ethiopian military domination. According to relief agency Grassroots International and the Wall Street Journal, Ethiopia is trying to starve out the people of the two countries to drain their support for the guerrillas. The Tigre People's Liberation Front said 1,500 people die a day in the Tigre from starvation. (USA Today, 12/12/84, 5A) ("US to Increase Secret Food Aid for Ethiopians," Wall Street Journal, 12/17/84) Rather than panic its already shallow support, the Ethiopian regime does not even admit that Eritrea and the Tigre have independent guerrilla forces with base areas outside Ethiopian control. "These attacks are just the work of scattered groups of bandits or terrorists." "We can reach any village we want." (Christian Science Monitor, 1/4/85) In reality, the EPLF--Eritrean People's Liberation Front--controls 80% of Eritrea and the desperate Ethiopian regime uses napalm and cluster bombs on crops and livestock to leave a "scorched earth." The Ethiopian Dergue's desperation is underscored by its loss of a food aid camp to rebels. The Eritreans have a history of fighting both US-backed and now Soviet-backed regimes in Ethiopia. The Soviets have bombed the Eritreans from the sea and air. Their reality tears to pieces the idea that it is impossible to fight both Soviet social-imperialism and US imperialism even in the face of famine.

COLLEGE BOARDS PREP BOOKS TEACH BOURGEOIS CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS
"56. The usefulness of the United Nations is threatened

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Meanwhile, the steel operation is relatively neglected and runs at 53% of capacity. (New York Times, 10/31/84, Business section)

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (ICA) 41% "EFFECTIVE"

The ICA collects money for various charity efforts. Only 41% of the money goes to charity projects though. The rest goes to administration and advertizing costs and evangelical and religious programs. (New York Times, 1/11/85)

While the group has sent out pamphlets on Ethiopia to solicit funds, it has not sent one cent of aid to Ethiopia or groups working there. (Ibid.) Unfortunately, charities that are not run by the victimized themselves are at best inefficient, hopefully not outright fraudulent and in most cases destructive in creating dependency power relations especially of one country over another.

CHINA STILL REVISIONIST

Reports in the Western press that China has openly and honestly given up Marxism even in words and not just action are greatly exaggerated. (For example, Detroit News "China Rejects Marxism as 'Obsolete.'") There may be a campaign going on within the Chinese Communist Party to give up Marxism, but to see the conflict one would have to read between the lines of official statements like "we can not expect the works of Marx and Lenin at that time to provide solutions to our current problems." Another example is Marxism is "far from enough" to solve China's problems. "The major problem that classical Marxism sought to solve was the problem of socialist revolution, but the major problem we wish to solve is the problem of socialist construction." (Christian Science Monitor, 12/31/84, 2) We wish these honest authors campaigning for the repudiation of Marxism luck, but for now, the latest Chinese press releases state nothing but the usual polemics against "dogmatism" and "ultraleftism." (See MIM lit. list for books on how China abandoned Marxism in practice but not in words with the revisionist coup in 1976.)

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MIM NOTES

2/23/85
no. 9

An Unofficial Forum of the
Maoist Internationalist Movement

ETHIOPIA FEEDS ARMY

ETHIOPIAN REGIME STARVES PEOPLE; DIRECTS RESOURCES TO
COLONIZING ERITREA, TIGRE

The Soviet-backed and nominally Marxist-Leninist Ethiopian regime finally admitted a famine situation to its public. Announcing a "famine tax" and other equally dubious measures for an already war-devastated economy, the Dergue's austerity program includes domestic substitution for imports and a fuel rationing program. (Christian Science Monitor, 2/11/85, p. 2, 2/13/85, p. 10)

At the same time, the Dergue recently forcibly conscripted another 40 to 50,000 youth for the army--20,000 of which are deployed against Ethiopia's struggling colony--Eritrea--according to the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The Dergue has drafted 300,000 men in a country where the labor force is only 13.2 million. By its own figures, 25% of the Ethiopian budget goes to the military. Other figures put the military portion at at least 50%. (Addis, Aug. 1984, 7, 8)

Arms purchases have made Ethiopia dependent on the Soviet Union. The debt to Eastern bloc countries is over \$5 billion. Other debts total \$646 million. (Ibid.) According to the EPLF, Ethiopia spends 700 to 900 million dollars a year on military excursions.

Ethiopia's conditions have suffered. Aside from the famine, official figures put education at 3.2% and health at 1.3% of the Ethiopian budget. Sub-Saharan Africa averages a physician for every 12,187 people. Ethiopia averages one for 58,490 people. Infant mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa averages 117.6 per thousand. In Ethiopia, despite a supposed Marxist-Leninist Revolution started in 1974, the infant mortality is 145.1. (Ibid.)

In Africa Now, July 1984, Ethiopia's Chief Commissioner of Relief and Rehabilitation, Major Darwit W. Giorgie was interviewed. He let out that "about 5 million people face starvation because of the drought," but "the Soviet comrades, operating from their barrack-like quarters in Addis Ababa, [Ethiopia's capital] have been flying meat and vegetables regularly from Ethiopia to Moscow." (Ibid., 18)

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Meanwhile, what food flows into the country from donors often ends up in the hands of troops fighting to colonize Eritrea and the Tigre. A German delegation found that foods delivered by the European Economic Community ended up in the hands of troops fighting in Eritrea. The German parliament delegates were able to photograph butteroil tins from the EEC in Ethiopian military depots recently liberated by the EPLF. They also photographed Soviet bombshells dropped in Eritrea. (Addis, vol. 1, 13)

Overall, "according to one senior relief official who asked not to be identified, only about one-third of the food arriving in Ethiopia is getting to the camps for famine victims." (New York Times, 2/18/85, 6) The Ethiopian government even confiscates food headed for the Sudan, where many Ethiopian refugees from colonized areas are in need. Finally, what food gets in the hands of famine victims may be at the cost of the splitting of families and resettlement out of areas where rebels are active according to the International Committee of the Red Cross. (*Ibid.*) Only very young and very old people are left in northern areas. The regime is moving 1.5 million people. (*Ibid.*)

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ETHIOPIA EXECUTES CAPTIVES

On January 9th and 10th, the Ethiopian government executed 27 EPLF prisoners. The EPLF holds several thousand Ethiopians in good health and periodically releases Ethiopians, who have been shown the reality of the justice of the Eritrean struggle.

EPLF CRITICIZES PLO PARLIAMENTARISM

Asked whether he believes in the establishment of institutions like the PLO, the Vice Secretary General of the EPLF said the EPLF rejected "the experience of the Palestinian National Council." "Effective authority lies in the hands of individuals who do as they wish; and we do not wish to have a formal parliament outside which decisions are made." (Adulis, vol. 1, 19) The EPLF thus criticizes the PLO as an unprincipled coalition. The EPLF has a centralized and disciplined organization that fights as one.

In response to criticisms of this position, one Palestinian wrote to defend the EPLF. "I certainly believe that the Palestinian experience is the property of all free men the world over as well as all those interested in the Palestinian revolution; and anyone can present his views and, thereby, participate in the solution of the problems of the Palestinian revolution." (*Ibid.*) Jawad Hassan does not ask for cheerleaders for the PLO. He has recognized the duty of all to criticize and contribute to the Palestinian revolution. To support blind phrasemongering for the PLO is to promote political ignorance and naivete amongst the masses and to bring about political demoralization in difficult times such as now exist for the PLO.

ISRAEL ATTEMPTS TO USE AFRICANS AGAINST PALESTINIANS

Taking advantage of the plight of the Ethiopian people, Israel has airlifted 10,000 Ethiopian Jews out of the Sudan. Controversial in the first place because the airlift amounted to kidnapping with the Ethiopian regime's tacit approval, the airlift ended with vigorous Ethiopian complaints once the international media started to report the secret airlift.

Where did these Ethiopian Jews end up? Hundreds went to "the Kiryat Arba settlement outside Hebron in the West Bank." (New York Times, 1/19/85, 1)

The West Bank is occupied by an Israeli minority. It is a major arena for brutal US/Zionist repression of Palestinians. Not a few observers have compared the situation to the so-called homelands in South Africa for Blacks set up by the white minority regime.

The Ethiopian Jews have been airlifted from starvation and placed in one of the political hotspots of the world. "Out of the fire and into the frying pan?" Maybe. There can be no doubt though as to yet another scheme for neo-colonialism covered up with so-called humanitarian motivations. The Ethiopians are being used for Zionist expansion and to divide the people of the Middle-East and Africa in

ISRAEL TERRORIZES THREE LEBANESE VILLAGES

In response to the rebellion of Shiite Muslims against Israeli occupation, the Israeli army has rounded up men in three villages in Lebanon for interrogation and unknown treatment. Eight people in Arab Salim were killed. Israel also levelled 13 houses. 150 armored vehicles were involved in an attack on Deir Kanun. Other reports described helicopter gunships and tanks, which were bombing the villages. The full extent of this renewed invasion of Lebanon for the subjection of the Lebanese people to US/Israeli imperialism is not known at this time. (New York Times, 2/22/85) In any case, the atrocities against the Lebanese and the resistance of the Lebanese destroys the myth that the 1982 invasion of Lebanon aimed merely at the expulsion of the PLO.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE MURDER ANOTHER 23 IN EVICTIONS

The apartheid regime killed 23 in an effort to evict Black squatters from white urban areas. (New York Times, 2/22/85, 5) The 80% Black population of South Africa is only allowed on the 13% of the land--the so-called homelands--unless they have permits to work in the white areas. Often only male wage-earners are allowed to live in the white areas and in company housing. Their families often follow their husbands toward the urban areas and set up shacks in squatter towns.

SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES REPRESSION OF BLACK POLITICIANS

Seven activists of the United Democratic Front are charged with treason. The United Democratic Front protested changes in the South African Constitution that reinforced Black non-citizenship in the country.

At about the same time, Nobel Peace Prize winner Nelson Mandela decided to stay in prison rather than accede to terms for his release dictated by the apartheid regime. Mandela appears to favor armed struggle. However, Mandela is actually part of that reformist wing of the ANC that would call a truce if the apartheid regime would "legalize us, treat us like a political party, and negotiate with us. Until they do, we will have to live with the armed struggle." (Christian Science Monitor, 1/29/85, 1) Unfortunately, the ANC often treats armed struggle as a way to the bargaining table, not a means of genuine liberation from colonial rule.

US "ECONOMIC AID" TO EL SALVADOR A COVER FOR MILITARY AID

A congressional investigation led by Senator Mark Hatfield has disclosed that contrary to Congressional appropriations, [read appropriations for media consumption] most of US aid to the Salvadoran junta has been military. Three-quarters of \$1.7 billion in aid to the Salvadoran regime since 1980 was supposed to be so-called economic aid. In reality, only 15% of the money went to economic aid. (New York Times, 2/12/85, 1) Our more sophisticated readers will recognize that the US's propping up of the Salvadoran economy is only intended to legitimize the Salvadoran regime and to buy off the Salvadoran people. This may be cheaper than shooting people sometimes; although, corruption guarantees that the regime leaders pockets most of the so-called economic aid.

The Congress also pointed out that it is Americans who are running the bombing missions in El Salvador by selecting targets and maintaining advanced equipment. Demonstrating the strategic problems the US Congress has fighting Reagan-style, the Congress documented that a high profile request by Reagan last year for \$93 million emergency aid was unnecessary. The report did not say that the aid was illegitimate, only that the Salvadoran army was well-supplied and had access to \$32 million to make further purchases should the need arise. Rather than claim that no advisers should be in El Salvador to help bomb the Salvadoran people, the Congressional Report claimed that Reagan had twice as many as approved by the Congress. (Ibid.)

to buy off the Salvadoran people. Hatfield claims that Reagan used false information to justify the Reagan strategy for the Vietnam-like situation in El Salvador. This kind of factional struggle amongst the US imperialists is a good sign that the struggle in El Salvador is going well.

Current aid to El Salvador is supposed to be \$325 million in economic aid and \$128 million in military aid. Reagan is proposing an increase of \$100 million in economic aid. He wants a total of \$200 million in military aid. (New York Times, 1/19/85, 1)

NAPOLEAN DUARTE'S HANDS TIED; EVEN REFORM IMPOSSIBLE IN SALVADOR

With a sluggish economy, land reforms at a standstill and no control in the National Assembly where the rightist faction of the regime has a majority, Napoleon Duarte has done little to earn even the title of figleaf for exploitation in El Salvador. Rumors reported in American papers and protested by Duarte say that American officials favor the ultraright in the upcoming elections for the National Assembly. It also seems likely that the ultraright will expand its majority in the Assembly. (Christian Science Monitor, 2/15/85) One Christian Democrat official admits that Duarte does not have control of the Assembly, media, economy, judiciary or military where the ultraright has power. The same official demonstrates that he is either a fool or a cunning tool. "The right has controlled everything." "They have vetoed every piece of legislation by Duarte that could be considered progressive." (Ibid.)

Duarte had to abandon any talks with the Salvadoran rebels (FMLN) because of divisions within his own government. (Christian Science Monitor, 1/25/85) The US appears to have given the rightist generals the signal to end the talks. (Christian Science Monitor, 1/18/85, 1) This paralysis discredits the supposedly moderate regime; emboldens the rightists to abandon the facade of democracy and gives the guerrillas an opportunity to take advantage of.

REAGAN CALLS FOR REMOVAL OF SANDINISTA REGIME

President Reagan went on television to explain his Central America policy. He said that his goal was to "remove" the "present structure" of Nicaragua. Calling the terrorist contras "brothers," Reagan asked Congress for another \$14 million to overthrow the Sandinista government. (New York Times, 2/22/85, 1)

CONGRESS APPROPRIATES 95% OF REAGAN MILITARY REQUESTS

How does Reagan succeed in pushing through his record military buildup? The Democratic Congress gives it to him, minus 5% which everybody recognizes as padding. This year Defense Secretary focussed on a sham \$8 billion dollar defense cut from figures proposed by Reagan. The \$8 billion concession preserved the myth that the Democrats differ from the Republicans while covering up the fact that military spending still increased over \$30 billion. The \$8 billion haggling with Weinberger dominated the front pages for weeks, thus making all involved appear reasonable. Meanwhile, in five years from 1981 to 1985, Congress appropriated 1.1742 trillion dollars for the military. Congress averaged 95% of Reagan's requests in the five years. (Christian Science Monitor, 2/15/85, 4)

REAGAN TO SET UP STAR WARS NO MATTER WHAT

The cost of Star Wars will be at least \$70 to 100 billion by 1993. The amount the militarists are willing to tax the masses for and the insistence that even bilateral disarmament would not deter them from building the Star Wars weapons demonstrates the absolute necessity the capitalists must face in preparing for war. This necessity compels the capitalists to tell the skeptical public that it will ram Star Wars down its throat and nothing will stop them. (New York Times, 2/12/85, 1, 10)

UNION CARBIDE EXPOSES CAPITALISM AT BHOPAL

The Indian Government has conducted an investigation of the gas leak on Dec. 3rd, 1984 that left over 1,400 dead, 170,000 injured and five more dead each week from after-effects. First, despite knowledge of the potential danger to the public, Union Carbide took no precautions to evacuate or alert the public in case of accident. Secondly, six leaky valve accidents occurred at Bhopal between 1978 and 1982--one resulting in death. Thirdly, one refrigeration safety system had been shut off before the accident. Other safety equipment to deal with excess gas would have been inadequate even if it were functional. (Time, 2/18/85, 78)

Such accidents are the rule for capitalism. In 1974 in the US, occupational hazards brought about over 100,000 deaths--more than 5 times the number of murders that year. This does not include the total contribution of pollution to public mortality.

Under socialist planning the public does not suffer under capitalist safety procedures. Safety is incorporated into production as a value of that production. This may involve bureaucrats to implement the plan, since the masses may not run production completely for themselves immediately the day after capitalism is overthrown. However, rather these bureaucrats that plan to prevent catastrophes than the ambulance-chasing lawyers who survive because there are such accidents. Certainly the people of Bhopal deserve Union Carbide's billions--otherwise Union Carbide will make a profit out of the accident. Still, the legal suits filed one at a time for every industrial accident are a bandaid approach at best.

CHINESE CAPITALIST FINANCE DEVELOPS

So-called Communist China put its consumers on the installment plan last week and on January 14th also allowed the first stock sale since 1949. 20,000 people bought shares in Yanzhong Industrial Corp. which sells at \$18 a share and gives a 13% dividend. Savings deposits earn 5.75%. (Time, 2/25/85, 69)

MIM REACHES INTO THE BELLY OF THE BEAST

MIM's existence has been greeted with the greatest thirst by revolutionary prisoners across the country. MIM has sent out many different books to many different comrades. A copy of George Jackson's prison letters, 4 copies of Mao's red book, 3 Selected Readings from the Works of Mao, 2 Marx-Engels Readers, Mao on Literature and Art, 3 Mao anthologies, one essential works of Lenin, a copy of Weatherman and 2 copies of Chairman Mao Talks to the People.

Here are some excerpts from comrades in prison with the region they're from noted after the quote. Each excerpt is from a different prisoner. Most of the prisoners note harassment and some request legal aid. All request literature. Donations of money or even used classics by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao, George Jackson and Frantz Fanon would be appreciated. We should try to do more to reach into the prisons.

"There are comrades here that are interested in the histories of China, the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua and other countries, my self among them, and especially China during its Cultural Revolution." N.East

"Brothers and Sisters of the Maoist Internationalist Movement, revolutionary greetings. I am incarcerated deep in the belly of the fascist hole, if you send prisoners free literature would you please send me the complete works of Mao or George Jackson or Franz Fanon. I would really like to have Wretched of the Earth by Fanon." Mid-West

"I found out about your group and would like to hear more and even maybe join. Since I'm a Muslim, a Black-man, Young Rebellious against enemy forces. My life is in danger because of the elements of oppression which are always around you in prison. But yet it was a prison outside. The imperialist fascists are exploiting the poor and oppressed in Africa and Asia and South America and at home. Our job is to destroy the insect dictators. Please keep in touch." N.East

"Seems to this old revolutionary that almost all new parties are Trotskyists in the 1980s." N.East

"I'm also critical of the adventurism and romanticism displayed in Weatherman by Bernardine Dohrn. I'm also critical of Bernardine Dohrne's extolments of Charlie Manson's criminal activities as being revolutionary in nature. . . I'm also critical of most mother country radicals because most of them have problems effecting or accepting the physical neutralization of our adversaries. . . Mother country radicals (the vast majority) must come to terms with the prospects of death and captivity. . . A people with fear cannot triumph over a brutal enemy." N.East

"I am a P.D.W. . . . presently confined in one of the special deprivation units." N.East

"Mao's book was well received and enjoyed. As is usual when reading one of his books I was impressed with the simplicity with which the man wrote. He wanted everyone to understand what he was saying, wanted them to understand what the revolution was striving for. I also agree with the importance he placed on education, which is necessary to overcome so many social disorders." Mid-West

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MIM NOTES

3/21

no. 10

An Unofficial Forum of the
Maoist Internationalist Movement

REMEMBER SHARPEVILLE!

APARTHEID REGIME SHAKING; FEARFUL OF DIVESTMENT

In an attempt to save capitalism in South Africa, the business community is calling for the apparent dismantling of apartheid. The American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa now advocates the abolition of pass laws that require the 80% Black population of South Africa to carry identity cards and to live outside the urban areas. The Chamber of Commerce also criticized the forced resettlement of Blacks to so-called homelands, which are reservations of the worst land in South Africa constructed as dumping grounds for Blacks not working in the white cities and mines. (Christian Science Monitor, 3/19/85, 12)

Meanwhile a coalition of 80% of South African industry, mining and commerce called on Botha to lead South Africa with a "visible expression" of long-promised reforms for blacks. It said this would have a "positive impact" on overseas opinion and the divestment debate in the US. Thus, business in South Africa has shown a remarkably public fear of US withdrawal of investments. (Ibid.)

According to the Christian Science Monitor, "the strategy of South African businesses, says one official with one of the country's largest companies, is to let US companies do the lobbying in Washington, and to focus local efforts on pressuring the government into faster and more fundamental reform of apartheid." (Ibid.) The South African ruling class demonstrates that it is aware that its lobbying in the US against divestment has backfired. In the past, it had spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in the effort to keep Massachusetts from divesting for example.

So extreme is the pressure, the executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce has resigned in order to take a more active role in lobbying against divestiture. Furthermore, the apartheid regime admits that it must find a more coordinated strategy of communication to oppose divestment. (Ibid.)

Part of the window-dressing effort concerns the government budget. Military spending increased 5% for 1985-86 compared to 23% the year before. Education increased 17%; although, at best one fifth of the education budget goes to the "four million black pupils who make up two-thirds of the country's school population outside the tribes, homelands." (New York Times, 3/19/85, "Pretoria Plans to Cut Arms Spending and Raise Education Budget") Undoubtedly the militant school boycotts have been dysfunctional for the ruling class. Recently, 20,000 students boycotted school in Johannesburg, where six people had been killed. (New York Times, 3/12/85) Hundreds of thousands of students in the very places where they have been massacred over the years--Sharpeville and especially the Soweto area--continue to expose the lie of apartheid.

Over the past 13 months, over 220 people, all but one Black, have been massacred by the police, yet the rebellion

repression does not work even in one of the most efficient fascist states in the world.

ISRAELI OCCUPIERS LOSING

Amal Shiites and even garrisons of the Lebanese Army resisted an Israeli occupation and massacre in a town in Lebanon. 37 Lebanese died in Irariyah. (Chicago Tribune 3/14/85; New York Times 3/12/85)

Pro-Israeli hardliners amongst Gemayel's Christian militia supporters have rebelled to take open action that Gemayel can not as head of the Lebanese puppet government. The Christian hard-liners want to protect their interests without going through Gemayel. Gemayel appears helpless to prevent the actions of his supporters. He may no longer serve the US/Israeli interests.

The Christian reactionaries are on especially thin ice because their Israeli backers are having to pullout of Lebanon sooner than expected. The Israelis have suffered heavy casualties as unwanted occupiers of Lebanon.

IMPERIALIST-BACKED WAR IN MID-EAST SACRIFICES PROLETARIAT

Iranian and Iraqi reactionaries continued their war against each other sacrificing their people in the process. In the latest round of bombs dropped by the two airforces, over 100 people in the cities of the two countries have been killed. (New York Times, 3/12/85) The oppressed are thus forced to bear the cost of the war. Hopefully, the debilitating war will create an opportunity for revolution by the oppressed of the countries against the warmakers.

REAGAN FIGHTING NON-SOVIET NATIONALISTS

Acknowledging the success of the New People's Army in the Phillipines in its struggle against US imperialism and its puppet Marcos regime, Reagan has called for \$275 million in aid for the Phillipines. (New York Times, 3/13/85, 9)

US GOV'T FOR SALE

The Supreme Court ruled on March 18th that money talks. In a 7 to 2 decision the court said that political action committees could spend as much as they like in presidential elections. There had been an unenforced \$1,000 limit. (New York Times, 3/19/85, 1)

Upholding lower court decisions, the Supreme Court said that the \$1,000 limit "is much like allowing a speaker in a public hall to express his views while denying him the use of an amplifying system." (ibid.) Thus, the highest court admits that people with a \$1,000 or less to spend on the presidential election are effectively denied their supposed free speech. At the same time, the amplifying system of the ruling class--by definition those who can rule and have the money to--drowns out all views except those of the people who own the means of communication.

In 1980, the bourgeoisie gave Reagan \$12.2 million against Carter's \$45,000 through political action committees (PACs). In 1984, it was Reagan's \$15.3 million against Mondale's \$621,000. (Ibid.) This is not to mention that neither candidate opposes the property system that denies effective speech to poor people. Nor is this to raise the issue that third parties received only scant funding and media attention.

Each candidate of the two private-property candidates received \$40.4 million of the taxpayers' money. Each also received \$6.9 million from their party committees. (Ibid.) Both candidates were personally millionaires.

It is little wonder that neither candidate attacked private property even remotely. Both supported increasing military expenditures at the expense of the world's poor and hungry. Electoral politics in the US is a game for rich people. The property-less remain disenfranchised.

The National Conservative PAC and the Fund for a Conservative Majority gave Reagan \$5.5 million and \$2.5 million respectively. We ask our reformist and electoral activists: How are you ever going to compete with that?

One must either be a yes-man to millionaires or not participate effectively in electoral politics. The choice of nearly half of the electorate is not even to vote in the debate of the millionaires's clubs.

ABC BOUGHT FOR \$3.5 BILLION

Capital Cities Communications Inc. bought the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC channel 7). (New York Times, 3/19/85, 1) The purchase continues a trend towards the concentration of media resources under one management. An ordinarily boring spate of syndicated papers and radio stations can only continue its self-perpetuating and incestuous tradition with the merger to television. A handful of Big Brother syndicated columnists and reporters are extending their monopoly of communications under ever more central control.

Under socialism, the government as opposed to the corporations decides and attempts to control news reporting within certain bounds. This is not a wonderful arrangement for all time that communists seek. The communists recognize only that political issues should be decided through the application of Mao's mass line. That is to say that the opinions of the masses (as opposed to the corporate executives) are collected up to be reported in centralized fashion. What the media says and what the government does is not a matter of who can spend the most money under socialism. Rather the disenfranchised poor, minorities and women--the working masses mobilize continuously until they succeed in running society in their own interests. With their final victory, the formerly disenfranchised masses will enjoy stateless democracy and freedom because they themselves will be the state. They themselves will have eliminated the classes, nations and

patriarchy that make a repressive apparatus necessary in the first place. Socialism is a transition stage in which the disenfranchised try out one and only one strategy at a time until they liberate all of humanity.

GOV'T OKs ABORTION CLINIC BOMBINGS

FBI boss William Webster said his agency would not investigate harassment of abortion clinics. The Justice Department has said that there have been no civil rights violations in the threatening phone calls, demonstrations and bombings that abortion clinics have received. (Detroit Free Press, 3/13/85, 6a)

The 32 bombings since 1982 are overlooked by the ruling class that is trying to repress women. Abortion is not so much a question of the so-called rights of women against fetuses. Rather the right-to-life movement is a messianistic movement that supports the sexual repression of women and the return of women to the family to raise kids. This is how the ruling class disciplines women for work and terrorizes and disenfranchises women socially and economically.

US TEEN PREGNANCY OVER TWICE THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES

The American patriarchy has succeeded in making abortion necessary through restriction of contraception education. The hypocrites of local school boards denounce sex education and then wonder why teenagers have so many abortions.

Countries with slightly different historical conditions from those in the US--Canada, England, France, Sweden and the Netherlands--have teen pregnancy rates ranging from 14 to 45 per thousand of the 15 to 19-year-olds. In the US, the figure is 96. (Detroit Free Press, 3/13/85, 6a)

In the world's greatest bastion of capitalism and imperialism, it is not surprising that the women's movement has had the greatest obstacles to overcome amongst the Western imperialist countries. Luckily their opponents in the US now face a deteriorating post-WWII hegemony that forces women into economic and political life.

OHIO BANKS GO UNDER

As of Wednesday, March 20th, 71 banks in Ohio had to remain closed for a fifth day. They had experienced a run on their deposits. They are not federally insured, but state insured.

The train of events was triggered by the failure of the home State Savings Bank. (NYT, 3/17/85). The bank failure demonstrates once again that capitalist competition generates crisis. Smaller capitalists fail and are gobbled up by the capitalists with bigger profits. Property falls into the hands of fewer and fewer people or capitalist institutions.

PENTAGON ADMITS PLANS TO BLOCK SUN; FREEZE EARTH

The Pentagon admits that the detonation of existing nuclear

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weapons could cause a "nuclear winter." Smoke and dust from the explosions would block the sun--perhaps for six months by some predictions. Temperatures could drop 75 degrees. (New York Times, 3/2/85, 1)

Human life would be wiped out along with most if not all species. The TTAPS study by scientists including Carl Sagan shows that scientists can make progressive contributions to the understanding of social problems. Communists recognize that there are no guarantees in the struggle against imperialism and militarism. The prospect of "nuclear winter" only increases the responsibility of politically conscious forces.

CHINA REQUIRES SOCIALIST COVER

Deng Xiaoping reined in speculations about an open repudiation of Marxism by the Chinese Communist Party. "There are people who fear that China could become capitalist." "This fear is not without foundation. We must address their concern in deeds, not just empty talk." (New York Times, 3/17/85)

Deng has been forced to admit that economic crimes are so rampant that it was necessary to attack "capitalist thinking." In 1984, \$1.2 billion in crimes turned up in state enterprises. (Ibid.)

Although in actions China is clearly state capitalist already, Deng is required to say that "the ultimate goal is to implement Communism." Genuine communists oppose this socialism in words as "revisionism."

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MEMO NOTES # 12

CIA ADMITS BOMBING ROLE IN BEIRUT; OVER 80 MADE IN USA DEATHS

"A car bombing in a Beirut suburb that killed more than 80 people on March 8 was carried out by people hired by a Lebanese counter-terrorism unit that had been working with the Central Intelligence Agency, Congressional and Administration sources said today." (NYTimes, 5/13/85, A1) The State Department took its standard position of no comment on intelligence matters. The CIA denied its role. (NYTimes, 5/14/85)

The target of the operation escaped. This led to questioning from Senator Patrick Leahy. "It's almost a Keystone Cops type of action. There is nothing to deter terrorists if they see us kind of bumbling around."

The CIA bombing raises several issues. First, who are the real terrorists in Lebanon? The CIA trained one Lebanese group which hired another which attacked another. The CIA had knowledge of the bombing plans. Once completed, Reagan ordered the CIA to cut back its contacts and operations. Thus, the CIA covered its tracks much the way a criminal does.

Secondly, Senator Leahy raises the question of competence. Is the issue here really how well the CIA murders Lebanese people? Rather than questioning the Mid-East role of the US, Leahy and liberals are apt to criticize the inefficiency of the murders.

When the bombing first occurred Lebanese put up a huge sign that said "Made in the USA" over the bombed out space of the building. The US Administration considered pulling out its diplomatic corps at that time because "these things have a funny way of tracing themselves back to us."

PHILIPPINES GETS FASCIST STYLE JUSTICE

Plainclothes police roam the streets of Manila. In the last week they have accused, judged and executed at least 14 people. The government hired thugs are justified as a crackdown on crime. Should there be charges of arbitrary "justice," the police are also assigned to investigate themselves. (NYTimes, 5/13/85, A3)

Meanwhile, Philippine witnesses testified that they saw government troops shoot Aquino—the leader of the bourgeois opposition. Having suspended Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver in connection with the turmoil, dictator Marcos claims that "the Philippines does not want to appear to be the pet dog of any western power." (Iran in Resistance, Jan-Feb. 1985, 11) In other words, since it is the US pushing for a shakeup in connection with the Aquino assassination, Marcos is going to rally nationalism to his side against US attempts to replace or prettify Marcos. As Marcos is increasingly exposed in the murder investigation, he has no choice but to claim communist and American subversion.

DENG'S CHINA MAKES SECRET MILITARY TIES TO ISRAEL

Jane's Defense Weekly revealed that China and Israel have secret military relations and signed agreements worth over \$3 billion. (Iran in Resistance, Jan-Feb. 1985, 11)

China needs the secrecy because of its posturing in favor of the Palestinian cause. Diplomatically, China would be hurt by world opinion if it openly tied itself to Israel.

At the same time, Israel has ties to China's enemy—Taiwan's

government. Although China has softened its stance towards Taiwan in the hope of reunification at the price of leaving Taiwan as it is--a capitalist and independent economy--Taiwan maintains a hard line against China.

ETHIOPIA ADMITS STARVING TIGRAY

A report of the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission admits that 78% of Tigray's people receive no relief aid because they are beyond the reach of the Ethiopian government. Tigray is a colony of Ethiopia. The Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) controls areas that the Ethiopian government wishes to starve out or ignore. (Addis, March 1985, 13)

Money to aid 1.5 million drought-affected people unreached by the Ethiopian regime in Eritrea, which is another Ethiopian colony bordering the Tigray, can be sent to:
ERITREAN RELIEF COMM., INC., PO BOX 1180, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NY, NY 10163. Donors should also send us news of their donation so that we might publish the anonymous results of the campaign to aid the Eritreans. Donations are tax-deductible.

GM AND CHRYSLER BEAT THE JAPANESE ADVANTAGE

"If you can't beat 'em, join 'em." When profits are at stake, the corporations push for tariffs and employee and consumer loyalty. When the capitalists can not win this way, they can try to invest in the winners.

A threatening Chrysler lobbyist explained to the House Ways and Means Committee: "Up to this moment, Chrysler has been advocating a freeze for ourselves and other importers of Japanese vehicles at current levels. However, given the running rules dictated by GM and the administration, it is now clear that Chrysler will have to make the hard choice of adopting a parallel "Far East strategy" of its own. It's apparent to us that GM wants a lion's share of the auto trade deficit. Well, I'm here to say that Chrysler is forced to demand its share of the trade deficit, too." Now Chrysler is not demanding tariff protection against Japanese imports. It just wants a share of the car part imports. By importing Japanese parts and putting an American label on them, the Americans can share in the exploitation of Japanese and other foreign labor. Chrysler need not "save American jobs" to make a profit.

PHILADELPHIA POLICE FIREBOMB 60 HOUSES

Using what they called an "incendiary device," Philadelphia police attacked a house of an apparently armed group called MOVE. The fire spread to up to 60 houses in the neighborhood.

Why did the Philadelphia police start a shootout and then bomb the MOVE group? "A number of neighbors complained that the house is infested with rats and roaches. Some nearby residents alleged that members of the group have beaten several neighbors. The neighborhood's anger was aggravated last year when MOVE members blocked residents' access to an alley behind their house by building an animal shelter." (NYTimes, 5/14/85, A1, A16) The neighbors also mentioned electric bullhorns and political lectures from the MOVE group as disturbing. Other than this, the mayor gave no real reason to evict the group, not to mention bomb it. The mayor said the group was bent

on violent confrontation, but did not say that the house members had engaged in violence before the police shootout and bombing; although, the media harped on the death of a policeman involving different MOVE members in 1978 in a similar (but undetailed in the media) shootout. An assistant to a city councilman who took part in the police raid justified the bombing by saying "they've said they're willing to die for whatever happens." Furthermore, "this is a group of people whose philosophy is based on conflict and confrontation." (Ibid., A16)

The lying rationalizations came to be exposed when police simultaneously raided another MOVE home in Chester, PA. One woman and six children were taken into custody. USA Today did not find it necessary to give any reason for the bargaining and arrest of the second MOVE home. (USA Today, 5/14/85, 1)

The same neighbors who were cited as rationalization for the Philadelphia bombing had second thoughts. Indeed, bystanders witnessing the assault chanted "Murderers!" while the police carried out their operations. Others complained "It's not fair for the whole neighborhood to be destroyed." "This is a travesty." "This is not what we expected when we elected Wilson Goode mayor--bombs, houses burning." (USA Today, 5/14/85, 3A) 60 homes were completely ruined by the bomb.

ADDENDUM: The New York Times backed off its description of the bomb as an "incendiary device" and left open the nature of the weapon. (p. B9) It still at least said that the bomb caused the fire, despite convenient rumors that arose after the fire that the MOVE group poured gasoline on its house or stored gas on the roof.

So far six dead bodies have been found. At least two were children. At least three were in the basement of the building. (USA Today, 5/15/85, 1) While three armed men escaped the police cordon, it appears so far that the only victims have been women, children and neighbors.

ONE TRILLION SPENT ON MILITARY IN FOUR YEARS

\$1,007,900,000,000 have been spent in the last four years on the military. The Defense Department's own figures show that this spending is only matched in the post-WWII era by the Korean war in real dollar terms. The spending surpasses that of the Vietnam era, which shows that the US ruling class has more use for its military now than during the 1960s. (NYTimes, 5/14/85, A1, A20) What the Defense Department of course neglected to relay to the public is that the US is already involved in WWII by proxy around the world--e.g. Beirut, the contras in Nicaragua, the support of the South African colonial regime against the native people etc.

As usual the media's discussion of the Defense budget is narrowly conceived in terms of efficiency and not purpose. General Electric Corporation has been scapegoated to the tune of a \$1.04 million fine and \$800,000 restitution for fraud. (NYTimes, 5/14/85, A1) Clearly militarism is "worth it" for American corporations who profit from war hysteria. The only problem that the NYTimes and the liberals have with military spending is that it is too wasteful. The liberals champion the cause of getting the warmakers to make smaller profits and better bombs. According to the NYTimes, the problem is not the profit-system, just that GE is fraudulent and inefficient. "The biggest peacetime military buildup in modern American history is coming to an end, and

the nation is asking whether it has been getting its money's worth." ("As Arms Buildup Eases, US Tries to Take Stock," 5/14/85, A1) Lest anyone take the New York Times seriously, the talk in the capital is still to increase the military budget at a 3% real annual rate. At best, the government will freeze the military budget at its current wartime level while using up \$280 billion in past appropriations that the Pentagon could not even manage to spend yet. (Ibid., A20)

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MIM NOTES

7/6/85
no. 13

Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement
US Sponsors Mid-East Terror

SHIITE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE RILES US

The Mid-East continues its role as US dumping ground for sanctimonious drivel about "terrorism." The US admits that its police-dog Israel violated Geneva Conventions by holding 766 Shiites within its own borders since its invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982. (USA Today, 6/19/85, 4a) Yet, while Reagan threatened to kill the so-called terrorists and pushed a boycott of airports in Athens and Beirut, he did nothing of the sort to pressure Israel.

Indeed, the US gave political and military support to the last invasion of Lebanon by Israel, which by conservative estimates took the lives of over 20,000 Lebanese and Palestinians. (See "The US and Lebanon" on the MIM lit. list.) For this, Israel received an increase in its military and economic aid from the US, which received Israel's services in installing a new minority Christian government favorable to US interests. According to Joel Marcus who writes for the Haaretz, "the United States does things for us in all fields and, without understatement, one could even say that the regular and special US aid is what stands between us and total bankruptcy." (New York Times, 6/22/85, 5) Israel and Egypt are the US's top recipients of aid, but the US does nothing with this influence to stop the real terrorism of Israel and the sell-out Arab governments.

Instead, the American media is forced to create superficial denunciations of the terrorists [read the other guy] who have only managed to perpetrate a tiny fraction of the organized murder that the US and its allies does. According to USA Today, the average terrorist is a "man in his early 20s, single, a commercial failure, impulsive, disorganized and poorly educated," (USA Today, 6/24/85, 4a) but the real terrorists are in their 60s and up, married, filthy rich, repressive, organized with millions of hired mercenaries and formally educated in media hype and mystification--often taking their cues from Hollywood.

The black-out of international news from any viewpoint not approved by the US Government in the US meant that many Americans found out about the US sponsored Israeli occupation and hostage-taking only because of the hijacking. It even came to light during the hijacking that Israel continues to take Lebanese hostages in the part of Lebanon that it still occupies. 19 Shiites were taken on June 18th. (New York Times, 6/19/85, a15)

Indeed, the US media suddenly had to explain the hostages' views of the more substantial roots of the hijacking problem. According to one hostage, most of the hostages gained "profound sympathy" for their captors. One said, "let's face it, if someone captured my wife and children and had them across that border, I also would be taking drastic actions and doing things against my principles to secure their freedom." The US media explained this away with the aid of psychologists' subjectivist mish-mash. References to the Stockholm Syndrome of hostages, desires to comfort family members etc. were all invoked without considering for a moment whether the Shiite cause is a just one. The psychologists even said that the supposed stress defense mechanisms last beyond the hostage-taking itself. No doubt one hostage's sympathy for the Shiite line, "Israel, free my people" will be dubbed as deviant by our imperialist mouthpiece shrinks.

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SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES AGGRESSION ABRDAD

When they attacked US multinational corporation Gulf Oil in a northern enclave of Angola called Cabinda that does not even border South Africa, the apartheid military forces made a mistake. They were caught by the Angolan military in May.

South Africa attempts to destabilize its Black-ruled neighbors in a desperate effort to stave off the day when South Africa too will be decolonized. However, this time US could cover up no longer. The American ambassador was called home for consultations.

Meanwhile attacks in Mozambique and Botswana continued. An apartheid raid killed at least 12 on June 14th in Botswana.

In Angola South Africa claimed success for a raid killing 45 people on June 29th. South Africa colonizes Namibia which is a country bordering South Africa and Angola. The white settler regime does not even claim to be in pursuit of rebels working to overthrow apartheid. The casualties in Angola are said to be Namibians working from bases there to overthrow the apartheid puppet regime in occupied Namibia.

Meanwhile, the press greeted a reshuffling of the puppet regime in Namibia by South African Prime Minister Botha. "Namibia Gets Taste of Freedom." (USA Today, 6/18/85, 5a) No government recognizes the puppet regime in Namibia. Namibian demonstrators opposed to the new regime were attacked by police the day of the reshuffling. (New York Times, 6/18/85, a3)

New constitutions are popular gimmicks in South Africa these days. Police have killed over 400 Blacks in South Africa since September 1984 in rebellions against the new constitution in South Africa itself. (New York Times, 6/20/85, a7)

CONGRESS VOTES STAR WARS, NERVE GAS

The House of Representatives approved \$2.5 billion for Star Wars defense work in 1986. The Senate had already approved \$3 billion. (New York Times, 6/21/85, 1)

Star Wars is an effort to make possible a first strike against other countries without fear of nuclear retaliation. Once again the US imperialists demonstrate that in war with the Soviet social-imperialists that even the only ratified "arms control" treaty--SALT I--is a scrap of paper.

The Congress also approved money for nerve gas, provided Reagan could whip the Allies into line and make them store the weapons too. (New York Times, 6/20/85, a1)

NEW YORK TIMES WRITER CRITICIZES JAPANESE PRESS

"Journalism in Japan. . . has a way of appearing to be an exercise in sameness. . . the major newspapers look alike and read alike. . . Journalists organize themselves into specialized 'press clubs' that serve as information cartels." (New York Times, 6/21/85, a2)

"VILLAGE VOICE IS SOLD. . . The Village Voice, owned by Rupert Murdoch since 1977, was sold to Leonard Stern, a wealthy businessman, for more than \$55 million." (New York Times, 6/21/85, a1)

LANDLORD GETS THIRTY DAYS IN OWN HOUSING

Failing to fix rundown apartments, a landlord was sentenced to 30 days in his own buildings. A female judge ordered the slumlord to leave his Beverly Hills home. (New York Times, 6/19/85, a20)

MOVE LAWSUIT

The Philadelphia bombing that killed 11 people and destroyed 60 homes has finally resulted in a civil suit by a relative of a murdered MOVE member. (USA Today, 6/21/85, 3a) In other news it came out that police believed that they had washed away all flammable substances that MOVE supposedly doused its own house with before dropping the bomb on the MOVE house. Water cannons were being fired on the MOVE house but were inexplicably shut off for the bombing and the fire.

IBM AND ATT COMPETE FOR TOP DOG

IBM purchased 18% of MCI, a long distance telephone company in an effort to move onto ATT's turf. It is thought that telephones and computers will be increasingly connected in their usage. At the same time, ATT is looking to buy IBM's smaller competitors. (New York Times, 6/27/85, a1) The corporate merger pace continues even faster than the spread of capitalism, thus confirming Marx's insights into the process by which capital becomes ever more concentrated.

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MLM NOTES

no 14
7/26/85

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

THE REAL APARTHEID REFORMS

APARTHEID REGIME INCREASINGLY DESPERATE

Despite possession of one of the most efficient repressive apparatuses in the world, the colonial capitalist regime of South Africa has had to add yet another notch to its regression of the Black population--martial law. As we go to press, the number of resistance activists arrested without charges or contact with lawyers or anyone else reached 891 after only six days. Police killed at least 15 Blacks since martial law started. Security forces have killed over 500 in the eleven months since the new refined apartheid Constitution soaked a general state of rebellion.

The assurances that South Africa is reforming for the better can be no more clearly exposed to the world. One of the best arguments for socialism is that only real socialism will control US commercial activity where oppression is the beneficent. A real socialist government will pull out all investments; end all trade and cultural contacts with South Africa and support liberation of one of the last settler states.

FRANCE EMBARRASSED ON APARTHEID, FINALLY

So-called socialist France profits from \$1.6 billion of investments in apartheid South Africa. With the announcement of martial law in South Africa, France could no longer hide its role in the Western capitalist bloc. It announced a policy of no further investment in South Africa and recalled its ambassador.

Yet, existing investments will not have to be sold and France's record level trade with apartheid continues despite a supposedly socialist government. The lateness of France's actions demonstrates that what exists in France is capitalism with the camouflage of socialism.

NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT TO TRY TO STOP RUGBY TOUR

Under pressure to uphold the international boycott of South African sports, the New Zealand government acted to prevent a rugby team from going to play in South Africa. New Zealand has been the scene of huge anti-apartheid demonstrations that were met by martial-law like conditions and the largest police operations seen on the island.

Should the New Zealand Rugby team go to apartheid South Africa, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, which organized the Olympic boycott of South Africa promised pariah status to New Zealand athletes.

CONTRAS ARE HIRED MERCENARIES TOO

The Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries--contras--are not just former National Guard members who never gave up the civil war. Nor are the anti-Sandinista terrorists Nicaraguans. The CIA and private American proto-fascist organizations hire Spaniards to fight against the revolutionary government of Nicaragua.

According to the Madrid weekly Mundo Obrero, 500,000 pesos in cash per month are offered to contra recruits. Spanish fascists and Cuban exiles are the favored target groups.

Christian Broadcasting Network, the followers of Rev. Moon (Moonies) and the World Medical Relief organization and others give the contras over \$25 million a year. (Branma, 7/9/85) The amount allowed to the contras through the US government is secret, but a \$13 billion counterinsurgency bill has been passed by the Congress. All that remains for the bill is to decide whether or not the CIA or CIA front group (AID for example) will funnel aid. At stake is just now openly the US wants to affront world public opinion

MIM NOTES

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

REAGAN'S PHONY SANCTIONS

9/11/85
no. 15

FRANCE MURDERS GREENPEACE SHIP PHOTOGRAPHER

Desperate to prevent a flotilla of ships from protesting French nuclear testing in the Pacific, so-called socialist France secretly blew up and sank a Greenpeace ship that was to lead the protest. A photographer on board was killed.

Greenpeace is an ecology movement organization. The ship sank at Auckland in New Zealand.

Despite international uproar over the terrorist attack on the anti-nuclear movement, so-called socialist President Mitterand ordered French armed forces to use force if necessary to prevent protest in French territorial waters. (New York Times, 8/19/85, 1)

The leaders of France's government espouse "democratic socialism." The Socialist Party of France is fraternally tied to the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

BIG BROTHER CORPORATION

Struggles within the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) have brought to light the fact that the British Secret Service (M.I.5) secretly controls hiring and firing of the BBC staff. The practice of screening out leftist journalists has been going on since 1937. (New York Times, 8/22/85, a3)

Weeks earlier the BBC Board of Governors banned a program on Northern Ireland at the request of the British Government. A strike of radio and tv journalists for one day resulted. (Ibid.)

It is as if the curtain were pulled on the Wizard of Oz.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR FIRES LESBIAN REPORTER

The Massachusetts Supreme Court backed the Christian Science Monitor's firing of lesbian Christine Madsen. Madsen had refused to "heal" herself and return to the Church's moral law against homosexuality. (New York Times, 8/22/85, a16)

What is immoral about homosexuality? God said so. So even the most "enlightened" Christians tell us. Why does God's law hold so well where domination and hierarchy already exist?

PROTO-FASCIST MORAL MAJORITY LEADER REVEALS COLORS

Rev. Jerry Falwell came out in firm support of South African President P.W. Botha. He called on Americans to buy South African gold coins called Kruggerands and to increase their investment in South Africa. In addition, he asked for divestment from companies that have pulled out of South Africa. Richard A. Viguerie, a New Right fundraiser and Herbert B. Berkowitz, a spokesman for the Heritage Foundation, in turn backed up Jerry Falwell. (New York Times, 8/21/85, a3)

Falwell has promised to use his prime-time television show to turn American public opinion around on South Africa. He claims that a videotape he made shows that Blacks and whites in South Africa oppose economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

A South African who calls for economic sanctions is subject to prison and possibly death by South African law. In addition, with the State of Emergency and martial law in South Africa, police have unlimited powers. It seems unlikely that any South African in South Africa would go on television and provide the evidence necessary for his execution by the state.

Even so, recent polls show record levels of support for economic sanctions amongst Blacks in South Africa. Even a conservative poll that once showed Black opposition to Western sanctions against S. Africa has switched over to reporting three quarters support for economic sanctions. (New York Times, 9/10/85, 4)

For his part, Richard Viguerie is "moving heaven and earth to get the Senate shored up to sustain a Presidential veto" (Ibid.) of economic sanctions legislation.

Meanwhile, Reagan himself appears to be vacillating slightly. He may be influenced by the argument that "Yes, South Africa is important to us strategically, but the danger of losing her strategically is greater if we support a Government that is intransigent to change, which is almost inevitable in that society." (Ibid.)

South Africa's umpteenth vague promise for major social change was ballyhooed in all the bourgeois media including Newsweek and Time. Now, after a speech in August by Botha, the major media has taken to questioning what exactly those changes are going to be.

Reagan himself signalled the media's change in approach when his advisors expressed disappointment in Botha's speech. Reagan spoke of a "crisis of confidence" caused by the lack of substance in South Africa's supposed reforms.

For opportunist reasons, Reagan has had to appear to take action. He is moving to ban the import of South African Kruggerands--gold coins--into the US. Other actions include a ban on computer sales to the apartheid government and a partial ban on bank loans to S. Africa. Also, companies with more than 25 employees will not receive US export assistance unless they uphold the Sullivan Principles.

Reagan's sanctions are mere lip-service to public opinion which has turned against the USA's alliance with apartheid. The Kruggerand ban matters little because "the gold that South Africa cannot sell to the United States could find its way here anyway through world market channels." (New York Times, 9/10/85) (What, did we think capitalism would stop the law of buy and sell just because Reagan said so?) The computer ban only makes official what companies had already done; that is not sell to the apartheid regime directly. The bank loans ban has a loophole for money "needed" for economic circumstances, health and education "beneficial" to all races. In other words a US bank can loan a S. African bank money for economic reasons and the S. African bank can turn around and loan the money to the apartheid police and military. As for the Sullivan Principles, see the MIM literature list for a detailed explanation of their fig-leaf role. Finally, the nuclear ban Reagan imposed was already in place and even this has exceptions for "humanitarian purposes." (New York Times, 9/10/85)

Reagan tries to appear to the public to be criticizing the South African regime while he does nothing of substance himself to effect change in South Africa. This allows Botha and his supporters like Falwell the chance to rally and wait for the current storm to pass.

For example, Richard A. Viguerie beats the anti-communist-save-the-Free-World drum rather loudly. In the process, he of course presumes that only white rule is possible in South Africa. Naturally, with that assumption, he finds it impossible to criticize Botha. "The question is not whether they will have a white ruler or a black ruler in South Africa." "They'll have white rule for the foreseeable future. The question is whether that white ruler will be South African or Soviet. The alternative to the current Government is a Communist regime. If South Africa falls, freedom is not likely to prevail in the rest of the world for much longer." (New York Times, 8/21/85, a3)

Viguerie's statement is quite revealing of the ruling class. It shows that the American imperialists are desperate to hold onto South Africa for fear of losing a world war to the Soviets. In that desperation, it is not surprising that people like Falwell and Viguerie come to the fore.

CONGRESS APPROVES ALL WAR BUDGET REQUESTS

A House-Senate conference agreed on a \$302.5 billion budget that includes \$2.75 billion for Star Wars. Every major weapons system asked for by the Defense Department gained approval. (New York Times, 7/27/85, p. 8) The defense contractors (i.e. capitalists) make tremendous profits as they prepare materially and psychologically for further war for empire. Since the taxpayers and not the capitalists pay for the war, the capitalists hope to make profits on new resources captured and controlled through war throughout the world---e.g. Central America, the Philippines, the Middle East and Europe.

MOVE MURDER DETAILS LEAKING OUT

As we have said in a previous issue of MIM NOTES, the Philadelphia police bombing of a radical group called MOVE had much manipulation of public opinion behind it. Police and firefighters tried to claim that the MOVE group doused itself with gasoline and started the fire. At the same time, they claimed to have washed away the flammable fluids with water cannons before dropping a bomb on the house. No one explained why the water cannons were turned off after the bombing that started the fire that killed eleven people and destroyed 61 homes in a Black neighborhood.

All the lies by the blood-thirsty officials of Philadelphia contributed to a sensationalist media portrayal of MOVE. Rather than allow their criminal actions come to broad public view, the officials blamed the fire and eleven deaths on the victims themselves. Happy to slander and villify a radical political group, the capitalist-owned and produced media tried to make MOVE seem to be engaged in suicidal armed struggle with police.

Unfortunately, now that the issue has died down, the truth appears in the back pages of newspapers if at all. A small story ("Philadelphia's Fire Marshal Says Police Bomb Ignited May 13 Blaze," New York Times, a9) reports the conclusion of a so-called investigation. As usual for the methods of state officials trying to manipulate public opinion, the results of this investigation appear too late to influence public opinion.

In fact, the bombing was premeditated. The police planned a year ago to bomb the roof of the MOVE house. (New York Times, B/21/85, a18)

What caused police to shoot 10,000 shots at a house; firebomb 61 houses and try to blame the victims who it now turns out did not fire any shots while the fire spread despite firefighter claims? There was never any reason to open fire on the MOVE group. Since when do tenants who live in unsanitary conditions deserve eviction and death? How many slumlords get away with far worse in owning dozens of rat-infested firetraps? Where is there a police force that would firebomb a landlord for endangering hundreds of tenants?

Although MIM NOTES focuses on the international situation and the US war and imperialism abroad, it is important to remember, that the more desperate the atmosphere in the US government the less it can afford dissidents at home. The Philadelphia city government used the national media to disseminate disinformation and justify the murder of a non-mainstream poor, Black dissident group.

CHINA'S STATE CAPITALISTS DO SOMDZA ONE BETTER

Continuing to admit record levels of economic crime in China since the capitalist reorganization of the economy, Mainland China's officials disclosed that some Chinese officials with contacts with foreigners on Hainan island embezzled \$1.5 billion. The New York Times reported that "such incidents have a disproportionate impact in Peking." (New York Times, 8/4/85, 16) In other words, if a country is to have the marvelous capitalist system it has to put up with such "incidents." The New York Times also tagged Peking for overreacting to the smuggling of opium and pornography videotapes from the West.

While it is the standard position of Western newspapers and observers to tell China to enact capitalism with spine, Deng Xiaoping has encountered difficulties in explaining away the seamy side of capitalism. Earlier this year, Deng came forth with the statement that communism is still China's

ultimate goal. Lately, he has had to admit that his economic free zones which do business with the West on the West's terms, may be failures. Maoists call today's China "revisionist" precisely because Deng finds it necessary to uphold a facade of Marxism while instituting a capitalist counterrevolution. He speaks in the words of communism and pretends to abhor the obvious excesses of capitalism in order to cover up capitalism in a country with a high political awareness and experience with more open forms of class exploitation.

UN/ETHIOPIAN REPORT UNDERESTIMATES ERITREA DROUGHT

A fact-finding study by the UN, US and Ethiopia reports that food is reaching the Tigre and Eritrea, which border Ethiopia. However, the investigators did not tour in guerrilla controlled regions, which include 80% of Eritrea.

Relief groups actually in the Tigre report that 3.8 out of 5 million people there need aid and that the situation is worsening. (New York Times, 8/4/85, 13)

STEAM BUILDING FOR DIVESTITURE

New Jersey will withdraw \$2 billion in pension funds from US companies that do business in South Africa. (New York Times, 8/21/85, 1) In Baltimore, the City Council unanimously recommended that its pension funds be pulled out of South Africa. \$174 million are at stake. It is expected that the pension fund trustees will follow through. (New York Times, 8/21/85, a4)

OTHER SANCTIONS

Australia is boycotting South African gold and ended export assistance to companies trading with South Africa.

DIVESTMENT PRESSURE CITED IN CORPORATE PULLOUT

Phibro-Solomon, a financial conglomerate, is withdrawing from South Africa. The 12th largest corporation in the USA, Phibro-Solomon is one of 17 American companies that have withdrawn from South Africa in 1985. (New York Times, 8/22/85, d1, d15)

The Smithsonian Institution had recently sold its stock in Phibro-Solomon. One financial analyst said that since the South Africa share of Phibro-Solomon's business is less than 1%, it was important for the company to "broaden the appeal of its shares for all institutional investors." (Ibid., d15)

IRAN-IRAQ WAR INTENSIFIES

Iraq is bombing Iran's only oil terminal, which is at Kharg Island. Iraq says that it will put an end to Iranian oil exports, so that Iran will have no money to conduct its war against Iraq.

One estimate put Iran's export loss at 25% from the single bombing attack. Vowing to prevent anyone from exporting oil from the Persian Gulf, Iran is bombing oil tankers in the Gulf. (New York Times, 8/19/85, a4)

The Iranian regime has been stretched thin in the war. Tens of thousands of soldiers at the front and political prisoners at home have been killed for the benefit of Khomeini's Islamic theocracy. Economic conditions are already strained and a real end to Iranian oil exports may provide a revolutionary opportunity should Khomeini try to run the war on religion alone.

MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT (MIM)

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South Africa has by now detained 1,243 more activists under martial law. They are not allowed access to lawyers and their names are not available to the public. (New York Times, 7/31/85, a4) "More than 620 people, only 2 of them white, have died in the violence that has spread across South Africa in the last 10 months." (New York Times, 8/19/85, a6) 120 of those deaths have been in the last month since Botha implemented martial law.

AFRICA NETWORK
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Rotting Food Aid!

According to reliable sources in Addis Abeba, food aid for starving Ethiopians is piling up and rotting in the Eritrean ports of Asseb and Massawa as well as in the port of Djibouti for want of transport to the famine victims. This is because the Dergue has allocated most of its transport fleet to its military campaigns in Eritrea and northern Ethiopia as well as its forcible resettlement program in the south.

As a result, UN officials in Ethiopia have advised international aid donors not to send new shipments of food to Ethiopia until more of the supplies now piled up in the ports and warehouses have been moved to relief centres. Aid officials say that 60% of the food aid that has arrived in Ethiopia since December has yet to be delivered.

After a meeting with the Dergue's strongman on 15 June 1985, Mr. Kurt Jansson, the UN assistant secretary-general for emergency operations in Ethiopia and Mr. Maurice F. Strong, executive coordinator of the UN Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, have stated that there were enough food supplies in the country to meet the immediate needs of most of the famine victims. During the meeting, Colonel Mengistu has reportedly promised to divert 400 trucks from military use while the UN officials pledged to press for the donation of 800 more trucks to Ethiopia to solve the « shortage of transport ».

DERGUE RECEIVED 80 m BULLETS IN FALASHA DEAL

High-level diplomatic sources have disclosed that the Ethiopian military regime of Lt. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam received 80 million « parabellum » bullets from Israel about two years ago in exchange for its collaboration in the exodus of the Falashas from Ethiopia directly to Israel. These diplomatic sources have, according to the Italian daily, Corriere della Sera (22 April 1985) and the English weekly, The Observer (21 April 1985), revealed that Colonel Mengistu entered into the secret deal with Israel to exchange Falashas for military supplies because he was anxious to launch an offensive against the Eritrean and Tigrean rebels at the time.

According to these reports, it was the successful precedent of Colonel Mengistu's secret deal that later prompted Nimeiri to make a similar secret deal with Israel to allow the airlift of Falashas from the Sudan in return for \$ 56 m paid to him and several of his top officials. A large slice reportedly went to the then First Vice-President and head of the State Security apparatus, General Omer El-Tayeb. These authoritative diplomatic sources attach an intriguing significance to the fact that it was General Fatih Erwa, ex-military attaché in the Sudanese Embassy in Addis Abeba and Nimeiri's close collaborator, who was sent to New York to collect the last instalment of the price just days before the coup d'état took place on April 6.

This new revelation corroborates, if only in more detail, earlier reports that the Dergue, despite its belated protestations to neutralize the publicity following the leak, was engaged in a secret deal with the Zionist state involving the exchange of Falashas for arms. Yet in an unabashed display of cynicism and hypocrisy, the Addis Abeba regime issued a statement (Ethiopian Herald, 24 February 1985) alleging a « Sudanese-Israeli conspiracy » and calling on « the international community to prevail on Israel to respond favourably to Ethiopia's demand for the orderly and immediate repatriation of the abducted citizens » All this while using the Falashas as a bargaining chip for obtaining arms and spare parts—a deal that conjures up the revival of the old slave trade!

For in reality, as Moshe Dayan revealed in 1978, the Ethio-Israeli accord for the direct « repatriation » of the Falashas was first reached, and its implementation began, in 1977. It was renewed in 1982 through the mediation of the Jewish Agency and the Mossad, the Israeli secret service. As a result, Israel has been supplying the Ethiopian regime with substantial military equipment and spare parts. The value of Israeli military sales to Ethiopia in 1983 was about \$ 20 m (Africa Confidential, 12 December 1984). In October alone, Israel shipped to Ethiopia \$ 6 m worth of arms and spares.

Diplomatic sources in Addis Abeba report of continuing Israeli sales of large quantities of military supplies to the Ethiopian regime. Much of these arms sales consist of Soviet-made or Soviet-designed equipment captured during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. These weapons are repainted, and refurbished if necessary, and then dispatched through various Israeli front companies, including Koor, a company registered and based in Amsterdam, and Amiran, a « reception » company in Ethiopia. Israel also provides sophisticated parts for the Soviet supplied Mig-23's and the US-supplied F-5E's of the Ethiopian Airforce.

US CORPORATE PULLOUT WOULD BE EFFECTIVELY TOTAL

According to Burroughs President Paul G. Sterns, if US corporations "pack our bags and get out of there [S. Africa]" "I think we'll just fuel it. You can make the assumption that the other international companies will stay out. That's got to fuel a tremendous problem, and maybe even exacerbate closing down schools, strikes, really setting them back." (Detroit News, 9/21/85, pp. 1, 6a) Previously, anti-divestiture proponents such as Harvard President Derek Bok argued that multinational corporations that do not operate in South Africa would fill in the gap left by a US pullout.

DIVESTMENT STEAMROLLER

Columbia University's Board of Trustees voted to withdraw its \$39 million from companies operating in S. Africa. The move followed especially militant student action last spring.

The U. of Michigan also divested another \$4.5 million from S. Africa for a total of \$50 million divested. Only \$500,000 is left in the U. of Michigan S. Africa related portfolio.

The U. of Wisconsin divested \$9 million.

The State University of New York divested \$12.5 million.

Michigan State University divested \$8 million.

BRITISH BANKS CUTTING BACK IN S. AFRICA

Barclays Bank and Standard Chartered cut their stakes in subsidiary banks in S. Africa from 50 to 40%. Britain's investment in S. Africa is estimated at \$15 billion, 7% of Britain's overseas investment. (NYTimes, 8/30/85)

US BANKS CUTTING OUT TOO

Chase Manhattan ended all loans to S. Africa in late July. North Carolina National Bank cut its loans from \$217 million in 1983 to \$101 million in June. Bank of Boston announced the end of all loans to S. Africa in March. The President of the Bank of Boston Ira Stepanian, recently divulged that part of the reason for the pullout was pressure at home on the banking business. First Bank System of Minneapolis pulled out too with past loans of \$39 million. (NYT, 9/16/85, a1)

RULING CLASS HUDDLES FOR S. AFRICA POLICY

Twenty corporate executives met with Reagan in the third week of September to discuss their interests in S. Africa. They argued that US businesses contribute to social change in S. Africa. (Detroit News, 9/21/85, p. 1, 6a) The real government goes into action the same way the heads of the mafia get together when the going gets tough.

BUY A PIECE OF THE CONTRAS

"Freedom bonds" can be purchased from the contras. Their payoff is shares in the companies that the contras plan to denationalize if they overthrow the Sandinista government. (Reason, June/July, 1985, p. 44) So who owns the contras?

You can bet Jeanne Kirkpatrick is on the board of directors.

S. AFRICA UPDATE

The death toll of the past year is over 700. 3,000 have been detained in the state of emergency. S. Africa raided Angola with 500 troops and admitted to continuing to destabilize Mozambique. The front-line state called for economic sanctions against S. Africa regardless of the economic effects on themselves. The front-line states are largely dependent on the European style S. African economy. (NYT, 9/22/85, E3)

MIM NOTES

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

11/5/85
no. 17

S. AFRICA "REFORMS" PRESS

S. AFRICA UPDATE

Saturday, November 2nd, the apartheid regime officially blacked out news coverage of the Black revolt. Journalists of all kinds could face a sentence of 10 years or a fine of \$8,000 or both for reporting resistance in the areas of South Africa that are under martial law. (Detroit Free Press, 11/3/85, p. a1)

The apartheid regime had arrested several journalists prior to establishing a complete ban on coverage.

The ban on journalists underscores the potency of international protest against apartheid. That the racists no longer felt they could afford to publicize their own repression of the Black resistance proves that the US-backed white settler regime is not in full control.

The day the journalist ban came down, 100,000 demonstrated in London for Western sanctions against apartheid.

The death toll in S. Africa's repression over the last 14 months has now topped 850. (Ibid., a13)

MARCOS TO CALL ELECTIONS IN '86

Under pressure from his US sponsors, puppet dictator Ferdinand Marcos has apparently changed his mind and will consider elections in 1986. The Philippines President is viewed by conservatives in the US to be out of touch and liable to lose the country to communism. Marcos' announcement followed Sen. Paul Laxalt's visit to the Philippines. Laxalt is a leading Reagan confidant.

Meanwhile, the US has also threatened to cut off \$450 million in military aid over the next five years if Marcos reinstates Gen. Fabian Ver who is implicated in the Aug. 1983 assassination of bourgeois opposition figure Benigno Aquino. "President Marcos said he was honor-bound to take him back if he [Gen. Ver] was acquitted," Laxalt said. "I said, 'For how much time?' He initially said, 'One year.' I told him that would be a problem back here. He said he'd take a second look at it." (Detroit Free Press, 11/3/85, p. a3)

The US Senate is worried that Marcos will lose the Philippines to neo-Maoist guerrillas, who number 30,000 by Senate figures. The executive branch is worried that the New People's Army would kick the US out of Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base, "the two largest U.S. military bases abroad." (Ibid.) The Philippines is also considered a long time political and economic ally thanks to a history of US intervention to install pro-US regimes.

SEVEN LAYER CAKE

The Pentagon's Star Wars plan envisions seven layers to the shield that protects the US from Soviet missiles. Each layer will only allow 20% of Soviet missiles through.

Five companies are working on Star Wars already and anticipate making further bids for more work. (Detroit Free Press, 11/3/85, p. a1)

Even if the shield is not perfect, the idea of Star Wars is to make nuclear war more plausible to public opinion. That is why it has become critical for scientists in academia to reject Star Wars for its implausibility and for its militarist motivations. MIT has rejected all research on Star Wars as have thousands of scientists in universities across the country.

At the same time, the conjunction of Star Wars weapons and others makes a first strike the US an ever more likely possibility.

PHILLY POLICE REFUSE TO TESTIFY ON MOVE BOMBING

"Lieut. Frank Powell, who dropped the bomb on the group's [MOVE'S] house May 13 after a daylong siege, was the first person to refuse to testify. He invoked his constitutional right against self-incrimination." (New York Times, Thurs. 10/24/85)

Mayor Wilson Goode went along with the bombing and turned down the idea of using a crane because at \$6,500 the crane would have cost too much. Why resolve the conflict with such a low level of repression when we can murder 11 men, women and children?

MIM NOTES

no. 18
12/21/85

Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

APARTHEID DOOMED

IMMIGRATION TIDE TURNING AGAINST APARTHEID

Since the riots in South Africa in Soweto in 1976, the number of jittery white South Africans who left the country equalled the number attracted by opportunities to exploit. Today, according to the Wall Street Journal, the tide has turned. ("Pulling Out: White South Africans Flee Country, Fearing A Grim Future There, 12/13/85, p. 1)

10% of South Africa's white population says it will get out by 1990. Many more are making efforts to find the means of selling houses and collecting up money to leave. Apparently, many would like to leave, but the position of the South African currency (rand) is so poor that whites do not have the means of selling their property and going anywhere else where they would have the hope of regaining their former lifestyle. (Ibid.)

At the same time, South African businesses are failing at a record rate, twice that of four years ago. ("Bankruptcies Rise in South Africa As Strife Undercuts Economy," Wall Street J., 12/20/85, p. 19) This is a good lesson in dialectics: even when the capitalists think they have it so good, their success in exploitation unexpectedly blows up in their face.

The pressure of the Black revolt supported broadly in world public opinion is too much for the white population of South Africa, which owes its middle class status to the sweat of Black laborers. The emigration of the whites leaves the white settler government in that much more of a desperate position. Already white men serve a three year mandatory service in the armed forces, which have duties in sabotaging Black African nations all over the southern half of the continent. In the latest action, South African troops moved further into Angola in pursuit of Namibian guerrillas trying to wrest control of their country from South African colonialism. (Wall Street Journal, 12/20/85)

There will be a growing shortage of people to hold down the Black people. Apartheid is wearing thin.

NEW RIGHT ORGANIZES WHILE REAGAN STALLS ON SOUTH AFRICA

Joining the efforts of Jerry Falwell and Rev. Moon to rally public opinion to prop up South Africa is Accuracy in Media. Accuracy in Media is a New Right watchdog of the press that sees a liberal bias in most news-reporting.

The extreme isolation of apartheid in public opinion has driven the New Right into desperate exhortations. Reed Irvine, who is chairman of Accuracy in Media published an editorial in USA Today that supports the ban of foreign mass media from South Africa and restrictions on all journalists covering riots. At the moment two British TV cameramen are being charged by a Johannesburg court for inciting riot. (Wall Street Journal, 12/20/85, p.1)

In characteristic New Right fashion, the editorial nowhere makes the obligatory criticisms of apartheid that even Reagan makes to cover up his lack of effective action to end US support for the white settler regime in South Africa (Azania). Reed Irvine comes right out for repression of coverage of oppression with the excuse that the Soviets do it, so why can't we?

By contrast, even the South African ambassador, also published in the wonderful pages of USA Today--who next, the KKK?--felt it necessary to put up window-dressing. "Since 1980, South Africa has taken concrete steps to demonstrate what it has repeatedly declared--that the era of white domination has ended and political participation must be extended to blacks."

Meanwhile, at the Wall Street Journal, disguised fascism won more air time. Accuracy in Academia, a spin off of Accuracy in Media, which has connections to the John Birch Society received top billing in a piece by David Brock on the Journal's opinion page. (A few days later the lead story for the Wall Street Journal was the new-found credibility of the Rev. Moon's newspaper--the Washington Times.)

David Brock credits Marxism in several ways by his criticism. "About 250 ethnic-studies programs now exist on campuses, and women's history, written mostly by neo-Marxist feminists, is an accepted fixture at many schools." (Wall Street Journal, 12/12/85) Furthermore, Marxism's relevance or "present-mindedness is a sharp break with traditional intellectual standards." (Ibid.)

In addition to attacking minorities generally, Brock makes the disgusting comparison of university professors to people in the government.

Brock comments that the Marxist professors condone the heckling of Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Caspar Weinberger. Brock sees the Marxist professors as a major danger or source of repression in society.

As usual for New Right mythology, free speech is for people in the United States Government and not for people who criticize the government, never mind the Salvadorans and South African Blacks, who Weinberger & Co. murder regularly.

Recently at a campaign puff speech, Bush retorted hecklers by saying "try that in Lenin [he means Red] Square"--in other words, be thankful for free speech and shut up! To George Bush and the rest of the Reagan Administration, MIM NOTES makes the following offer. "Go to South Africa!"

JERRY FALWELL SUPPORTS MARCOS TOO

Lest anyone think fundamentalist leader Jerry Falwell does not consistently support semi-fascist regimes like South Africa, Jerry Falwell announced that Americans should support the dictator of the Philippines--Ferdinand Marcos. The United States already plans a \$900 million military aid package in return for continuing use of two military bases in the Philippines. (Detroit Free Press, 11/12/85, p. 4a)

Question: With the divine backing of Falwell and Moon, why does Marcos make "his most important decisions on days that either have the number '7' in them or are divisible by 7?" (Chicago Tribune, 11/10/85, p. 7)

INDEPENDENCE YET TO BE WON IN COUNTRIES BORDERING SOUTH AFRICA

Lesotho receives over 50% of its national income from miners who "migrate" to South Africa. Mozambique has 60,000 workers in S. Africa in addition to important port and hydroelectricity agreements. As a result, Mozambique and Zimbabwe support economic sanctions, but can not afford to alienate S. Africa in practice. South Africa keeps all of its neighbors in line partly by threatening to expell foreign workers. (Detroit Free Press, 11/12/85, p. 1)

THE BEAT GOES ON

Cubans are fighting the US-backed contras in Nicaragua according to Secretary of State Schultz. There are 2,500 Cuban military advisers in Nicaragua according to Schultz. (Detroit Free Press, 12/7/85, p. 1)

Meanwhile, private American citizens are getting paid \$1,000 a month to fight with the contras; Spanish neo-Nazis are also recruited as mercenaries and somewhere somehow the contras bought the capability to shoot down Soviet-made helicopters.

Although Sandinista leader Ortega offered the USA to send home the Cubans if the US ends aid to the contras, the superpower contention in Nicaragua is heading up a notch. Schultz hinted that more military aid will

AMERICAN MEDIA DISCOVERS SOVIET MEDIA

During the past year, Soviet television has shown scenes of combat in Afghanistan. The coverage depicts the dangers and the pursuit of Afghans by Soviet troops, who occupy Afghanistan.

Like the American media, the Soviet media portrays the Soviet Union favorably. Soldiers in Afghanistan are seen as doing patriotic duty to the Soviet motherland. Grenada or Afghanistan, you be the judge: "The primary purpose of such reports has been to invest a little-known and little-understood conflict with some glory and patriotism." ("Suddenly, Soviet Media Discover Afghanistan," Detroit Free Press, 11/12/85, p. 7a)

YEAR PASSES ON BHPAL DISASTER--DECEMBER 3RD, 1984

The Union Carbide chemical gas disaster in Bhopal, India that left over 1,750 people dead is still in court. Now Union Carbide, threatened with take-over bids by companies that promise to run exploitation without being caught, is taking the classic blame the victim approach.

"The Indians were to blame. 'When we put [the plant] there, we were outside the city,' Mr. Anderson says, but he adds that the Indians allowed the people to settle around it. 'That's what they do in the Third World.'" (Wall Street Journal, 12/26/85, p. 22)

Union Carbide's anti-Third World consciousness is revealing. "It could never happen here," said Chairman Anderson to the Congress. However, on August 11th, another leak developed, this time in W. Virginia, where 135 people were injured. (Ibid.)

In the American case, chairman Anderson suggested that the 135 are hypochondriacs. "'I think that if we had a release of Aperge [at a plant], 135 would go to the hospital.'" (Ibid.)

Now Union Carbide claims that the Bhopal disaster was sabotage by Sikh militants. (Ibid.)

On the upbeat side, the Wall Street Journal published cheery reports that freedom of exploitation is as great as ever in Mexico, India, South Korea and elsewhere. "'The disaster didn't result in a generalized attack on multinationals,' says Edward Stumpf, the commercial counselor at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi." (Ibid.)

In case anyone was having second thoughts, the race for profit is still on. He who hesitates will lose a take-over bid.

ANY CAPITALIST CAN BE SENATOR

The 33 senators elected in 1984 spent an average of almost \$3 million in their campaigns. House members averaged \$288,636. (Detroit Free Press, 12/8/85)

MILITARY BUILD-UP PROFITABLE

The Navy released a study that shows that capitalists make more profits on "defense" contracts than in non-"defense" work. Some of the Pentagon's 22 major contractors make as much as 20% more profit on their war supplies than on other commodities. Overall, in 1984 the profit rate for defense work was 9.2% compared to a rate of 7.7 to 8.0% for non-military sales.

As measured by return on assets, General Dynamics made 49% on its military aerospace work while military shipbuilding yielded a 44% return. At Boeing, 90% of all profits comes from the Pentagon. (Wall Street Journal, "Defense Contracts Yield Higher Profits Than Private Work, Navy Study Says.") The report shows that the higher profits went along with the recent acceleration in military spending.

In the cut-throat competition to outproduce and undercut competitors, companies find it most convenient to buy competitors and spread into new areas. An ever smaller number of capitalists runs ever larger pieces of the economy.

Texaco has lost two legal battles in its takeover of Getty Oil. Penzoil has charged Texaco with dirty dealing. Forced to choose between two members of the capitalist class, who should the government award? In this case, Texaco was apparently lax in pulling government strings. ("Courting Disaster: How Texaco Turned Big Takeover Victory Into Bigger Legal Loss," Wall Street Journal, 12/20/85, p.1) Penzoil has won a \$11.1 billion judgement against Texaco in court.

General Electric acquired RCA for \$6.28 billion. (Wall Street Journal, 12/12/85, p. 3) GAF offered \$4.13 billion for an additional number of shares to takeover control of Union Carbide. (Wall Street Journal, 12/13/85, p. 5)

READERS CRITICIZE AND PRAISE MIM NOTES; MIM NOTES MAKES SELF-CRITICISM

In using MIM NOTES as an unofficial tool of collective organizing, MIM has sought reactions to MIM NOTES from all who read them. Carrying out the mass line, MIM has collected up your opinions and is now going to present them back as a comprehensive critique of MIM NOTES.

Most controversially, MIM NOTES started to append typeset editorials of a radical/liberal nature that had to do with a number of topics. Praise for the editorials is universal in that they clearly serve the masses in a very broad, informative and comprehensible fashion. The editorials are also in service of mass organizations and liberation struggles that Maoists would want to serve.

However, as one person said, "this stuff is worthwhile, but it is not revolutionary." With this simple criticism, it is clear that MIM should continue to serve the masses, but not confuse that service work with MIM NOTES as a collective organizer for the creation of a party. Generally, MIM NOTES has been attacked for not doing enough theoretical work and for not connecting the news to a grasp of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. In response to these criticisms, MIM NOTES will continue to distribute obscure editorials that are in the service of the peoples in Eritrea, East Timor or those that the government comes down on in Central America solidarity organizations. On the other hand, radical/liberal editorials are not to be attached to MIM NOTES and MIM asks that the typeset editorials not be distributed as part of MIM NOTES. In this way, a political error can be chocked up as good experience.

As for other criticisms of MIM NOTES, the editors make self-criticism for laxness. The pace of publication is not fast enough; MIM THEORY, the essays for working out programmatic positions and theories has been neglected.

The only way that the problems with MIM's publications can be overcome is through reliance on broad numbers of people. Once again, we at MIM call on you the reader to support the publication with articles and news sources and through distribution and contributions.

Distribution is the key link because only through distribution can the power of Mao's mass line be realized. Only then will enough political resources come together to make MIM NOTES what it should be.

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MIM NOTES # 19

US UNDERWRITING, SELLING DEATH

Military aid from the US to 113 countries has amounted to \$120 billion since 1953. Half has been in grants. Of course, even grants are really handouts from the US Government to American armsmakers. (Japan Times, 12/30/85, p. 7)

MARCOS AND AQUINO, NOT MUCH CHOICE

Philippines presidential candidate Corazon Aquino favors the retention of US military bases at least until 1991 and possibly after that. (Mainichi Daily News, 12/31/85, p. 2) Aquino is opposing dictator Ferdinand Marcos in elections promised for February 7th.

Aquino's candidacy is much promoted in the American press. Corazon's husband Benigno was the United States' hope of providing a US lackey with a fresh face. He was training at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government before he returned to the Philippines only to be assassinated by those not ready to be replaced.

While it is clear that Marcos is a dictator of the most petty sort, Aquino represents bourgeois democratic opposition at best and good ole' American interests at worst. In an opportunist move, Marcos' court system ordered the seizure of Aquino's 15,000 hectare sugar plantation on 12/2/85. The move was an effort to demonstrate that Aquino is a landlord, not a candidate of the people. Hypocritically, the court ordered the land be divided "for distribution to qualified Filipinos." (Japan Times, 12/31/85, p. 4)

MAINLAND CHINESE STUDENTS MARCH AGAINST NEW COLONIALISM

In Chengdu, protests targeting the current regime's servility to Western imperialism are being labelled as criminal in nature. (Mainichi News, 12/31/85, p. 7) In Peking (Beijing) students attacked China's relationship to imperialism through protests against Japan, which China liberated itself from in WWII. Deng has named China's foreign trade policy "the open door policy" in reference to an American policy of the 1800s which insisted on American rights to exploit China along with the European colonists of the day who controlled China's ports.

PERU SLIPPING FROM US CAMP

December 27th, 1985, Peru seized New York-based Belco Petroleum. Also, since the inauguration of Alan Garcia in July, Peru has stopped loan payments to the US and stepped up tax demands from American companies operating in Peru.

At the same time, Peru fell to the charge d'affaires diplomacy level with its handling of the Cuban exodus that started at the Peruvian embassy in Havana in 1980. Washington is also threatening Peru's preferential tariff, aid and international loans, and commercial air traffic has been suspended since May 1984. New aid projects were suspended in September.

Garcia appears to be getting a better deal from the Soviets lately. The Soviets allow payment for military goods and debts in goods. Not surprisingly, Garcia conveniently found it possible to denounce US nuclear policy from Moscow during a visit there.

Although Peru has the largest Soviet arsenal in Latin America, it

is also the largest recipient of US aid in South America and 36% of its exports go to the US. (Japan Times, 12/31/85, p. 8) The contention between the superpowers in Peru is far from over.

MIM NOTES SCREWS UP; BELIEVES WALL STREET JOURNAL

The last issue of MIM NOTES implied that 1,750 is the lower figure for estimates of dead at the Union Carbide disaster at Bhopal. This figure comes from the Wall Street Journal, which does not include deaths caused by various complications of the disaster.

Other bourgeois sources cite death figures that start at 2,000 or 2,250 and up. Of course, the final answer can only come through an investigation by the people of India.

Meanwhile, Union Carbide's latest efforts to weasel out of responsibility include the claim that its subsidiary in India is responsible, not the American headquarters. Such a move is designed to prevent the legal battle from being fought in the United States where all of Union Carbide's \$10 billion in assets could be awarded, as opposed to the subsidiary's assets of \$100 million.

Carbide's claims are desperate maneuvers. First, US Carbide owns 50.9% of India Carbide.

Secondly, Edward Munoz, former president of Carbide's agricultural chemicals division testified that it was US Carbide that ordered India Carbide to use large tanks to store the gas that leaked Dec.2-3, 1984. India Carbide wanted to use smaller tanks to limit the possibility of leaks.

Finally, Carbide's own documents show that after an accident prior to the 1984 leak, US Carbide took command. "No design changes have been made without the concurrence of general engineering or Institute plant engineering [W. VA]." (Anchorage Daily News, 1/3/86, p. c-6)

Union Carbide tried to take advantage of American racism by claiming that the Indian government and subsidiary workers had lower standards than the American Carbide plant regulations. A Carbide engineer easily contradicted that claim through an affidavit that said that he followed every instruction of US Carbide in design regulations. (Ibid.)

It is time to recognize a small part of the American corporate blood debt to Third World peoples. The assets of Union Carbide belong to the thousands killed and hundreds of thousands injured at Bhopal and other corporate playgrounds.

DENG XIAOPING "MAN OF THE YEAR" AND "SUCCESS OF THE YEAR"

Time magazine named China's state capitalist ruler "Man of the Year" for the second time. Time rightfully considered Deng's role in the capitalist social revolution more important than any of the roles played by people in the leading stories of 1985--Gorbachev and Reagan at the phony arms control summit in Geneva for instance.

Deng "makes a Horatio Alger hero look like a piker," says Harrison Salisbury for Success magazine. "'Although we are a magazine that celebrates capitalism,' states Success Editor-in-Chief Scott DeBarno, 'we've chosen the world's leading Communist because his perseverance, courage and promotion of free enterprise make him a universal role model.'" (Ann Arbor News, 1/13/86)

MIM NOTES

no. 20
1/29/86

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

US EXPECTS MARCOS FRAUD, US AID AFTER

US PREFERS AQUINO: WILL WORK WITH MARCOS IN PHILIPPINES

If Marcos is still in power after elections this February, it won't be the result of any lack of effort by the key people creating public opinion in the United States. The New York Times and the Congress are generating headline after headline about Marcos's Manhattan real estate. Also, the major newspapers covered two US Government reports--that Marcos is quite ill and a fraudulent WWII hero. (Interestingly enough, no one denies that the US awarded Marcos the Purple Heart and other honors after WWII.)

If American newspapers decided the issue in the Philippines, Marcos would be out of there. Even a number of conservative think tanks (excluding Jerry Falwell's clique) and White House committees believe that Aquino would serve American interests better than Marcos, who is viewed as a "liability."

In MIM NOTES, no. 19, we agreed with that assessment. Aquino is a fresh face for the interests of US capital, the Pentagon and Philippine landlords behind the veil of parliamentarism.

The people running the newspapers and government in the US--the ruling class--are not concerned with the moral issues concerned in the upcoming election. The US ruling class only criticizes Marcos to the extent that he seems incompetent in repressing his own laboring classes and serving American interests. It's not that Reagan worries about supporting a dictator. It's just that Reagan does not want to support a dictator, who loses to nationalist semi-Maoist rebels.

Marcos for his part does not appear to believe in bourgeois parliamentarism, the way Reagan and Co. do. The Philippines will not allow any foreign observers at upcoming elections. In addition, someone, probably the Army, has killed 6 people in the Aquino campaign so far.

Faced with Marcos's own local control and ability to fake elections, White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan has decided to cover Reagan's bases. If Marcos wins, Regan says he will condemn the fraud, but the US would continue to "do business" with Marcos. (USA Today, 1/27/86, p. 1)

Reagan has also said that officially the US is neutral and will not use covert or overt means to overthrow Marcos. Thus, the US ruling class is unwilling to appear to alienate Marcos too much.

Perhaps the whole election farce called for by Reagan and implemented by Marcos is to say "we tried." Thus, the US covers its role and confuses public opinion by appearing to oppose Marcos.

INVESTORS ANALYZE GENEVA SUMMIT IMPACT

"BAD NEWS? A Wall Street analyst says in a recent report, 'The threat of peace also hangs over the defense environment.' But the report by Washington Analysis Corp., a unit of First Manhattan Co., adds with relief that 'the first summit was a non-event in terms of investment impact.'" (Wall Street Journal, 1/17/86, p. 1)

GOETZ GETTING OFF: RACIST VIGILANTE MESSAGE SENT

At least temporarily, the court system threw out the most important charges against Bernhard Goetz, who admitted to shooting four Black youth on a train in Manhattan. Using procedural arguments, the judge let Goetz off the hook at least for awhile. Goetz faces charges only concerning the shots he fired that DID NOT hit the Black youth; although the case is being appealed. (New York Times, 1/17/86, p. 1)

Goetz admitted that he shot one of the teens who was already wounded and on the ground. "You don't look so bad; here have another one," said Goetz as he shot the youth in the back at point-blank range.

US BLACK CONDITION UPDATE

Under the Carter Administration, the Black median income declined to 56% of white median income, the largest drop since the figures started coming out. In 1984, that figure remained at 56%, down from 62% in 1970. (New York Times, 1/23/86, p. 7)

Meanwhile, there continues to be progress in Black education. The percentage of Blacks completing high school is closing in on the percentage of whites who graduate. Unfortunately, a Black would have to be a college graduate to make the same money a white high school drop-out makes.

Unemployment in 1985 was 14.9% for Blacks and 5.6% for whites. Black youth suffered 40.1% unemployment and that may be rising at the moment. (Ibid.)

Currently, Black infant mortality is leading an increase in overall infant mortality in the United States, which is up 3% between 1982 and 1983. The gap between Black and white infant mortality was higher in 1983 than in any of the previous 40 years. In Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago, Black infant mortality stands at over 25 per 1000. The figures are for babies one month to one year of age. (Detroit Free Press, 1/17/86, p. 1)

REAGAN ASKING CONTRA, SAVIMBI AID: CONSCIOUS IMPERIALIST RIVALRY

Consciously linking the struggles in Nicaragua and Angola, Reagan sought to show the Soviets who is boss by asking Congress for military aid to counterrevolutionary contras in Nicaragua and rebels in Angola. (New York Times, 1/23/86)

Although conditions in the localities of Angola and Nicaragua determine the struggles there, it is clear that overall, the two imperialist blocs consider their position relative to each other before making any move. Any anti-imperialist analysis must start from the fact that the conflict between the US led imperialist bloc and the Soviet social-imperialist bloc is the main (principle in Maoist parlance) contradiction facing the international anti-imperialist movement.

Those that worry that an explanation of Soviet social-imperialism will lead Americans to support US imperialism are promoting political ignorance and naivete. Our position must be the same as Lenin's in WWI. The question is not who started imperialism and whose nation-state to support. The question is the class interests in the current WWII. A class analysis would show that the proletariat has nothing to gain from WWII and to argue that criticizing Soviet social-imperialism will drive Americans into Reagan's hands is like arguing the proletariat should support the Gramm-Rudman Law because otherwise reactionaries will rally to cut only social programs, instead of taking half the cut from the military. Just as it is backwards to pander to concerns about the federal deficit, it is backward to aim polemics at American patriots. If the

support the Democrats, Gramm-Rudman and the Soviets sheerly out of pragmatic concerns. It is the job of the anti-imperialist movement to prevent this.

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MIM NOTES

no. 21 2/10/86

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

U.S. REPLACES HAITI PUPPET PHILIPPINES QUANDARY CIA BRAINWASHING

HAITIAN REGIME FALLS; U.S. CLEANS HOUSE

Something was up. A revolt in Haiti had been going on for two months. The U.S. Government had said some weeks into the revolt that the regime of dictator J.C. (Baby-Doc) Duvalier was not on its last legs but nonetheless it was "surprisingly" brittle.

Smelling a loser, the State Department next reported that Duvalier had fled the country. This turned out to be untrue in the first report, but the report itself had the effect of fueling fires in Haiti: Even the United States could conceive of the fall of Duvalier. Draping themselves in the American flag, Haitian rebels did not intend to give the U.S. an excuse for its usual style of intervention in the Caribbean. With the Marines seeming to be out of the picture the rebels had "nothing to fear" and dared face death to overthrow Duvalier. They proceeded to knock down Duvalier's statue and dig up the graves of hated generals who had repressed their own people.

Finally, after 28 years of repressive rule, and two months of revolt by the Haitian people, a six man council replaced president for Life Jean-Claud Duvalier, after he fled with his family in a U.S. Air Force plane for temporary asylum in France. The leader of the new military-civilian council, General Henri Namphy, said that the military had taken over because "of the extremely grave situation which had developed" and that the military had no political ambitions--"not now or ever." Whatever the nature of the new regime, it is clear that it entered power by treading carefully and recognizing the strength of the revolt of the Haitian people.

Other council members besides the General include Col. William Regala, Col. Max Vales and two civilians, Gerard Gourgue and Alix Cineas--heads of the former Human Rights Commission and Ministry of Public Works respectively. Col. Prosper Avril is an advisor to the council. (Detroit News, 2/8/86, p. 1)

Namphy, a 52-year-old career officer is the only person of mixed descent in the otherwise all Black leadership. Baby Doc and his father, who ruled before him--Francois Duvalier--had kept out the elite of mixed descent. (Ibid.)

Making sure not to displease the West, Namphy replaced the red and black flag of the Duvaliers with a red, white and blue one. (Ibid.)

Duvalier's regime was strongly dependent on economic aid from the U.S., France, Canada, W. Germany and other countries. More than a third of the country's annual budget of close to \$400 million came from foreign countries. (The Nation, 1/11/86)

Of course, the aid was contingent on some "human rights" window-dressing. One of the final nails in Duvalier's political coffin was Reagan's abandonment of "constructive engagement" with

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Haiti, days before Duvalier's fall. Human rights became the overnight concern for Reagan, who in reality had no interest in backing a loser or in alienating Haitian people more than necessary.

Under Duvalier trade unions were not tolerated; dissident lawyers, journalists and intellectuals were expelled or imprisoned. (Amnesty International, Torture in the 80s)

The current outbreak started in Gonaives on Nov. 27, 1985 with more than 1,000 slum dwellers shouting "down with misery!" The outbreak became revolt with the slogan "Down with the presidency for life!" The following day students held a demonstration, which troops put down. They shot two students and beat a third to death. That sparked demonstrations in other cities. (Nation, 1/11/86)

A sudden gasoline and fuel shortage aggravated discontent, as did the president's wife, Michelle Duvalier, who took a shopping spree in Paris at the same time.

Seeing that Duvalier was in trouble, the United States played a strong role in engineering the replacement of its own regime in Haiti. American aid to Haiti was cut off eight days prior to the fall of

Duvalier, under the guise of "human rights."

The U.S. Ambassador to Haiti reportedly persuaded Duvalier to leave the country. Previously, the State Department put the handwriting on the wall for Duvalier when it reported in advance that Duvalier had fallen. The White House acknowledged the State Department's error in jumping the gun, but did not comment because it knew that it was just a matter of time before Duvalier fled. (Detroit News, 2/8/86)

In more recent developments, many members of the Tonton Macoutes, the private army of deposed Pres. Duvalier, were beaten to death by the angered and vengeful people of Haiti. 100 bodies said to be those of the Tonton Macoutes were stacked in an unrefrigerated morgue at the General Hospital (2/8/86). At a Tonton Macoutes station in the suburb of Petionville, soldiers tried to control an angry group of Haitians trying to get revenge from the 30 Macoutes inside. The Macoutes shot and wounded a woman and child. The army surrounded the post and arrested those who allegedly fired the shots and confiscated rifles from the post. (Associated Press, 2/8/86)

The six member council has extended a 2p.m. to 6a.m. curfew, imposed Friday. The new regime is also considering measures to control the Macoutes, who have an estimated 10 to 15,000 members. According to the new Minister of Justice, "they are considering a communique ordering everyone having a fire-arm to turn it in to the nearest police." (Detroit Free Press, 2/9/86) The Associated Press (2/9/86) reported that the new regime started to gather up the Tonton Macoutes.

CIA EXPERIMENTS WITH MIND CONTROL ON HUMAN GUINEA PIGS

The C.I.A. used as many as 100 Canadians as unknowing subjects in an experiment in mind control and brainwashing. Dr. Ewen Cameron performed the experiments in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Highly regarded as a psychiatrist, Cameron used LSD and massive electric shocks to wipe out unwanted memories and behaviors in his patients. Tape recorded messages, which he referred to as "psychic driving" indoctrinated patients for the creation of new behaviors. Prolonged sleep induced through drugs erased the patients' memories of the experience.

30 years after the incidents, nine Canadians are suing the CIA for \$1 million each for their suffering. The victims went to the Allen Memorial Institute for a variety of reasons. Three suffered depression; one was anxious; two alcoholics sought detoxification; one had a physical complaint that doctors tagged as psychosomatic; one

fellowship. The Institute told her she needed treatment for nervousness. Each victim paid exorbitant fees for the ineffective treatments. Deleterious effects include amnesia, anxiety, depression and inability to read and concentrate or keep a job.

None of the victims learned about what happened to them until the 1970s when the CIA released documents on the experiments after an author's request under the Freedom of Information Act. The documents show that the CIA spent \$25 million to study mind control in a project that lasted 25 years. The money for Cameron's experiments was funneled through a private foundation as part of a project known as MKULTRA. MKULTRA has financed 149 such projects at 86 universities and institutions.

MKULTRA grew out of the cold war and the growing fear of communism. The CIA believed that the Soviets and the Chinese had the lead in brain-washing techniques and sought to be able to crack the mental defenses of enemy agents and program them to carry out any missions the U.S. government so desired. (Detroit Free Press, 2/9/86)

BOURGEOIS ELECTIONS IN PHILIPPINES PUT U.S. IN QUANDARY

According to the government's unofficial tally and a count by a volunteer civic organization, Corazon Aquino is leading in her bid for office against President Ferdinand Marcos, who has ruled the Philippines for 20 years. (Detroit Free Press, 2/9/86)

There were numerous reports of fraud, and the government affirmed that 30 people were killed in election day violence. (Associated Press, 2/7/86) Citizens were frustrated with the government's slowness in counting the ballots, and Marcos is suspected of delaying the election results which are favorable to the opposition leader. (UPI, 2/7/86) Furthermore, a premature television broadcast citing Marcos as the winner by a large margin was "clearly a violation" of election ground rules, according to Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind. (Ibid.) For his part Reagan said that there could be no clear winner from the elections. (Associated Press, 2/9/86)

President Marcos stated Saturday that he might declare the presidential election invalid before the vote count is done--however, Corazon Aquino has declared her victory and asked Marcos to concede defeat. (Detroit Free Press, 2/9/86)

The U.S. has recently denounced Marcos for his civil rights record and now seems to be heavily involved in the Aquino candidacy; although, Reagan predicted Marcos's victory in an effort to prepare American public opinion for the possibility that the U.S. might have to support Marcos, win or lose. Of course, neither the Marcos nor the Aquino camp acted entirely pleased with Reagan, but then again, neither could afford to complain too much.

Early in her campaign, Aquino told the opposition coalition Bayan that she would not work with it. This deprived her of the energy and expertise of several more left leaning cause-oriented groups. She decided to run under the banner of Unido, with a party member and conservative--Salvador Laurel--as her running mate. (Marcos has said that he would accept Laurel as his vice-president.) This caused much dissatisfaction among her late husband's followers--supporters of the populist Laban Party. U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth was present at the meeting between Aquino and Laurel, and appeared to play a decisive role along with the Catholic Church in creating this coalition. (Nation; 2/1/86)

Aquino consults two men of the opposition--former senator Lorenzo Tanada and Joaquin Rocas, an influential publisher before the imposition of martial law. Two activist businessmen--Jaime V. Ongpin, president of a mining company and Romulo del Rosario, president of IBM of the Philippines--have been instrumental in formulating Aquino's economic policy and are members of her aggressive new speech-writing

Aquino has said that she will ask the New People's Army to lay down its arms. Her willingness to accept communists who renounce violence onto her cabinet has been the target of Marcos's campaign speeches.

Aquino is hoping for a kind of "historic compromise" with the nationalist and semi-Maoist revolutionaries. At best, Aquino is working to establish bourgeois democracy in the Philippines.

Aquino's candidacy promotes many illusions. Unlike the United States where bourgeois parties peacefully transfer power from one to another, the Philippines has military and economic power concentrated in a clique of Marcos and his cronies--a clique that the United States has built up over a period of years. The Marcos clique has a \$500 million campaign chest and control of the military. (Nation, 2/1/86) While Aquino does have American support, she risks leading her followers into a bloodbath. At several polling places around the country, as Aquino requested, her supporters protected the ballots with their fists, 2x4s and pitchforks. Marcos of course sent in the army with machine guns to confiscate ballots. In some sections of Manila, his candidacy won 8 or 10,000 to 0.

Aquino's campaign has demonstrated the futility of popular elections. If she does make it into power it will only be because of American military support (not direct, but through threatening to cut off the military from American aid if Aquino is not installed or through offering to increase military and economic aid if Aquino is installed) and the armed strength of her supporters where they managed to hold onto the ballots.

Marcos's delay in counting the ballots is as Sen. Lugar from the United States said. Marcos needs time to think about the situation. The quandary is genuine for both the U.S. and Marcos.

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC STUDY DISCUSSES NUCLEAR WINTER

The International Council of Scientific Unions concluded that one to four billion people would die of starvation after a nuclear war. A drop of 5 to 10 degrees in the Northern Hemisphere would eliminate agriculture there. Such a drop in temperature could be caused by the loss of sunlight to the earth that would result from the smoke and dust put into the atmosphere by nuclear explosions. (New York Times, 9/13/85)

Other studies point out the possibility for total darkness for six months. This makes all the more relevant a recent comment by a Peruvian analyst of the Shining Path, who is a member of the World Tour to Support the Revolution in Peru: "Even if the imperialists do blow up the whole world and all life on the planet dies, that won't mean shit for the universe."

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MIM NOTES

no.22 2/14/86

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

PHILIPPINES FISSURES

MARCOS MAY ACCEPT SALVADOR LAUREL AS VICE-PRESIDENT

As the two candidates Aquino and Marcos argued as to who won the Philippine election, Reagan continued to say that he would work with Marcos. Also, he noted with satisfaction how the Philippines had adopted American style democracy with a "good" election and a "strong" two-party system. (New York Times, 2/11/86, p. 1)

Reagan tried to appear neutral, but Aquino threatened Reagan that he'd better recognize her presidential victory. (AP, 2/12/86) She said that she would not necessarily be able to restrain her disappointed followers who saw violence as the only recourse. Some of her Parliamentary allies even threatened to turn to the semi-Maoist New People's Army if Reagan and Marcos did not give Aquino her due. Aquino says that there will be violence unless Marcos resigns and that there will be local and national strikes about once a week until Marcos resigns. (Detroit Free Press, 2/12/86; AP, 2/13/86)

Reagan seemed to suggest that compromise was the best thing and that Aquino should receive some kind of input in the government. Speculation continued to focus on Marcos's acceptance of Salvador Laurel--Aquino's running mate--as his own vice-president, especially given Marcos's picking a rather obscure running mate and Laurel's relative conservatism even compared with Aquino.

HAITIAN REVOLT NOT SETTLED YET

A celebration of Duvalier's fall took something of a political tone. "Despite our joy, people who remain vigilant see with uneasiness the infiltration in the National Council of Government and in the Ministries, some men of the past--former ministers who supported the dictatorial Duvalier regime in all its ferocity." ("Manifesto of Committed Gonaives Citizens," New York Times, 2/12/86, p. 4)

"These elements do not have any place in the bosom of the new government. . . The people watch and wait for their liberation to be total and definitive." (Ibid.)

"Brother Luciano Pharaon, who had been active organizing anti-Duvalier resistance, said in an interview: 'The majority of people here are very skeptical. They're not enthusiastic. For them this represents Duvalierism without Duvalier.'" (Ibid.)

COMPANY ABANDONS "RAPE" PERFUME

Citing intense pressure from the public, a New York-based perfume company has decided against the name "Rape" for a new perfume. The NOW New York Media Reform Task Force orchestrated the public pressure after a New York woman attorney alerted NOW to the proposed name. (Soujourner, Jan. 1986)

There are many examples of rape or other violence against women being "sold" in the mass media--in the movie "Purple Rain," for instance, rock star Prince was shown beating his devoted girlfriend. The victory against "Rape" perfume is only one battle in a long war against the patriarchy.

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BHOPAL WOMEN SURVIVORS: BREAKING SILENCE

For women who survived the Union Carbide leak of December 1984 in India, the problems of adjustments are just beginning. The prisons have affected them in dangerous ways. Women who protested on May 10 were beaten by police.

Significant side effects for women are: painful menstruation, infertility, reduced lactation, pain during intercourse, and continuous exhaustion. The agony of the survivors is still acute; one said "we're on the brink of death still. . .it is slowly killing us. Isn't it better to die fighting than be killed gradually by this gas?" (Off Our Backs, Jan. 1986)

CRUEL AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT FOR JAILED REVOLUTIONARY JUDY CLARK

At Bedford Hills Prison in New York, because the FBI claims it discovered a vague "conspiracy to escape," Weatherwoman and Brinks expropriator Judy Clark has received a sentence far beyond the dictates of even so-called "maximum security."

The FBI claims that it found documents in Judy's handwriting outside the prison gates, proving her involvement. Although women caught in the act of escaping have been given one year in solitary, Judy Clark received two years. This means she will be in one cell 23 hours a day, denied all human contact except when she showers, has one hour recreation, or gets visits.

Fellow radical Kathy Boudin, who has written to feminist newspapers on Judy's behalf, terms this "an unjust sentence. . . essentially [given] for written ideas which the FBI says were hers." In the wake of the aborted Brinks robbery of 1981, many of the participants received discriminatory treatments--Sekoe Odinga and Sam Brown tortured in prison, Judy Clark held in total isolation for months, and Kathy Boudin, who eventually pleaded guilty, enduring a media circus before she received a 20 year sentence.

To protest Judy's sentence, write to:

Superintendent Elaine Lord

247 Harris Road

Bedford Hills, NY 10507

(Off Our Backs, Dec., Feb. 1985)

WALL STREET JOURNAL SAYS BIG MONEY UNDER CONGRESSIONAL ATTACK

According to the Wall Street Journal, the Congress is moving towards restricting the role of Political Action Committees (PACs) in making donations to campaigns for federal office. Some congresspeople are even considering public financing for candidates.

Well, heck, there's only two parties anyway. Why not get the taxpayers to pay for the election of millionaires?

Tsk, tsk, ultraleftists, won't public funding reduce the influence of corporate donors on electoral politics says the "democratic socialists."

Funding for Congressional races was under \$100 million in 1974 and rose to over \$350 million in 1984. Most of the increase came from PACs and large donors.

Jesse Helms paid \$16 million for his latest Senate term. Even the Wall Street Journal acknowledges that a serious House contest means a half a million dollars--and that's only for a two year term. (Wall Street Journal, 1/20/86, p. 34)

The MIM NOTES recommendation on public electoral funding, the end of the domination of millionaires and political air time based on the political work of volunteers: Don't hold your breath. Make revolution.

THE PROGRESSIVE GETS DIRT ON SALVADORAN DEATH SQUADS

An admitted death squad officer who took part in the assassinations of civilians said that he worked for the CIA. The CIA admitted his being on the payroll, but the death squad officer's commanding CIA liason had no comment on the matter.

The Progressive interviewed the death squad officer to prove the U.S. connection and to show the truth about Reagan's claims that the CIA is not connected to death squad activity. (Progressive, March 1986) To the best of MIM NOTES' knowledge, no major press service or newspaper picked up the story.

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MIM NOTES

no. 23

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

W.W. III HEATS UP

4/28/86

SO-CALLED SECOND WORLD GOVERNMENTS BACK LIBYA SCAPEGOATING

French government officials said that they would have supported an all-out attack on Libya to replace Khadafy. Hours before the U.S. raid, the U.S. asked for an airfield for bombers to take-off from. The French declined. Later they said that it would only pique the Arabs to bomb Libya with no resulting change in government.

Meanwhile, England supported the U.S. raid completely by letting American planes start from airbases on English soil. England has gone farther in isolating Libya than the United States in terms of sending Libyan students home. The U.S. is not sending home Libyan students in the U.S. because it claims that after Khadafy the students will have a good pro-American influence on Libya.

Meanwhile, West Germany expelled 41 Libyans from the embassy there. W. Germany also covered American plans by confirming a few days before the attack that there was no danger of a military act by the United States. Through these standard procedure military lies, W. Germany and the U.S. hoped to catch Libya off guard.

Denmark expelled several Libyan diplomats and restricted the movements of the rest. (Detroit Free Press, 4/23/86)

By law, the U.S. government can not appear to support the assassination of leaders of foreign governments. This law put Reagan in the position of denying that the U.S. tried to assassinate Khadafy by bombing his headquarters. It turns out that Khadafy was indeed inside when the bombing started. Thus by calling for Khadafy's assassination, France took the hardest line.

Indeed, France indicated its anger with the U.S. for not backing past military actions against Khadafy in regard to Libyan activities against Chad. Apparently, the U.S. did not share relevant intelligence information when France undertook military operations in Chad. France also complained about a lack of support for French strikes in the Bekaa valley in 1983. (New York Times, 4/25/86)
French "socialism"--ah so inspiring.

DEMOCRATS--WHERE ARE THEY WHEN WAR GETS GOING?

True to form, the Democrats sought to take advantage of the chauvinist upsurge surrounding the attack on Libya. Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill supported the action as a "justified" "defense" of the 12 mile limit recognized by European sponsored "international law." Obviously, none of the major Democrats stood up against the invasion, and certainly none with presidential aspirations.

SOVIET UNION GAVE GREEN LIGHT FOR BOMBING OF LIBYA

Asked before the military action what the USSR would do if the U.S. took military action against Libya, Soviet diplomats said their role would not be to further escalate world tension. Concretely, the Soviets pulled out their technicians manning anti-aircraft missile batteries in Libya just before the U.S. attack. During the attack itself, the Soviet Union did not provide any intelligence information to Libya. (Chicago Tribune, 4/20/86, p. 13)

meeting with Secretary of State George Schultz. However, one Nigerian newsman in Moscow asked Soviet officials: "'Is that all?'" (Chicago Tribune, 4/20/86, p. 13)

A Middle Eastern diplomat grasped the role of Libya. "'Every good politician needs his 'bad boy' to do the dirty work. . . . That was Khadafy's job for the Soviet Union.'" (Ibid.) Furthermore, "'but it doesn't mean that the Soviet Union is automatically ready for war with the U.S. on his behalf.'" (Ibid.)

Libya is indeed a proxy for the Soviet Union despite its Islamic government. Western observers estimate that the Soviets have sold \$15 billion in arms to Libya in the last twenty years. In 1980, the Soviet Union may have received 10% "of its hard currency earnings from the exchange of Libyan petro-dollars for Soviet hardware and advice." (Ibid.)

However, there are tensions between the Soviets and its proxy. The Soviets support Iraq in the war against Iran. Libya supports Iran with Soviet weapons. Libya has no Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union unlike Syria, Iraq and South Yemen. Last October Khadafy did not show up for a reception in his honor in the Kremlin (Ibid.) Perhaps for this kind of recalcitrance, the USSR allowed Khadafy to see what would happen if he did not toe a more pro-Soviet line. Days after the attack the Soviets sent a military vessel to Libya's ports. Along with diplomatic mouthings this showed that the USSR would only go so far in leaving Libya on its own.

SOVIETS COOPERATE IN TURNING IN ALLEGED PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS

A German newspaper--Die Welt--said that the Soviet Union turned over the names of 30 Palestinians suspected of belonging to terrorist groups to the West German government. This occurred after the hijacking of the Achille Lauro last October. (Detroit Free Press, 4/23/86, p. 15a)

American officials have admitted to asking Soviet help in preventing the attack on the West Berlin disco that the U.S. used as a pretext for attacking Libya. (Chicago Tribune, 4/20/86, p. 13)

US DOES NOT RECOGNIZE INTERNATIONAL LAW IT CLAIMS TO PROTECT

The United States is not a signatory to the treaty that establishes the 12 mile limit on territorial waters. Nor does the U.S. recognize the international court that handles conflicts surrounding the 12 mile limit. Of course, the U.S. does not acknowledge the international court ruling against U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. The U.S. is hypocritically defending "international law" in the name of fighting "terrorism," which international courts find the U.S. guilty of.

This is not to say that the U.S. does not have an interest in the 12 mile limit as imposed on other countries. Freedom of the seas is important to American capitalists who wish to exploit the fishing and mineral resources claimed by other countries. For example, Third World countries such as Peru have suggested a 200 mile limit. This would give oppressed countries rights to the resources on the ocean shelf extending from a country's coast. Oil and minerals are often found on this shelf. "Freedom of the seas" means "freedom to exploit" for American capitalists. The United States and European countries hope to exploit ocean resources without paying anything to countries claiming the 200 mile limit.

REAGAN PLAYS ON ANTI-ARAB RACISM

Reagan put Iran and Syria on notice that as "terrorist countries" they are on the U.S. hit list. Besides widening his target and possibilities for world war, Reagan listed Libya, Iran and Syria as entire countries, not just governments with certain leaders or places where certain organizations are active. (Wall Street Journal, 4/24/86) This took advantage of and perpetuated anti-Arab racism that equates

REAGAN LINKS LIBYA TO NICARAGUA, VIETNAM

In attempt to carry "success" in battle from one part of the world to another, Reagan said that Libya has given Nicaragua \$400 million in aid. "And in this sense they are trying to build a Libya on our doorstep. And it's the contras, the freedom fighters, who are stopping them." (Detroit Free Press, 4/23/86, p. 15a) Indeed, the situations are connected. The U.S. is overcoming the "post-Vietnam syndrome" according to Reagan (Ibid.) and taking a global approach to defeat its Soviet rivals.

Backing this point of view is illustrious scholar Daniel Pipes who published an editorial saying "the U.S. should next time go all out against Col. Qadhafi--destroying his air force, crippling his oil facilities, and so forth." (Wall Street Journal, 4/23/86, p. 34) Pipes, son of Richard Pipes, Harvard scholar and former foreign policy adviser to Reagan on the Soviet Union, said that Reagan was stuck in the Vietnam syndrome himself. Speaking against "proportionate response" and "incrementalism," as seen in Vietnam according to Pipes, the U.S. should deal Khadafy one death blow and end the fighting. Pipes concludes that "like Grenada, Libya is unusually vulnerable to American power." (Ibid.) Surely the son will follow the father into "public service."

WALL STREET JOURNAL CRITICIZES REAGAN AS SOFT

The Wall Street Journal criticized Reagan for even trying to appear to uphold the SALT II treaty. "Death Knell for SDI" said that Reagan must stand up to the Soviets or his SDI program will suffer because of treaty claims. (The Journal is implying that if Reagan is going to uphold SALT II, what about SALT I? Won't he give up SDI for SALT I?) (Wall Street Journal, 4/23/86, p. 34)

RETIRED ISRAELI GENERAL ADMITS \$2 BILLION DEAL WITH IRAN

An Israeli retired general attempted to export \$2 billion in arms to Iran. He claimed that Israeli authorities quietly authorized him to make the deal. (Wall Street Journal, 4/24/86)

SOVIETS STRIKE BACK IN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION--AFGHANISTAN

Moslem rebels in Afghanistan admitted that Soviet commandos captured and destroyed the most important rebel base near the border with Pakistan. (Wall Street Journal, 4/24/86) The Soviet strike demonstrates that while the U.S. may have control in the Libya situation, the Soviets can also accelerate progress toward nuclear holocaust and make a point of it when the U.S. flexes its muscle.

SOVIETS STRIKE IN ERITREA TOO

An April 14th communique from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front stated that three to five thousand "additional Soviet technicians and pilots have recently arrived in Asmara in connection with the Dergue's ongoing preparation for yet another large-scale offensive against the EPLF. . . . This raises the number of Soviet military advisors in Eritrea to 6,500-8,500."

The EPLF has chosen not to confront the Soviet Union with a fully Maoist analysis. In the communique it "calls upon the Soviet Union to stop its steadily escalating intervention in support of Ethiopia's policy of expansionism and destabilization and, instead, use its authority and influence, as a big power, to bring about peace and stability."

In any case, the Soviets moves in Ethiopia coincided with its removing anti-aircraft experts from action in Libya prior to the U.S. attack. The Soviets thus demonstrated that its international posture is not weakening and that properly subservient countries such as Ethiopia will receive the aid they need

SOUTH AFRICA CHANGES INFLUX CONTROL

South Africa apparently abolished pass laws for Blacks and released prisoners convicted for pass law offenses.

In the past, Blacks carried around a passbook everywhere to justify their presence in white areas. Without official permission as indicated in the passbook, Blacks were subject to arrest and imprisonment. Most Blacks suffered under the law at one time or another.

Now it appears that all peoples in South Africa will carry around identification cards. (New York Times, 4/25/86)

AZAPO denounced the appearance of reform in South Africa: "The removal of influx control is a very minute step towards the removal of the racist laws that entrench white supremacy." (Ibid.)

AZAPO also pointed out that economic influx control will replace legal influx control. Blacks may have the right to visit the white areas, but they may not remain without a residence. In other words, South Africa's extreme housing shortage for Blacks will mean a different law will keep Blacks out of the white areas. (Ibid.)

"Local authorities. . . still will have control over the movement of people. It will take place within the framework of provisions to control squatting, to enforce health regulations, to deal with loitering and congregating," said Mary Burton of the Black Sash a civil rights organization composed of women. (Chicago Tribune, 4/27/86, p. 10)

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NEW YORK TIMES NOTICES DIRECT AMERICAN TROOP ROLE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Although U.S. servicemen are flying contras in and out of battle-zones in Nicaragua and Honduras, the New York Times has chosen to make a front page story out of a different fact: American Army helicopters and 50 American soldiers took a role in flying Honduran troops to areas near the Nicaraguan border where supposed Sandinista aggressions were taking place. (NYTimes, 3/27/86, p. a1) This apparently is "news fit to print." Wonderful American troops are protecting tiny sovereign and defenseless Honduras.

The same actions by Americans for contras is not fit to print partly because the war in Central America is semi-covert still: the American press does not report American supplied bombing in El Salvador or the role of Americans in the contra war. The U.S. government actually does conduct a semi-covert war thanks to the media.

HONDURAN OFFICIAL BLOWS SCRIPT

The American sponsored regime in Honduras is in quite a bind. On the one hand, the president of the country told the press of a supposed international incident in which Sandinistas pursued contra enemies into Honduras. Honduras requested military aid and received the American troop support discussed above. However, there is a certain price to pay for this lackeyism. Honduran officials later covered themselves by saying that it was Reagan who suggested the whole uproar and military aid in the first place. This keeps Honduras from appearing to want to fight Nicaragua on behest of the United States. "The United States interest was that this situation have the connotation of an international incident," said a Honduran official. "We had no interest in this." (New York Times, 4/3/86, p. a1) The irony of American supported regimes is that they sometimes can not appear too slavish lest they upset the nationalist sentiments of the

people they need to repress at the smallest cost possible.

Still, the United States threatened to cut off military aid if Honduras did not complain about Nicaraguan incursions. Once it did complain, Honduras received \$20 million in military aid. (Detroit Free Press, 3/29/86, p. a1)

NPA SPLINTERING?

One of Aquino's first acts in power was to free 500 political prisoners "including Jose Maria Sison, founder of the Communist Party, and Bernabe Buscayno, first leader of the New People's Army." (New York Times, 3/25/86, p. 3) Such actions can obviously cause both leadership quarrels amongst the rebels and popular sympathy for Aquino.

Reports have trickled out of NPA units' surrendering. However, one such surrender involved only 20 guns and 1,000 supposed communists. It is not clear how much that particular incident is merely a staged surrender created by the government. (Ibid.)

HOW TO SURVIVE NUCLEAR WAR, BY THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

The front page of the "Tomorrow: Science, medicine and technology" section of the Chicago Tribune featured instructions to build a fall-out shelter.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency operates with the philosophy that "You need civil defense for the same reason you wear seat belts. Pulling seat belts on doesn't mean you drive more recklessly." (Chicago Tribune, 2/16/86)

It's enough to make one wonder why the government does not tell people to carry around pillows: "You need civil defense for the same reason you carry around pillows. Carrying pillows around doesn't mean you will jump off more buildings and bridges."

"The U.S. Defense Department estimates that a limited nuclear war could result in as few as 5 percent fatalities, or about 12 million Americans." (Ibid.) That's quite a few.

Obviously the government and its vigilant press are preparing the public for an escalation of war hostilities to the level of nuclear holocaust. So don't wait, save your C.O.D.s and send cash or check to the "Survival Center," NY, NY for a "one-year food supply costing \$975 per person that can be purchased on a layaway plan." (Ibid.)

The recommended food supply is found in "Life After Doomsday." "8 cans of crackers or cookies; 4 pounds of candy; a pound each of sugar and salt; 16 jars of coffee, tea or cocoa; 8 dozen bottles of soft drinks; 16 cans of evaporated milk; 16 cans of fruit; 32 cans each of vegetables, soups and entrees such as meat or fish; 16 jars of peanut butter; 8 jars of jam; and 56 single-serving packets of cereal." (Ibid.)

Of course, "the comfort level of the shelter varies with the cost. . . A section of basement can be converted to provide some additional fallout shelter for as little as \$500." (Ibid.)

ROUTINE BRUTALITY PROCEDURE BACKFIRES

Police barged in on a supposed narcotics dealer's house. The attack was a surprise attack. No one in the house was prepared or asked in advance to surrender.

However, this was not an ordinary raid. A different squad of police were already inside questioning their suspects--not aware of the other squad's plans to barge in.

This time there could be no lies or cover-up at least on some of the basic facts. In the end two Detroit police officers were shot dead. Police officers shot police officers before asking questions, all within twenty seconds. (Detroit Free Press, 3/2/86)

For once, American "democracy," "procedure" and "due process" did not victimize the oppressed. But will anyone believe the police's story about what happened?

Most encouragingly, Iatyana Zaslavskaya argues that the Soviet Union has yet to meet Marx's expectations of socialism, never mind communism. For instance, she says that pay is not according to work in the Soviet Union.

"Opportunities for the timely development of one's abilities are still dependent to a large extent on one's geographical locations and on the social standing of one's parents. . . . The higher the level of study, the greater is the difference among social groups. . . . The majority of students in the most prestigious schools are the graduates of the best Moscow schools. . . . The majority of girls who graduate from village schools have to go to work at cattle farms because there are no other jobs for them, while graduates from urban schools have a wide choice of professions." (Ibid.) It seems unlikely that any faction of the state capitalist class would point up these factors as roadblocks to classless society.

Another article suggested that Gorbachev's modernization program would result in large bouts of temporary unemployment. (Ibid.) Again this could represent the struggle of one faction of one group of state capitalists against another. Often in the Soviet Union since the 60s, sections of the government have argued unemployment to get workers to ally with one section of the state capitalist class against another. On the other hand, talk of large unemployment opens the way to criticisms of the Soviet social structure and may be interpreted quite extensively in the Soviet context.

PLD/ISRAELI COLLABORATOR MAYOR KILLED

A pro-Soviet faction of the PLD working with Abu Nidal killed a mayor on the West Bank upon the failure of Jordanian "peace talks" with Yasser Arafat. Reportedly, 50,000 Palestinians attended the funeral of Zafer al-Masri. They carried pictures of the slain mayor and Arafat. Arafat had endorsed the mayor after Israel made it clear it would appoint him and after he claimed to have found that Zafer al-Masri was indeed popular. (Detroit Free Press, 3/4/86)

Apparently the death of the mayor evoked some nationalist sentiments that deserve respect. Of course, there are also a number of Palestinians economically dependent on Jordan on the West Bank. 2,500 receive civil servant salaries from Jordan. Many others sell farm produce to Jordan. (Ibid.)

The assassination by the mayor represents stepped up efforts of the anti-Arafat and pro-Syrian factions of the PLD. Arafat is clearly getting tagged as a collaborator with Israel and Jordan. On the other hand, the attackers appear equally dependent on Syria.

Overall Arafat is in a difficult position. He benefits from the sympathy for the assassinated mayor, but he is also clearly identified with Israel in that sympathy.

MIM would like to ask various long-standing cheerleaders of the PLD: who are they waving the flag for now? Nothing could cause greater disorientation than hitching one's cart whole-heartedly to this opportunist-led organization. Arafat has done everything short of taking an Israeli salary and appears to realize his value to Israel and the United States as a potential ally relative to more pro-Soviet leaders in the PLD. He is left to holding out for the best deal until the day he gets one or is assassinated by impatient Israelis. While the PLD's cause deserves support, its factionalization and opportunism points up that it was not always the perfect vehicle of revolutionary nationalism it was cracked up to be by its tag-along supporters. The Palestinian people deserve better leadership.

APARTHEID NORMALIZES VIOLENCE

The white settler regime occupying Azania (South Africa) lifted its seven month state of emergency. It is no longer considered an emergency to shoot the Black people of Azania every day. Indeed, the settler regime's violence has increased: "The rate of killings has

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no. 24

5/20/86

South Africa on the Offensive

SOUTH AFRICA DEMONSTRATES REGIONAL POLICEMAN ROLE

Monday, May 19th, South African military forces attacked three countries--Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia for having ANC (African National Congress) members within their borders. The ANC is the nationalist, pro-Soviet liberation group in South Africa fighting for one-man one-vote, where 5 million whites currently rule 24 million Blacks.

In Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe South African soldiers bombed the ANC office. No one was hurt because the ANC had been tipped off on the raid.

Harare is 300 miles from S. African borders. The S. African troops arrived by land. As S. Africa's first public attack on Harare, the S. African venture corroborates accusations that S. Africa assassinates anti-apartheid leaders in Harare and elsewhere in the region.

In Botswana, South African troops killed a soccer player and injured three others including one Botswanan soldier. The helicopter-borne attack was on a housing complex in the capital--Gaborone--the second in less than a year.

"In Zambia, two South African warplanes struck a refugee camp near the capital of Lusaka, said President Kenneth Kaunda who condemned the attacks as "cowardly, criminal and unforgiveable acts of aggression." (Associated Press, David Crary, 5/19/86)

The warplanes flew almost 1,000 miles from S. Africa. At least one Zambian and one Namibian were killed and nine people injured. (Ibid.)

S. African army chief Lt. Gen. A. J. Liebenberg said that "the action taken against the terrorists should be interpreted as indicative of the firm resolve of the Republic of South Africa to use all the means at its disposal against terrorists wherever they may be." (Ibid.)

He also said that "responsible South African leaders have repeatedly stated this country's determination to combat terrorism and leaders of various Western countries have recently done so as well." (UPI in Ann Arbor News, 5/19/86, p. 1)

The United States and Britain condemned the attacks, but they continued to oppose economic sanctions against S. Africa. (AP, op. cit.)

According to State Dept. official Chester Crocker, South Africa faces the greatest risk of revolution when it spreads itself too thin in fighting regional wars.

The U.S. does not oppose the S. African raid in principle. It only fears that its war partner will lose if it becomes engaged in too many armed conflicts at once.

SAUDIS STOOD UP FOR U.S. AGAINST LIBYA

Saudi Arabia opposed Libya's efforts to hold an Arab summit on the U.S. bombing of Tripoli. It also blocked Arab economic and political sanctions against the U.S according to a senior government official. (New York Times, 5/14/86, p. 2)

Reagan has cited Saudi Arabia as an American ally. He is attempting to gain Congressional permission to sell \$354 million in missiles to the Saudis. Congress voted down the sale to Saudi Arabia two weeks ago.

Syria, Iran, Libya and S. Yemen are already on Reagan's public hit list of countries that support terrorism. By denying arms sales to Saudi Arabia, the U.S. government is exacerbating contradictions with the Arab states generally. American anti-Arabism will undermine so-called moderate U.S. supporters in the Mid-East by paving the way for pan-Arabist and nationalist sentiments against U.S. backed regimes. The U.S. will not have an easy time lining up Arabs and Israelis alike in the war bloc against the East.

CIA LENDING COVERT AID TO ANTI-SOVIET BLOC STRUGGLES WORLDWIDE

The CIA is giving \$500 million in covert aid to armed groups opposing governments supported by the Soviet Union--in Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Cambodia. The CIA has the backing of the 208 Committee, which is composed of representatives from the National Security Council (NSC), State Department, Pentagon and CIA.

Contrary to common belief, the Congress has never outlawed all aid to the contras or any other pawn of state terrorism. The above organizations of the executive branch receive "discretionary" allocations.

For instance, the law states that the CIA may spend money in its multi-million dollar discretionary fund however it wishes as long as it informs two members of Congress. The amount of "discretionary" funding is not known to the public.

Before the Congressional debate on the contras in April, the press revealed that the CIA has aided the contras all along despite a law banning CIA support of the contras. The public had previously thought that a law banning CIA aid to the contras was in effect.

The Congress has given the appearance of operating by rules of democracy. In reality though, the Congress obeys the laws of capitalist imperialism before anything else.

It appears that the necessity faced by the bourgeoisie to go to war in Central America is greater than the public opinion it has roused for the cause. Hence, aid to the contras is covert.

However, periodically the capitalist class tries to rally public opinion for its war effort, so that it may wage a more open and intense war. For instance, the executive branch threatened to cut-off military aid to Honduras if Honduras did not report to the press a phony border war with Nicaragua. Momentarily, this seemed to work and it seemed that the Congress was going to approve aid to the contras to fight Nicaragua.

The ruling class is trying to carry out war without affronting public opinion. It creates incidents such as at Honduras and Libya in order to rally the public to a more open and fully-developed WW III. In the meantime, the bourgeoisie donates money and personnel in a covert fashion to its mercenary forces across the globe.

The ruling class does not dare declare WW III openly because of public opinion. However, WW III is already on.

"The strategy, recommended by CIA Director William Casey and approved by Reagan in January 1985, rests on the premise that the two superpowers are already engaged in a war of sorts using proxy armies, the officials said." (Detroit Free Press, 5/12/86, p. 1, 13a)

now. MIM has argued that WWII is already on since MIM started. It is time to rally public opinion against covert and proxy war, not just open war fought with "our boys."

CHERNOBYL NUCLEAR PLANT NOT UNLIKE AMERICAN ONES

Initial reports on the Chernobyl accident from U.S. and nuclear industry experts were factually inaccurate. After some delay, experts have conceded that Chernobyl did in fact have a containment structure of concrete and steel like those found in the U.S.

The structure had one to two feet of steel and six to eight feet of concrete. In addition there were several million gallons of water below the reactor and a layer of nitrogen surrounding the reactor. The nitrogen layer is supposedly non-flammable. The reactor was sealed in a number of layers to prevent explosions like the one that has resulted in the deaths of 13 people so far.

The two walls of the containment structure could handle 27 and 57 pounds per square inch respectively. American units need walls that withstand 55 to 65 pounds per square inch. Some that use ice only need to withstand 12 to 15. A number of factors including the volume enclosed by the containment structure vary from plant to plant so that technical comparisons are not easy.

With the new information many government, industry and academic experts honestly stepped forward to contradict American chauvinist thinking that American nuclear plants could never have the same problem: "I'm just a little nervous that we have the same design, and it didn't work," said Prof. Richard Wilson of the Physics Dept. at Harvard. Wilson chaired a 1985 study on severe nuclear accidents. (Ann Arbor News, 5/19/86, Stuart Diamond, New York Times)

SOUTH AFRICA DEATH TOLL UP TO 1600

The effort to maintain apartheid has cost 1,600 lives since S. Africa announced its new constitution, which continued to give the majority African population fourth class status. (AP, David Crary, 5/19/86)

Unfortunately, the bourgeois press has focussed on this overt violence. Likewise, pacifists remain insensitive to institutional violence in S. Africa effected through mass starvation and inadequate

WEINBERGER THINKS BOYCOTTS WORK

People as "diverse" as Harvard President Derek Bok and Ronald Reagan believe that to pull business out of S. Africa would be to run away from problems instead of working to reform apartheid.

The opposite is the case for Libya, which own a mere 15% of a FIAT subsidiary that recently won a Pentagon bidding competition for a contract. "Defense" Secretary Caspar Weinberger cancelled the contract through a national security clause. Weinberger cited fear of Libya's profiting from the contract as the reason for disqualifying FIAT's contract bid. (Detroit Free Press, 5/16/86)

INDONESIA BANS AUSTRALIAN PRESS

The Australian press remains banned from Indonesia and Indonesia temporarily gave Australian tourists visa difficulties in reaction to an Australian article about Indonesian president Suharto. Suharto is worth \$2 to 3 billion. (New York Times, 4/28/86, p. 8)

The New York Times itself is banned from East Timor in a blackout of Indonesia's genocide against the Timorese.

Still, so-called Second World country Australia, which has front row seats for the genocide by its neighbor Indonesia, recognizes Indonesia as having sovereignty in East Timor. Australia is ruled by the so-called Labor Party. (Ibid.)

Indonesia has killed over 100,000 Timorese through occupation according to conservative Congressional estimates. Also, the Indonesian military killed 500,000 Maoists and alleged Maoists, mostly Chinese in a slaughter in Indonesia itself in 1965. (Time, 5/12/86)

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Australia's relations with Indonesia may appear strained, but they are certainly far from supportive of Timorese self-determination. Australia's foreign policy proves once again that so-called Second World countries (advanced non-superpower countries) are not allies of the oppressed. Instead, even people of the supposed "left," such as Prime Minister Bob Hawke, in the Second World represent the interests of the Australian bourgeoisie.

For more information on East Timor, write to MIM.

DON'T FORGET OUR OTHER CHINA

A former American serviceman wrote a letter to the Free China Journal, which is a Taiwanese propaganda paper aimed at Americans. "I say 'Our ROC' because I was stationed for Uncle Sam in Taipei for almost 5 years from early 1954 to late 1958 and the love affair that developed then is still in bloom today."

The Free China Journal corrected the author in one way. "(Editor's note: ROC is now sixth largest trading partner to the USA since 1985.)" (Free China Journal, 5/5/86) The serviceman had thought that Taiwan was still eighth.

PERUVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT ADVISES NICARAGUA TO LAY DOWN ARMS

The Contadora Peace Plan, long hailed by American moderates as a solution to the conflict in Central America would have Nicaragua cut its armed forces and agree to a moratorium on weapons purchases. Apparently, certain circles in the U.S. government are giving

Contadora the green light. The American press reported that Dan Habib and influential Congressmen were on the verge of getting Reagan to back Contadora.

Peru's president Alan Garcia supports the Contadora process and publicly advised Nicaragua to sign Contadora even if the United States does not agree to honor its terms. (New York Times, 5/12/86) In other words, Garcia wants Nicaragua to lay down its arms even if the U.S. continues to aid the contras.

Garcia alluded to regional troubles. He clearly has the Sendero insurgency in his own country in mind. Perhaps if the U.S. cooled off the Central America conflict for awhile, Garcia reasons, Peru's own conflagration would appear more isolated.

PAKISTAN SHOOTS DOWN SOVIET PLANES FROM AFGHANISTAN

Armed with U.S.-made F-16 fighters, Pakistan shot down a Soviet made MiG-21 from the Soviet Union. The MiG crashed in Pakistan.

It is unclear if Soviet flyers manned the jet.

The Soviets are trying to finish off resistance to its colonial administration of Afghanistan. (Christian Science Monitor, 5/19/86, p. 2)

GOV'T RIDES ANTI-LIBYA, CHAUVINIST WAVE

Secretary of State George P. Schultz told CBS "Face the Nation" that the United States needs to use its covert options against Libya more. He had said at news conferences that the goal of the bombing of Colonel Qaddafi's headquarters was to cause "considerable dissidence" within Qaddafi's military. "Mr. Schultz said a coup would be 'all to the good.'" (New York Times, 4/28/86, p. 7)

Other government officials said that Reagan had authorized at least two covert programs to oust Qaddafi and that his death in the American bombings would have been "serendipitous." Not surprisingly, the U.S. failed for lack of finding a credible opposition.

Any American support for an opposition in Libya would be the kiss of death for that group. It stands to reason that Libyan nationalists would protest against anybody's receiving U.S. aid.

Thus, Schultz did not name anyone that the U.S. is trying to support in Libya. However, Schultz is building public opinion for CIA covert action against Libya while there is a chauvinistic wind in the air. That which the public did not know about before is now made public knowledge in order to push for open aggression.

"ZOMBIE" AGENTS INFILTRATED NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

A Catholic newspaper in Manila reported that the thousands of insurgents laying down their arms to the Aquino government are in reality agents of the military placed in the New People's Army (NPA) over the years by the Marcos regime. A number of "zombies" have confessed to working for pay under Marcos to undermine the NPA from within.

One zombie--Vicente Libora-- under detention in Mindanao said, "the NPA structure has been duplicated by the zombies. The zombies have penetrated all rungs in the structure. The structure is really the same. We also do not know who is on top, who is in the central committee." (Veritas, "The 'Zombies': 'Veritas' Reporter Discovers That Many NPA Surrenderers Are in Reality Deep Penetration Agents," 4/3/86)

Libora had been paid a salary and more importantly, given medicine for an illness not otherwise available for infiltrating the NPA with the assignment to "kill the Commanding Officer and surrender the entire unit by December, 1985." (Ibid.)

Zombie Carlos Balacwet admitted to killing his NPA team leader and extorting money from innocent civilians. His Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) superiors had commanded him to violate every rule of discipline in the NPA. A zombie in Carlos's collective killed Carlos's brother, who was a ranking guerrilla in the NPA.

Another zombie was actually a Major in the AFP. She killed those who did not turn over extortion money.

According to an NPA leader named Nilo Nabong, "once inside the organizations, the DPA [zombie] starts violating codes of discipline like stealing from the people, destroying people's property, sowing intrigues and in-fighting among members of the community; spreading anti-social vices like gambling and drinking, and even engaging in prostitution." (Ibid.) Another leader said, "it was really very difficult to accept. Here we were fighting the enemy only to find out that there was an enemy within our ranks." (Ibid.)

Nabong had this to say for the zombies: "They are the best extensions of the military in the barrios; more effective and potent because they are discreetly hidden behind the cloak of the people's mass organizations in the barrio." (Ibid.)

The NPA has rightly purged these zombies. Some of them convert to be revolutionaries because of unfulfilled promises of pay from the AFP. Others are detained. After investigation and trial within the NPA most zombies are eventually released.

The zombies teach communists everywhere two valuable lessons. First, it is impossible to avoid infiltration by agents of the bourgeoisie. Secondly, it is vital to have channels to the non-party and non-army masses. People who step forward to identify abuses by the cadres of revolution are extremely valuable and courageous. Says Nabong, "we have been accused of deception, brigandry, and terrorism. We have been accused of killing several persons who did not even commit any crime against the people. We have been accused of launching ambushes and extortions, and worse, of killing innocent civilians in the process. For a time, we could not understand what was going on." (Ibid.) Only genuine revolutionaries with an ear to the ground and a will to investigate can claim the mantle of liberator of the people.

AQUINO IN BIND, SUPPORTERS CALL FOR END OF US AID TO MILITARY

President Aquino of the Philippines told visiting "Defense" Secretary Caspar Weinberger "that her new government needs American economic assistance more than military assistance." (Washington Post, 4/8/86) Weinberger replied that military assistance is "essential." (Ibid.) The U.S. government has taken to warning Aquino of the threat from New People's Army guerrillas.

Meanwhile, left of center supporters of Aquino in the U.S. are pressuring the Congress not to give military aid to the Philippines. According to the Philippine Human Rights Lobby, "the Reagan administration has recently asked Congress \$50 million in supplemental military aid for the Philippines for FY 1986, despite the fact that Cory Aquino has not requested it."

Aquino came to power in the Philippines with the help of Marcos's military. The military had feared a cut-off in American aid. Now Aquino is saddled with a military with power somewhat independent of hers. Indeed, Aquino could not have come to power without the support of the American trained and supported military of the Philippines.

The irony of Aquino's seizure of power that is extolled in the American press as an example of democracy and non-violence is that it will probably result in an increase in American military control. Aquino may yet end up responsible for more violence than Marcos.

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MIM Notes

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S. Africa reforms again

AZAPO LEADERS AND OTHERS DETAINED IN NEWEST SOUTH AFRICAN CRACKDOWN
The president and former president of AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization) were among the more than 1,000 political leaders rounded up by the apartheid regime on June 12th. Monte Narsoo, of the South African Institute for race relations called it "the biggest concentrated detention swoop ever." (Detroit Free Press, 6/13/86, p. a1)

President Botha declared another state of emergency. The police and military have the power to detain anyone up to 14 days without a warrant. The detained may have no visitors at all. All legal recourse is suspended. The South African police-state is more naked than ever.

As MIM Notes goes to press on June 15th, over 2,000 activists in South Africa have been detained. Their fate, which may be death, is unknown as of yet.

Once again Western economic and military support contribute to that police state and its recent "reform."

PLO PROTECTED U.S. INTERESTS IN DEAL FROM 1976 TO 1982

According to Lewis Snider in the Wall Street Journal, the PLO infiltrated radical Palestinian splinter groups and aborted various missions against the U.S. from 1976 to 1982. (Wall Street Journal, 6/12/86) Snider's point is that the U.S. would protect its imperialist interests better with warmer relations with the PLO.

"One reason why no American lives were lost to attacks by Middle East terrorist groups between 1976 and 1982 was because of covert contacts between U.S. intelligence and representatives of Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization. That liaison was one of the most serious casualties of American support for Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982." (Ibid.)

Abu Nidal's group killed an American ambassador in 1976, but he was apparently stymied in his efforts from 1976 to 1982. When the U.S. received some of the blame for Sabra and Shatilla from the PLO, it lost its protection racket with the PLO according to Snider.

Snider would like the U.S. to buy into the PLO protection racket more fully again. Obviously the Wall Street Journal is considering what Snider says as ideas for protecting capitalist class interests.

GOOD OLD FUNGIBLE MONEY KEEPS CONTRAS GOING

Sometimes the government takes advantage of commodity fetishism. What is money? What is bookkeeping asks the introductory economics student?

Money in the hands of the contras is a covert weapons and military racket. The Wall Street Journal revealed that U.S. "non-lethal" and "humanitarian" aid is all a bookkeeping exercise. The Honduran military alone received over \$1 million of the money for non-lethal assistance to the contras, who are fighting to overthrow the Sandista government of Nicaragua. \$450,000 went to the commander-in-chief of the Honduran military. (Wall Street Journal, 6/12/86)

Of \$4.4 million that went to "three contra brokers and one supplier, only \$785,674 actually went to Central America. Most of the rest was diverted to bank accounts in the United States, the Bahamas and the Cayman Islands." (Detroit Free Press, 6/13/86)

The U.S. government gives money to suppliers that supposedly give the contras non-lethal aid. The suppliers agree to give the money to the Honduran military and others giving military assistance to or condoning the presence of the contras. The suppliers in Central America pretend to supply contras non-lethal supplies and receive a cut in the deal.

The U.S. government can thus tell its people, the Eastern bloc and Nicaragua that it is only giving the contras "humanitarian assistance." Meanwhile, covertly, the contras receive military assistance and benefit from influence-peddling in the region. So desperate is the U.S. government, it feels that it must fool a public not sufficiently linguistic by making war in the guise of "humanitarian" assistance.

This is just another case of the myth of "economic assistance" to the Third World. It is beyond the capability of the corrupt and imperialist U.S. government to render "humanitarian" assistance. It only does that which supports the interest of the capitalist class.

The American capitalist class supports terror in the Third World so that it can get workers there to work for a pittance. At the same time, it is also making war on its competitors in the Eastern bloc. Like to Nicaragua--the U.S. government will support anybody in Central America who can help the U.S. to keep the lid on things and prevent the Soviet Union from getting a piece of the Central American pie.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY SUPPORTS WHO'S WHO OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM CORPORATION

What do some Afghani rebels, the "opposition", in Korea, some underground Polish unions, a member party of the Socialist International in Northern Ireland and the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute, the Center for International Private Enterprise of the Chamber of Commerce, the conservative Nicaraguan newspaper La Prensa, El Mercurio of Santiago, and the National Republican and National Democratic Institutes for International Affairs have in common?

All support democracy for the bourgeoisie and the freedom to exploit, right? Right, but they also receive money from the U.S. government's National Endowment for Democracy. (New York Times, 6/1/86, p. 1)

PENTAGON BUYS NBC NEWS

Conservative zealot and media magnate Ted Turner pointed out that the merger of GE and RCA put a major television network--NBC--in the hands of a company with major defense contracts and a vested interest in the arms race. (Detroit Free Press, 6/14/86, p. 2b) This in effect put NBC in the hands of a company dependent on the Pentagon, which of course is the only source of military contracts available in the United States.

The purchase of NBC may not be a conspiracy because the media under capitalism are all subject to being bought by the highest bidders. Anyone willing to pay...

Of course, it's not really quite open to anybody. One must have the money and the ability to continue outbidding other people for the company. If a capitalist wants to stay in the media business, s/he must run that business better than competitors.

For example, Detroit's two major newspapers--the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit News--have competed with each other for years and have both made millions of dollars in losses. Now they are filing with the federal government to become jointly operated. Both papers will have the same business operations, so there will be no more commercial competition. Detroit will continue to have two newspapers that duly report what people within the government are arguing over, but their economic backers will be the same.

In the Detroit area, the smaller and medium sized capitalists who own smaller newspapers are complaining that the merger will make for even more unfair competition conditions. Of course, they are right. However, those who cannot afford to own their own newspaper under capitalism can hardly shed any tears.

Recently, in Baltimore, one of three major newspapers closed down. In the United States, there is supposedly a "free press," but in reality the press is just another big business.

Under socialism there will be a

media to help effect the mass line crystallized by the vanguard party. Years of bourgeois ownership of the media will be made up for through proletarian administration of the major press, which no one will be able to own.

A truly free press (under full communism) will only arise when it succeeds in proportion to the extent it politically mobilizes the masses instead of the extent that they attract advertisers, make a profit and run their staffs into the ground. Even conservatives will have their own press to the extent that they work to feed themselves and put their remaining time into running their own press. Socialism will thrive where there is truly a free press that does not serve those with the money, but instead serves those with the energy and political commitment to put out a newspaper or television show.

WILLIAM VIGIL AND MARIA HOOKER EXPELLED FROM U.S.

The U.S. expelled two Nicaraguan envoys--William Vigil and Maria Hooker in retaliation for charges that four American diplomats were spies in Managua. (New York Times, 5/23/86, p. 6) Maria Hooker was first secretary of press relations. She had taken issue with an Associated Press article that was exposed in the Michigan Daily and circulated by the MIM network as an example of non-communist but critical and progressive work.

While the events are probably not connected, it is a form of information control that the U.S. sent the top press relations officer home. It will only be that much more difficult to get information about what is happening in Nicaragua, especially in relation to the U.S.

US REORGANIZES CONTRAS

41 former National Guardsmen continue to dominate the military structure of the contras. However, the civilian leadership is undergoing grooming to appeal to international public opinion. The new organization is called the UNO--United Nicaraguan Opposition. (New York Times, 5/23/86, p. a1, 20)

The State Dept. says that UNO is not primarily made up of former Somoza supporters.

The New York Times cited the respectable opposition to the State Dept. in response. "Robert Leiken, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace" says, "they are concerned with recovering the land and property they lost. The politics they practice is the style of Somoza--relying on cliques rather than institutions." (Ibid.)

In other words, the former National Guard people are petty-bourgeois fascists and bureaucrat capitalists without enough concern for their image and political capital. Thank you New York Times for teaching yet another lesson in how the U.S. could be a bigger and better empire if it only supported image-oriented capitalists instead of just fascists.

According to the New York Times, two of the top three leaders of UNO have longstanding ties to the C.I.A. Of those two, the military hardliner Adolfo Calero Portocarrero is the former manager of the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Nicaragua. The other leader who has managed to pull C.I.A. support in the past is a successful businessman.

Arturo José Cruz, a former Sandinista is the third UNO leader. He is a banker.

Perhaps it is wise to concede that the U.S. has cleaned up the image of its pawns. After all, even the New York Times says that the U.S. forced one Ricardo Lau out of the contras because of his reputation for brutality in Honduras. (Ibid.)

The U.S. is managing to create its own UNO public relations leadership. That leadership does not come from the former Somoza National Guard, but it does come exclusively from the capitalist class. What a coincidence.

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Chinese capitalism update

CHINA BREAKS WITH LENIN'S THEORY OF IMPERIALISM

The governing Communist Party of China recently abandoned its view that world war is inevitable as long as there are advanced capitalist countries.

Beijing Review announced that China had held its first "symposium on peace" with more than 40 scholars in attendance.

According to Beijing Review, Deng Xiaoping "lately pointed out unequivocally: In the past we said world war was inevitable. Now we have changed this viewpoint."

Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution in 1917, held that as long as there were advanced capitalism, there would be imperialism. The imperialists according to Lenin would inevitably wage war to redivide the world.

Until the Soviet leader Khrushchev took power in the 1950s, the Marxist-Leninist countries all held that world war could only stop with socialist revolution.

Since the 1950s, however, the Soviet Union has propagated "peaceful coexistence" and "detente" with the advanced capitalist countries of the West.

Likewise, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) now says, "revolutionaries today should not use war to advance socialist revolution." To do so would mean "the common ruin of the contending classes" according to the CCP.

Instead of revolutionary war the CCP says, "we must concentrate on stopping the highly dangerous nuclear arms race."

The CCP emphasized that Third World countries that recently won national independence do not support superpower geopolitics. "They constitute an overwhelming force for peace hitherto unknown in history," according to the CCP.

In a related development, China demobilized one million soldiers in an effort to spur the economy. (Beijing Review, 6/9/86)

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE BRINGS CRIME AS SIDE EFFECT IN CHINA

"Crimes by private entrepreneurs have increased over the past two years, and divorce cases among them have also gone up." (China Daily, 7/10/86, p. 3)

In 1985, 385 people with private businesses went to prison or re-education camp for various sentences. That figure is double 1984's.

"Their convictions were mainly for stealing state or private property, evading taxes, threatening customers and buying and selling stolen goods." (Ibid.)

Divorces were said to increase to a total of 144 per year in 1985 amongst private businesses.

"China has permitted private business since the late 1970s," says the China Daily. (Ibid.)

JORDAN CLOSES PLO OFFICES

Jordanian soldiers closed offices of pro and anti-Arafat factions of the PLO in Amman. (China Daily, 7/9/86, p. 8)

CHINA DAILY: "MENTAL ILLS ON THE RISE IN SHANGHAI"

According to Shanghai's Liberation Daily, "the number of the city's mental patients has exceeded 100,000 or 11.35 per 1,000 people. This constitutes a 55.9 percent increase over the figure in 1978." (China Daily, 7/9/86, p. 3)

In 1982, China averaged 1 mental patient per 100 people. However, there was only 1 bed for every 140 mental patients. (China Daily, 8/13/86, p. 3)

Experts said that schizophrenia and mental depression have risen because of new pressures to do well in exams and business.

One school district in Shanghai alone had four suicide attempts by children in June because of exam and homework pressure. (China Daily, 7/8/86)

A survey "found nearly 30 percent of the cases of abnormal behaviour involved children." (China Daily, 7/9/86)

The phenomena is so new that Shanghai only has 5,500 beds for its mental patients; even though, Shanghai is China's largest city. (Ibid.)

China Daily points out that psychiatry as a profession did not exist until recently in China. (Ibid.)

PERUVIAN REGIME MASSACRES SENDERO PRISONERS

Social democrat and President Alan Garcia feted fellow social democrats and "democratic socialists" from the world over in Lima, while his repressive apparatus massacred surrendered prison rebels.

The regime has acknowledged that guards shot at least a hundred rebels at close range in cold blood. The exposure of this well-witnessed events has resulted in the resignation of the Justice Minister Luis Gonzalez Posada, a friend of Garcia's, and the dismissal of General Andres Maximo Lira of the "the paramilitary Republican Guard police force." (China Daily, 7/2/86, p. 8)

Also, one hundred guards are under arrest. At this time, it is not clear how this will affect contradictions within the ruling regime.

Citations of the China Daily in this issue of MIM Notes refer to the English language version issued in Beijing.

CHINA'S PREMIER HAILS YUGOSLAVIA

Premier Zhao Ziyang said that Yugoslavia provides an "inspiring" example for China to follow. (China Daily, 7/8/86)

China Daily said that Yugoslavia had applied the basic principles of Marxism to create socialism in its country.

Zhao also praised Yugoslavia for leading the way in the non-aligned movement.

In the early '60s, China issued polemics that denounced Yugoslavia for following the capitalist-road. Soon after, China condemned the Soviet government in similar terms.

The Cultural Revolution (1966-76) started as a struggle between two factions in the CCP--one that favored Soviet or Yugoslavian reforms, the other that sought a new path of class struggle to lead socialist construction.

DIRECT INVESTMENT IN CHINA INCREASES

Foreigners invested \$5.85 billion in China in 1985. That's up 120% from the year before. (Beijing Review, 4/28/86)

NEW LAW IN CHINA ALLOWS BANKRUPTCY OF ENTERPRISES

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R REVOLUTION IS PREMISED ON ANTI-
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"The law is intended to encourage competition, allowing enterprises to succeed or be eliminated, thus serving as an incentive to improve management. It applies to State-owned firms as well as others and is seen as a further big step in the bid to smash the 'iron rice bowl' that has protected inefficient enterprises." (China Daily, 6/17/86, p. 1)

In the past, the state closed, merged or reorganized enterprises in the red.

The first factory to go bankrupt by the letter of the law was in Shenyang of Liaoning Province.

The factory's assets are going to be divided amongst 219 creditors. The employees except for the handicapped are to lose their jobs.

The unemployed will receive 75% of their original wages for six months and then 30 yuan a month thereafter. 30 yuan is about a third or one-quarter of a worker's monthly wage. (China Daily, 8/5/86, p. 3)

The bankruptcy law is important for its implications within Marxist theory. Competition amongst capitalists is thought to cause "the anarchy of production"--overproduction (from capitalists trying to undersell each other), the business cycle, the search for the cheapest techniques of production, the unemployment of workers according to that search and imperialism.

Competition amongst capitalists results in imperialism because it weeds out the weak and creates capitalist giants--monopolies. The competition of multinational corporations plays itself out in war as the ultimate form of competition for cheap labor-power, natural resources and markets.

Multinationals find that they can influence the state to go to war for their good. In the preparations, many make a good profit in selling armaments to the state.

STUDENTS AT TIANJIN UNIVERSITY ATTACK AFRICAN GUESTS

Science and technology students at Tianjin University of Tianjin, China rioted for five hours May 24th after an African party on campus.

The rioters threw rocks, bricks and bottles at the building the Africans were in. (International Herald Tribune, 6/6/86)

It took till May 28th before the Foreign Ministry issued a statement in apology. (Ibid.)

While both white and Black foreign students in Tianjin enjoy privileges that the Chinese students do not, 3,000 Chinese rallied only against the Africans.

At neighboring Nankai University foreign students called the city police for protection in a related incident. The police said that it was not their business. Some academic administrators attempted but failed to divert anti-African rioters.

The Government authorities have asked the African students to return to campus from their embassies in Beijing. Many hoped to transfer, but eventually returned to Tianjin. The African students walked halfway to Beijing from Tianjin for fear of their safety before authorities intercepted them. The students insisted on visiting their embassies in Beijing and managed to speak to the press upon their arrival there.

US NATIONALIZES FIRST BANK

Business weakness in the energy industry, real estate and agriculture has resulted in a number of defaults and slow downs in the loan business. Many banks are scraping by.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation of the U.S. Government bought a 55% share of BancOklahoma Corp. Eventually, the U.S. will probably purchase the whole bank as the losses of investors are absorbed by taxpayers.

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"We will see a bunch of nationalized banks," said one banking consultant. (Asian Wall Street Journal, 8/21/86, p. 1)

The U.S. government has a long-standing policy of not nationalizing banks; however, recent banking ailments have resisted traditional free market cures. In effect, the government and very large banks can not do without each other. If one large bank goes under, it will start a wave of defaults. One federal official says of bailouts, "we may have no choice." (Ibid.)

RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT NECESSITATES CAPITALISM IN CHINA

In the rural areas of one city in the southeastern area of China unemployment was 70% of 2.3 million person workforce. As a result of the unemployment, the Chinese government has heralded the hiring of laborers by private employers. "There are 13,000 households employing 42,000 labourers, 2 percent of the rural workforce." (China Daily, 8/15/86, p. 4)

Most of the workers in the area are engaged in handicrafts and small domestic item production.

27% of the employers are members of the Communist Party.

A number of different official media organs offered justifications for the private hiring of labor. Some went so far as to say that the private hiring of labor was inevitable in an immature stage of socialism. (Ibid.)

CONFUCIUS AIDS CHINA'S MODERNIZATION DRIVE

"Confucian thought is applicable to our modernization drive," said Kong Lingpeng, an academic official. "Confucius is now assessed as a great thinker statesman and educator in China's history." (China Daily, 8/5/86, p. 5)

How does one run a large state with a big population according to Confucius? "Enrich the people." "What after they are enriched?" "Educate them." (Ibid.)

In reaction to this dialogue Kong said: "Our country is now embarking on economic reforms in a bid to enrich people, but much stress has been laid on education. Doesn't that fall in line with what Confucius said?" (Ibid.)

"In China we underwent a regressive period when Confucius was repudiated." (Ibid.)

CORPORATISM ON THE RISE IN CHINA

According to the Chinese government, the urban unemployment rate was 5.9% in 1979. In 1985, it was 1.8%.

The government credits the rise "labor service companies" for the fall in the unemployment rate. "Over the past five years, the companies have trained and recruited 8.31 million people and run 210,000 collective enterprises." (China Daily, 8/5/86, p. 3)

CHINA PRAISES PERU

China praised Peru for pursuing "peaceful coexistence" and a sound foreign policy. ("Garcia Pursues Sound Foreign Policy," Beijing Review, 7/14/86, p. 11)

The Chinese press does not refer to the Maoist insurgency in Peru. When it does mention the insurgency it only edits Western wire service reports about "rebels" or "terrorists" in Peru.

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China's praise did not mention internal problems including the massacre of prisoners three weeks earlier.

EPLF NOTES "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL" SUPPORT BUT NOT GARCIA'S MASSACRE
The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) reported that the Socialist International (SI) passed a resolution in favor of Eritrean self-determination at the SI's Lima conference in June.

Two days before the conference, the Peruvian government massacred over 100 Sendero prisoners. The EPLF magazine did not mention this fact. (Adulis Vol. III No. 7, 1986)

Unfortunately, while the EPLF seeks internationalist support, the EPLF cause is often narrowly nationalist in outlook.

RESENTMENT AGAINST MILLIONAIRES UP IN POLAND

The Communist Party of Poland ran a weekly magazine article on the nine richest people in Poland.

One of the people--Ignacy Soszynski--has a food and perfume company with more than 1,000 employees. (International Herald Tribune, 8/15/86, p. 1)

Meanwhile, 18% of pensioners and 7% of workers live below Poland's poverty line. (Ibid.)

CONGRESS APPROVES \$100 MILLION MILITARY AID TO THE CONTRAS: WHAT DID YOU EXPECT?

MITTERAND KNEW ABOUT THE PLAN TO SINK THE GREENPEACE SHIP

Two journalists say that French President Mitterand approved the bombing and sinking of a Greenpeace ship that killed one person. LeMonde and L'Express support the conclusions. (New York Times, 8/31/86, p. 20)

CHINA TO GO TO SOUTH KOREA GAMES

While police fight students, religious groups and workers in the streets in South Korea and the government imprisons and tortures dissidents in a new crackdown, China has chosen to improve relations with Seoul. (Japan Times, 8/17/86, p. 1)

Why?--in a word trade between the two countries has advanced to the point where both sides feel that relations are holding back business. For example, there is no direct airline connection between the two countries.

1/15/86

MIM Notes

No. 28

Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

New Address: MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576

Special Issue: Prisoners' Correspondence

Two years ago, MIM Notes (#9) published letters from prisoners who had written in. Many readers noted that this was one of the better issues of MIM Notes.

At that time, MIM Notes stated that "MIM's existence has been greeted with the

FINALLY, MIM NOTES NEEDS CRITICISM AND HELP. CLIPPINGS AND ARTICLES ARE ESPECIALLY WELCOME. ARTICLES NOT IN LINE WITH MIM POLITICS ARE OFTEN DISTRIBUTED ANYWAY AS PART OF SERVING OUR

greatly increased the number of political prisoners across the country. This remains true as prisoners consistently write in.

Here MIM Notes has excerpted some correspondence from the last two years.

"We are the political prisoners of PCE(r) and GRAPO imprisoned in Carcel de Soria, Spain.

"Now, after many hard and long struggles against the jail regime, where was died by hunger strike our comrade Juan J. Crespo."

—Karl Marx Commune of the Political Prisoners of the Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) and the Antifascist Groups of October the First — PCE(r) and GRAPO

[On the theoretical journal yet to get off the ground—ed.]

"Being in captivity is a terrible adversity, but adversities are tests of a dragon's loyalty."

"I'm in favor of the name 'Revolutionary Prisoners Theoretical Review.' Security concerns: I'm in favor of centralizing everything at a post office box. There is no assurance that the journal and its writers won't be attacked by the fascist state because the reactionaries are always going to oppose everything that we support.

"Some prisoners have expressed the above concerns, and won't respond to the 'memorandum to prisoners.' These prisoners are saying why should we expose ourselves to people we don't know?"

"Prisoners should allow outside contributions to appear in the journal. However, prisoners should have the final say so as to what will be published in the journal."

—A comrade in prison in the Northeast

"I am a prisoner here at X 'Correctional Facility' which tells you about the difficulty in receiving progressive literature. The level of consciousness is very low here, so that your books and publications are much needed. However, I am indigent.

Please send 1) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Walter Rodney 2) *Peru: Information on the guerrilla struggle* 3) *Black Panthers Speak* 4) *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon 5) *Lenin, What Is To Be Done?* 6) *Lenin, State and Revolution*."

—Another prisoner in a different state in the Northeast

"I believe in your struggle and would request to receive on a continuous basis any literature." —A comrade at another prison in the Northeast

"I'm in XX Maximum Security Prison. I'm locked down . . . locked in my cell except 2 hours every other day." —Another comrade from the Northeast, who gave 16 days of salary to purchase literature.

"For several years I have been making contact with various organizations of the leftist/radical (as compared with the political structure in the U.S.) genre, in an attempt to establish ties with one before I am released from prison, so that I can direct my political discontent in a directed manner on the behalf of an organization that feels that they could utilize my energy and work in a constructive manner. A constructive manner to me, being defined as my working in any way possible to circumvent and change the corrupt and inequitable political and economic structure in the U.S. . . . I would be highly appreciative of your sending me any and all literature that . . . pertaining to El Salvador, Columbia, Guatemala and Nicaragua."

A comrade from the Midwest

"I enjoy receiving your newsletter MIM Notes and have been faithfully reading the *Selected Works* of Chairman Mao which you sent a few months ago." —Same comrade as above

"We are united by our endeavors to rectify our lives and to strive for Justice! As opposed to grafted mentalities, and corruption. We are abjectly impoverished. . . we study all kinds of different struggles. We support the MIM and need your support in broadening our horizon of awareness and understanding, thought, growth and development, because with the various stratagems of satanic rule, we in this land called America where corruption is the monarchy in current superiority we are subject to bias and censored, brainwashed. . ."

—Two comrades in the Northeast

"Let me state immediately that on MIM Theory No. 2, 'For the Equality of the Sexes and Liberation of Women by Any Means Necessary.' I vote yes. This article should be accepted. Women's equality and sexual self-determination by any means will be a key victory for any revolution based on securing freedom and harmony."

"I've received both copies of 'Political Economy of Counterrevolution in China.' Thanks." —A comrade from the Northeast

"Members of the MIM, greetings in the struggle. I received the *Wretched of the Earth* and would like to extend thanks to you. This is a very important book being that Fanon's perceptions of the psychology of neo and domestic colonialism affects and pertains to peoples of color where there is a white dominant group and nonwhite submissive groups. This is one reason why when a liberation movement arises out of this social setting revolutionary nationalism will be greatly stressed. The recent military assault against the members of MOVE was a total disaster. . . ." —Another Midwest comrade

"I am a prisoner here in ~~the~~ ~~USA~~ ~~for~~ ~~my~~ ~~anti~~ ~~imperialist~~ ~~and~~ ~~anti~~ ~~colonialist~~ ~~feelings~~ ~~towards~~ ~~the~~ ~~USA~~ ~~and~~ ~~am~~ ~~desiring~~ ~~to~~ ~~learn~~ ~~all~~ ~~that~~ ~~I~~ ~~can~~ ~~possibly~~ ~~be~~ ~~better~~ ~~prepared~~ ~~upon~~ ~~my~~ ~~return~~ ~~to~~ ~~my~~ ~~home~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~Isla~~ ~~del~~ ~~Encanto~~. For some years now I have sought to nurture the seeds of independence and of a productive and viable program towards a solution to the subtle and deceptive colonial situation of my country, and eventually to carry these seeds on to other of our Latin brother countries to rid them of their bourgeois mentality.

"Would you happen to have literature in Spanish? Do you have a copy of the little red book of Chairman Mao?"

"I'll be glad to try and pay for any literature that could be of value to me in the struggle of my people and all peoples oppressed by oppression! Che, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Pedro Albizu Campos etc., all of these are personages whose messages I would like to study further.

"Abajo con todo imperialismo!" —A comrade in the South

"How has everyone there been doing during all these extremely harsh conditions under US imperialism? Well I have noticed there is a lot of activity out there sort of like what was happening in the '60s and '70s even though maybe not as strong or heavy as yet. . . . As Chairman Mao has taught us only the people can prevent a nuclear war, but if it is already triggered by one or the other of the superpowers then the masses will have to turn the unjust war into a just war. No matter how many weapons the fascists have the people are more powerful than all the weapons together.

"Would it be possible for you to send me a volume I of Capital from Marx or Vol IV of Mao's Selected Works?" [Requested several books indicating a wide range of interests from the Third World to the state—ed.]

The excerpts above should serve as an inspiration to those outside the prison walls. In the prisoners' letters, we see the urgency of revolution and how much preparations for that revolution lie behind what is necessary. For those who would say there is no revolutionary work to be done in the United States, that there just isn't anyone interested in revolution, we point to the prisoners.

Besides the dire need for more comrades to devote energy to organizing the revolutionary prisoners, there is also the need for literature and money for that literature.

Finally, to the prisoners, keep up the correspondence and if you have asked for revolutionary literature that you have not received, write again.

Subscribe to MIM Notes, 30 cents an issue for any number of issues.

"Post-revolutionary China and the Soviet NEP"

Reprint from *Research in Political Economy*, 1986

This is a short (16pp) but well-documented essay on the historical difference between the tactical retreat that Lenin initiated with the New Economic Policy and the counterrevolution going on in China today. The article demolishes the Deng regime's ideological justifications for capitalism in the name of socialism. \$1.50.

Upholding family, property and family property

The following is an essay to open discussion on a new issue. As this issue has clear divisive potential, the reader is reminded that MIM Notes is an unofficial forum.

As the details of the Baby M case came out, the New York Times reported that the opinion of feminists on the case was split. Now that the court has made its decision, it seems from an article in Off Our Backs that feminist opinion has consolidated in favor of the natural mother Mary Beth Whitehead, who agreed to a surrogate mother contract with William Stern, who contributed the sperm.

On narrow grounds, New Jersey Superior Court Judge Harvey R. Sorkow ruled that the surrogate mother must uphold the terms of the contract to sell baby M to the natural father for \$10,000. The feminist newspaper Off Our Backs criticized this ruling and argued that the "biological mother's rights must be protected and not be considered disposable by virtue of a piece of paper." (Debra Ratterman, "Whitehead vs. Sperm," Off Our Backs, 5/87)

Certainly no communist should argue that a deal is a deal and contracts under capitalism are fair, so this argument seems a good one.

However, Off Our Backs points out that the welfare of the child is often important in custody battles as they currently take place in the United States. On these grounds, no one has presented a case that Whitehead would be a better mother than Elizabeth Stern. (If anyone did, someone would stand up for a woman's "right" not to bear children, her "right" to a career and a her "right" to adopt surrogate children.)

Indeed, Elizabeth and William Stern each make six-digit salaries. Under capitalism, it would be hard to argue that Whitehead would do better for the welfare of the child.

Certainly, Off Our Backs is right that the court decision was fundamentally class-biased, but what else is new? Off Our Backs does not systematically develop this insight, which is in reality an incipient critique of the family/cash nexus under capitalism. If it did, OOB would have to conclude that neither side of this hysterical pro-family struggle is worth supporting.

Unfortunately, the Off Our Backs position boils down to the privileged position of women in reproduction: "A full-term pregnancy can hardly compare with a momentary ejaculation. The judge lacked this insight when he described surrogate mothers as 'an alternative reproduction vehicle.'" (Ibid.)

This is another principle that communists have heard before: I did the work, so I deserve the property. Usually, workers and socialists make this argument against capitalists who claim a right to make a profit, but Off Our Backs implies that a person (baby) should be awarded as property to the biological mother by virtue of her hard work to bear the child.

And then there were the Sterns. With millions of starving children across the globe, William Stern wants to pay \$10,000 plus court costs to obtain a child with his particular genes.

Lawyers for both sides estimate that costs will go over \$250,000 each according to the New York Times.

Over in the Dark Ages, the Pope still opposes conception by any means but the old-fashioned missionary-position method. Yet, his less extreme pro-family followers can not help but find the whole Baby M case perversely pleasing. In this media spectacle, whether one takes the side of Whitehead or Stern, one takes the pro-family, children-as-property side.

Much of the coverage given by the mass media concerned the justifications of Stern and Whitehead for their extremist actions on behalf of their property.

Stern promised \$10,000 and the cost of lawyers to obtain a child with his genes. Whitehead threatened to kill herself and Baby M, also in the name of family, if she did not get custody.

The Sterns have broken new frontiers in reactionary thought by bringing psychiatric pseudo-science to bear on the question of Whitehead's mothering capabilities, and hence the validity of her property claims.

Whitehead's lawyers implied that Elizabeth Stern, who is 41, was unwilling to make the necessary sacrifices of her career as a pediatrician to bear and care for a child. Lawyers disputed that Stern's case of multiple sclerosis was a good enough reason not to attempt to have a child of

her own. This argument amounted to saying that women who pursue careers are not good mothers.

One gets the sense that if Whitehead were in the position of the Sterns, she would do the exact same thing. Ultimately William Stern and Mary Beth Whitehead only want the same property rights.

This is a case where the rhetoric of rights--"biological mother's rights"--has not only obscured an issue, it has caused Off Our Backs to take an incorrect political stance. What sorely needs critique in the Baby M case, is the selfishness of the adults seeking their very own kids with their very own genes.

The ridiculous behavior of Whitehead and Stern only proves that raising children should not be left to individual parents, who tend to have children to fulfill their own ambitions. Children will only be free of the quiriness of their private owners when raising children is recognized as a responsibility of society, not the family.

Ruling class worries about "left" trend in China

China-watchers are currently worried that the Deng Xiaoping clique may have lost state power to a group of senior officials headed by Peng Zhen. Supposedly these officials are substantially more Maoist in outlook and even wear Mao suits at public functions as if to contrast themselves their peers in Western suits.

Genuine Maoists, however, should be wary. Peng Zhen may be nominally to Deng's left, but so was Hua Guofeng, who arrested Mao's followers--the Gang of Four. Indeed, Peng Zhen was the first major target of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. As mayor of Beijing, he suppressed writings by Mao for the press (with or without the sanction of the Central Committee this author does not know), allowed veiled criticisms of Mao in the arts and tried to sidetrack the Maoist counterattack in academic debate before he was finally overthrown.

Also, in a rare and interesting article, Edward Gargan of the New York Times has found an overt two-line struggle in the Chinese Communist Party. ("Mao's Home Province Proves Stubborn," New York Times, 5/26/87, p. 6) Apparently, Hunan officials knew that Westerner Hu Yaobang was to lose his job as General Secretary of the party before other officials and said so in public: "We knew Hu Yaobang was going down," said Weng Hui, a deputy secretary general of the Hunan provincial government... "We were not surprised because Hu Yaobang made mistakes," Mr. Weng said. "Hu Yaobang did not oppose those who wanted Westernization. That caused some unpleasant things in China." (Ibid.)

Furthermore, "in February, Hunan party officials ordered the province to take as its two major tasks the fight against Western influence and the increase in economic production." (Ibid.)

Other leftist signs in Hunan are that the government is still run by the party and not just by qualified experts; students attend political study classes and factory workers also engage in intensive ideological work.

While the fall of Hu Yaobang marks a struggle against the Right in China, Deng Xiaoping has just recently attacked the left. He reportedly said that the "main struggle should be against the leftist trend within the party." (Ibid.) Meanwhile in Hunan, "the main target in Hunan is to educate the people to take the right path, to follow socialism," according to Mr. Weng.

It is difficult to assess how genuine the above indications are of a resurgence of Maoism in China. It may be worth the reader's while to look up this Times article themselves and stay on top of the press.

U.S. desperately intimidates members of its bloc to support Contras

"The campaign against Mexico, Argentina, Panama, Costa Rica and Honduras suggests that protecting contra aid was such an overriding goal of the administration that it governed nearly all of the United States' contacts with its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere." (Detroit Free Press, 5/10/87, p. 12a)

This is strong and frank talk for a mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie, but clearly the press must report the desperation of the government in its efforts to rally the US bloc against the Soviet bloc and the Latin American peoples.

As usual, information on covert operations by the U.S. government casts many previous actions in a different light.

Minority capitalism is still peanuts

In an article on minority entrepreneurs, the Wall Street Journal offers the statistic that minority-owned banks have assets totalling \$4.1 billion, "triple the 1976 amount--a growth rate 40% higher

Forthcoming! (In six weeks.)

MIM theory will next consider the theoretical errors of Forward Motion and the Freedom Road Socialist Organization. Send \$30.

Then, MIM Theory will review Edwards' Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy, the issue of the labor aristocracy--what does it mean; is it declining? This special double issue will be lively in debate and also include

than the rate of all banks." (3/25/87, p. 31) Of course, compared with bank assets of white America, the minority banks have but peanuts. Still, one should not underestimate the illusion that even such limited success will create. The example of Black business successes may influence people towards imitation despite the overall statistical picture. The job of communists here is to point out there is only such much room in the capitalist class and the success of the handful comes at the expense of the broad masses of people.

Aquino still in bind

Although her party seems headed to winning 24 out of 25 seats in a Parliamentary election, it appears that Marcos and Juan Ponce Enrile supporters may be enraged by not winning the role of loyal opposition in the government. Aquino supporters reportedly hoped that former Defense Minister Enrile would at least win his seat.

At the same time, Aquino has suddenly ordered paramilitary groups to disband. They had become very prevalent as the right organized to fight the New People's Army, which is semi-Maoist in inspiration. Church leaders likened the paramilitary groups to death squads in El Salvador. (Los Angeles Times, 3/17/87, p. 1)

Meanwhile in an interview with the magazine *Iran in Resistance*, a supporter of the New People's said that the NPA was wondering whether Aquino would turn out to be a Duarte or an Ungo. Duarte is the liberal fascist Christian Democrat who rules El Salvador on behest of the landlord class and U.S. imperialism. Ungo is a former member of the Salvadoran government who now serves as political spokesperson for the rebel organization called the FMLN. Ungo and Duarte share much common political history, but they have ended up on different sides in the civil war.

This line of thinking implies that El Salvador and the Philippines require democratic, anti-feudal revolutions and that Ungo and possibly Aquino can serve in major roles as part of that revolution. Another somewhat conciliatory point of view would be that Ungo and Aquino are members of the national bourgeoisie, but they cannot lead the new democratic revolution.

Currently, the NPA apparently believes that Aquino may continue to hold power in a shaky alliance with the ultrarightist faction of landed classes and bureaucratic capitalists. On the other hand, she may alienate her rightist allies to such an extent that she may have to ally more firmly with the left and push for a genuine anti-feudal, bourgeois or new democratic revolution.

Maoists have to wonder how it is that Ungo can be the political leader of revolution in El Salvador. Isn't his social democratic ideology too conciliatory to lead revolution? On the other hand, if real power resides with the military leaders of the FMLN and not Ungo, then are these leaders leading political work in the organization on a correct basis? Some people at MIM have concluded not. The analysis of El Salvador and the Philippines by analogy may be a significant line of demarcation between Maoists and the NPA. The question is how genuine the struggles in El Salvador and the Philippines are and are they sufficient to set back imperialism and the landlord class and at least advance the two countries to capitalist democracy.

These issues deserve further discussion.

Prisons are exploding in population and crime

Imagine a small town of less than 20,000 where in the last few weeks, a police officer and civilian were indicted for murdering another civilian; two civilians were shot in another incident and the state government just released a report criticizing the town police for brutality. The average of violent incidents is 35 per day and police officers are often guilty of drug abuse.

All this is despite a growth in the town government budget from \$150 million in 1980 to \$500 million today. Even Pat Robertson would find this intolerable and say that the town should replace its government, right? This small town is the prison system of New York City. (Robert Gangi, "The Jail Bomb Ticks Louder and Louder," *New York Times*, 5/9/87), p. 15)

The crimes committed are by the government, perhaps better described as organized crime. Those crimes in the prison system not committed directly by the state are still abetted by the state, which seems to thrive on creating conditions for crime.

Official unemployment dips to 6.2% (*New York Times*, 5/9/87, p. 1)

Israel represses internal critics

Israeli police shut down the Alternative Information Center in Jerusalem for allegedly supporting Palestinian terrorism. No evidence of armed struggle by the group was available in the *New York Times* article (2/18/87, p. 6)

The police seized documents and copying machines.
The center is composed of Jews and Arabs critical of the Israeli human rights record.
At the same time, Israel banned visitors including journalists from towns in the occupied West Bank territory. (Ibid.)

Soviets suffer in "their Vietnam"

30,000 Soviet soldiers have reportedly died in fighting in Afghanistan. (New York Times, 2/18/87, p. 7) For those who say that the Soviets will move in where the US pulls out, we say let them and they'll pay the consequences of the hatred of peoples in their anti-imperialist struggle.

Homelessness rises

The U.S. conference of Mayors reported that homelessness increased by an average of 31% in 29 major cities.

Estimates of homelessness range from 250,000 by the Reagan administration to 3 million by the Committee for Creative Non-Violence. (Los Angeles Times, 5/10/87, p.4)

Robert Dube was a phony

South African police recruited Robert Dube to pose as a militant student anti-apartheid leader to infiltrate the Soweto Youth Congress and the African National Congress underground. Dube toured the West to give speeches. Charles Mabasa and Vusi Gqoba were also police informers that had high responsibility in the ANC. All six national leaders of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) were informers. (Los Angeles Times, 5/6/87, p. 1)

MIM provides this information as a reminder that a certain amount of paranoia is justified.

US gets further into Gulf war

Having supplied arms and military intelligence to the participants in the Iran-Iraq war, the US imperialists were not content. Now they want to put American flags on Kuwaiti oil ships, so that if Iran attacks the Kuwaiti ships, it will be attacking the US flag.

There is an element of competition here because the Kuwaitis have already received Soviet protection for some ships.

In addition, "Defense" Secretary Caspar Weinberger pleaded with Arab countries to allow US military bases near the Gulf so that the US could protect shipping lanes. (New York Times, 5/25/87, p. 1)

Seven revolutionaries already in prison

Of the eight revolutionaries charged with sedition that MIM Notes reported on in the last issue, seven are already in prison. The new indictments are for bombings of corporation, military and courthouse buildings in Westchester and various other places in NY and Massachusetts.

One of the eight has been convicted for killing a New Jersey state trooper.

"The latest indictment says the defendants describe themselves as a 'revolutionary anti-imperialist organization' and refer to themselves as the Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit and the United Freedom Front."

"Sam Melville was a radical prisoner killed in the 1971 Attica prison uprising. Jonathan Jackson was one of three San Quentin inmates killed in 1970." (New York Times, 5/22/87, p. 8)

As an assistant US Attorney explained in regards to the racketeering and sedition laws being used against the defendants, "there is no restriction in the use of the statute based upon the purpose of the enterprise." (Ibid.) Laws passed under the guise of fighting organized crime have ended up having far broader uses.

Having already convicted the defendants for the bombings and killing of the state trooper, the state pressed the new charges just to link together previous convictions under new charges of conspiracy.

Reviews:

World Hunger: Twelve Myths, by Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, Grove Press, 1986.

This book seeks to prove that there is enough food in the world to end world hunger, but political structures perpetuate mass starvation.

In a brief 149 pages, the authors bring potent facts to bear to support numerous theories of theirs (taken from others) that could fill several books. For example, Lappe cites a World Bank study to

show that overpopulation results from the conditions of the poor. When the poor enjoy a secure life, they no longer have so many children. (p.27) Another example used to criticize export-led development is that Kenyan export income quadrupled between 1970 and 1980, but malnutrition increased. (p. 87) Also, Lappe and Collins make an interesting feminist observation that where women are central to the economy and enjoy reproductive rights, hunger is lower. As such, women oppose the trend towards the cash-crop economy in their own subsistence interests. (p. 90)

Ultimately though, the book does not deserve to be on the MIM literature list in this author's opinion because it has a worked out line on capitalism and socialism. The Lappe and Collins support a populist capitalism against landlord oligarchies. They do not oppose private property, but only want the peasants to be able to use the land as part of their right not to be hungry. They do not oppose market society, but they support income redistribution so that the world's half a billion starving people can eat. (p. 81,82)

They have praise for Nicaragua, Mandragon and China. They side with the Eritreans. They criticize the struggle between the East and West blocs as detracting from efforts to end world hunger. Their line on the Soviet Union is that it is a "statist" society.

Lappe and Collins consciously oppose state intervention in the market except where necessary to save the market from statist revolution. They view "statism" as an "economic dogma" and they support civil liberties as necessary to ending world hunger.

If there is such a thing as progressive capitalist revolution against feudalism anymore, Lappe and Collins would be spokespeople for the ascendant capitalist class. On these grounds one could argue that the book deserves MIM's support as part of the two-stage revolution still required in parts of the Third World. Perhaps this review is only the beginning of a debate within MIM about the book. If so, cast this vote against distributing it.

The Revolution in South Africa: An Analysis, by Azanian Research Project, May 1986. 83pp. Send \$1.50 to Boxholder, PO Box 1854, Manhattanville Sta., NY, NY 10027.

One of the main strengths of the pamphlet is that it has the courage to instruct readers on the differences among the various political organizations of the oppressed Blacks in South Africa. For example, it points out that the Pan Africanist Congress believes that South Africa has been colonized by white settlers; therefore, mere democratic integration of Black and white populations as proposed by the ANC does not redress colonial injustice. On the other hand, and contrary to widespread misconceptions, the PAC did recruit white and other non-African members and would recognize whites as part of a liberated Black ruled state.

Particularly among ANC supporters, the rifts are almost a taboo subject. Also, with the strength of the ANC abroad, one gets the impression that the ANC leads all the struggles in South Africa. This pamphlet helps dispell this political myth.

Other strengths of the pamphlet include a brief history of the white settler regime and indigenous struggles against it, the economic ties to South Africa and a discussion of the failure of reformism both in South Africa and the United States.

Among small objections to this pamphlet is that it has no bibliography or footnotes. Like much revolutionary literature, it leaves readers with no way of arriving at the same analysis independently.

Politically, it does not explain why the dissolution of the South African Communist Party was a cowardly act (p 18). One must know whether or not the party members' work continued covertly once the party was outlawed.

Also, the pamphlet takes a gut-level Marxist-Leninist position that armed struggle is the only way to power in South Africa, but it criticizes the ANC for its military strategy without treating the question of what is militarily possible in South Africa. People's War is of course the correct principle, but the pamphlet does not prove that given the chance that the ANC would not take up People's War.

Finally, although it was written merely a year ago, it is already out-of-date thanks to the intensity of struggle in South Africa. It is the fault of MIM Notes for not reviewing this work earlier. The line of the authors of the pamphlet is perhaps best described as independent Marxist-Leninist. The sole reference to the international situation beyond criticizing Soviet revisionism is a supportive reference to revolutions in Albania, China and Vietnam.

Direct M-L leadership of mass movements: Is it appropriate?

Concretely, it is perhaps most significant that the pamphlet calls for Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Azanian solidarity movement in the United States. It correctly notes that the leadership of the current anti-apartheid movement is liberal/reformist.

MIM's experience is that the position that there must be Marxist-Leninist leadership of solidarity movements is effectively liquidationist. MIM arose out of anti-apartheid struggles in Cambridge first and foremost, in addition to anti-militarist and other struggles.

It became apparent to MIM members through years of political practice that reformism has a natural basis of support in the United States. That means there is a material basis for reformism in the anti-apartheid movement which can not be struggled away by revolutionaries in single-issue groups. We found it necessary to form an independent organization to further unleash various mass movements held back by groups with majorities favoring a go-slow, don't-alienate-anyone approach.

The difficulty is simple to explain: Where there is no vanguard party to organize the organizers, revolutionary leadership of single-issue groups will not magically appear. Only where outside revolutionary pressure and influences exist will single-issue groups (and the larger mass movements) move in a militant direction.

Moreover, the masses often resent direct tutoring by Marxist-Leninists in single-issue groups. They would like time to work out their own positions, but Marxist-Leninists in such solidarity and anti-militarist groups already know the situation, what to do about it and what urgent tactics are required at the moment. Sections of the masses will retreat from political activity altogether while they consider whether or not they can buy the outlook of the Marxist-Leninists in a wholesale fashion. Many also detect that they are at an inferior level of knowledge compared with experienced Marxist-Leninist activists, and come to consider their own efforts as not worthwhile. All these problems make for bad intra-group dynamics wherever there is a strong, nuts-and-bolts directing role of Marxist-Leninists.

Not to mention accusations concerning "front groups," exploitation of single-issue groups, and the very real temptation of right opportunism in single-issue groups, the ultimate problem is that there is no strong vanguard party to work with even if various activists do respond to the revolutionary line! It becomes only a matter of time before revolutionaries in the single-issue group make serious errors in handling non-revolutionaries (usually out of impatience and a definite and somewhat legitimate sense that they know better) and suppressing the very movement they intended to unleash! The single-issue organizers receiving Marxist-leninist tutoring will burn out or drop out from a lack of understanding the overall political situation.

The line of the pamphlet is admirable in that it clearly advocates close knowledge of the mass movements in the United States. It is better to make this sort of liquidationist error than to retreat to the irrelevance of armchair theorizing. After all, as Mao said, practice is principle over theory. At this point agitational and propaganda practices are principle over theoretical practices.

In many ways, the dispersal of MIM from its base in the mass movements of the Boston area turned out to be a good thing. Dispersal forced MIM to find "profitable" ways of investing time and resources outside of local mass movements. This led it to a more firmly international and even national outlook.

To the extent that MIM consolidates as a party, it will be able to unleash mass movements all the more effectively. While it consolidates an organization of organizers, MIM should never forget its roots in the mass movements and the lessons of those experiences.

Correspondence:

Editor's note: As someone who literally refused to attend rallies in Washington, DC or anywhere else because of all the work that needed to be done in the Cambridge area, I would like to confess a conversion of sorts. After MIM dispersed from Cambridge, I came to learn more and more what needed to be done nationally and internationally. Although we don't now whether or not the following letter is genuine and not a joke from a foreign country (because it's our first correspondence), letters like it convinced me that there is work to be done on an international as well as local plane. Our energies and resources can not go solely to local struggles.

Dear Comrades,

I am writing to you on behalf of the above-mentioned Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization--X X--which was recently established with a view to remedying the historical absence

of any other local organization with a similar ideological orientation. We hope to publicize our appearance on the local political scene through the publication of a declaration of principles which will also contain all the requisite information as to our policy, both local and foreign, as approved by our Congress.

As work upon the drafting of this declaration of principles is intended to begin shortly, we would greatly appreciate your movement...to forward us with a copy of your declaration of principles or manifesto. Such a document would help us to formulate as clearly as possible our ideological position and, thereby, clarify any difficulties which may arise in this regard when drafting our aforesaid declaration of principles.

--A comrade from an incipient organization in another country

Socialist greetings comrades!

I've received MIM Notes #28. What I need is some books, mainly on the United States. I'm presently out of funds, so if possible send the following free of charge: 1) Black Panthers Speak. 2) Seize the Time by Bobby Seale 3) The Weatherman 4) A People's History of the United States by Howard Zinn.

[The above books are in shortage except the Zinn book which is still in print but expensive. Anyone who has access to these books in damaged or used or new condition should contact MIM. Indeed, anyone who finds bargain deals on any books on our literature list should contact MIM. Shopping is probably not the strong point of most communists, but to provide everyone who needs them these books we really must become good book shoppers!--ed.]

I'm trying to learn about this country's history, so those books are very important. I'm mainly concerned with the armed struggle that took place in this country. Anything on military strategy will be of great help. New, used, it doesn't matter, just readable, OK? Also if you know a book by George Jackson, I'd very much appreciate it.

Your brother in the struggle....All power to the people, by any means necessary! **--A prisoner from the Northeast**

Greetings comrade,

I hope when this epistle reaches its destination it finds one remaining strong and striving for the liberation of all oppressed people. I'm a 19 year old revolutionary of African descent being held hostage in the state of X. Any literature sent to me will be passed around and shared with the next brother to enlighten him to our plight and struggle. Power to the People! **--A prisoner from the Midwest**

Dear MIM Distributors,

I am writing as a poor comrade in prison needing literature to study and further my grasp of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. [That is our old name which is still on some of our literature. A different association has taken the name RIM, so we now call ourselves MIM--ed.]

I don't have any money to really get the books in your book list. The ones I desire to read are expensive considering my difficult stay at this prison camp hell hole called XX. Do you have any damaged or old copies of the books and papers I will list below? Also, could you send me another list of books like the first you sent me in case I can get some money from somewhere in the future?

Comrades in revolutionary theory and struggle unite in Marxist-Leninist Maoist thought and action!--another comrade from the Northeast

[Lists eleven items from the list, most of which MIM can not afford to send at the moment--ed.]

Dear Sirs Comrades!

I'm a prisoner of USA neo-fascism in XX harassed and abused routinely so I would enjoy writing an article to you if possible.

Yours in the struggle--**Another comrade from the Northeast**

Comrades:

I wish to thank you very much for the three books that you sent me. [Lists three books in Spanish--ed. Also, most letters from prisoners are this polite, but communists who recognize the duty of enabling everyone to have the weapons of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought need no thanks. Communists must struggle to find literature for prisoners as in the two requests above.]

I have already begun to devour them avidly! Please let me know if you have any more works of this nature in spanish especially any work written by the great Chairman Mao.

I must tell you that I was quite ignorant of dialectical materialism and do not now claim to be in the least knowledgeable as I need to be. However, upon reading the Cinco Tesis Filosoficas de Mao Tsetung I have already gained a greater understanding of an appreciation for it. Study, study, and more study! That is what is required. I will continue to absorb this only true and workable philosophy and correct all of my previously erroneous ideas of life by applying these principles to my life...and anxiously await the day of my release to the "free" world and the return to my country, whereupon I will unite my efforts with those of the already existing group or groups who espouse these same ideals. I am convinced, now more than ever, that Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought is the only correct way to live and I know that one day, as Marx said, that "what the bourgeois capitalist produces...is his own grave...The elimination of the bourgeoisie capitalist, and the triumph of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (Carlos Marx=El Capital)

This inevitable decline of the bourgeoisie is apparent more and more every day. So too is the obvious victory of the proletariat. All over the world people are shaking off their shackles of oppression and beginning to see the light--not the metaphysical light of ignorance, but the true and correct light of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. The revisionsists of the Soviet Union and China have temporarily set us back by their treacheries, but with continual struggle, we can and will be victorious once more. On to victory and freedom!

Viva el Marxismo-Leninismo Pensamiento Mao Tsetung!

Hasta La Victoria Siempre!

Venceremos!

--"A comrade in chains" from the South

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MIM meets Korean resistance

In the past month, MIM interviewed people in South Korea on the political situation there.

Students have gained much press attention for fighting police in the streets of South Korean cities. What surprises Marxists is not that the students met repression and even death, but that the repression was so light.

One student and one police officer have died in the street fighting.

Indeed, the Chun regime has conceded direct presidential elections to the opposition. The election will be in 1988 before the Olympics.

What happened?

The external conditions were important. First, South Korea has several billion dollars invested in preparing for the 1988 Olympics. Yet that entire investment and the reputation of Korea would suffer if such street-fighting continued until the Olympics. Even the mere use of tear-gas would potentially spoil the sports environment in Seoul, the capital.

Secondly, the US Congress made noises to the effect that it would not tolerate a military solution this time around.

Inside S. Korea, MIM found widespread student opinion that fighting police was an appropriate tactic: "We don't want it, but it is necessary for us to show our opinion." Even establishment opposition politician Kim Dae Jung had to admit that street-fighting was justified.

There was also an anti-US imperialist ferment: "We don't want America to participate in our politics," said one student.

Most interesting of all, MIM established contact with the self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist underground which has two organizations—the Constitutional Assembly and the Struggle Committee.

The slogans of the groups are "Down with dictatorship!" and "Out with US imperialism!" The goals are anti-bourgeois dictatorship and anti-US imperialism.

The groups do not claim to uphold Stalin or Mao, only Marx and Lenin. One member stated that Trotsky was considered incorrect, but the membership does study the works of Mao. North Korea's so-called Marxist-Leninism (led by Kim Il Sung) is considered a "dilemma."

According to this underground, there is no Maoist movement in Korea. The members of this group dismiss Mao as inappropriate for Korean conditions and argue that the theory of New Democracy is not a scientific one.

Like the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the New People's Army, this underground believes in focussing on questions internal to the country and does not take stands on many international questions.

The underground activists did say that they believed the New People's Army of the Philippines "is right [as in correct]."

According to these organizers, however, there is no landlord class in South Korea. They characterize the formation as "dependent state monopoly capitalism."

What will be the effect of direct presidential elections and the move to free speech? "The bourgeois dictatorship will be strengthened."

These forces have vowed to continue political struggle despite concessions from the Chun regime. Even more moderate forces quickly recognized that the struggle with the Chun regime would continue. 2,000 students fought police after a student died from wounds received before the Chun regime announced its concessions. Thus, while the Chun regime is definitely trying to cool out the struggle for now, militant elements in S. Korea may not allow this.

Getting life for stealing watermelon in the People's Republic of China

One pedlar and an unemployed person received life sentences for stealing watermelon. Another six received 2 to 12 years in prison.

A robbery costing farmers 14,000 yuan in watermelon (<\$4,000) was the incident that led to the life sentences.

Seven of the eight convicted supposedly had criminal records, but the China Daily did not elaborate.

"The sentences were passed in accordance with China's criminal code and the decision of the Standing Committee of the NPC (legislature)." (China Daily, 4/13/87, p. 3)

Unemployment and peddling, which is officially an occupation designed to alleviate unemployment among other problems, are both up in China as a result of the capitalist social revolution.

China's ruling class proves quite conscious that the lower classes have to be kept in line for capitalism to survive.

Get rich scheme kills 40 Chinese

18 new deaths in a mine in May in Hunan Province brought the total of people killed there to 40.

The previous 22 deaths caused provincial authorities to ask an end to the practice of letting farmers take material from the mine. Formerly state-run, the mine was shut down three years ago with iron bars.

Local farmers blew up the iron gate and "local officials failed to act, claiming the practice was a way to let local people get rich."

"Officials in Furong Township where the accident happened even profited by charging people to enter the dangerous mine. Outsiders were asked to pay five yuan (3.7 yuan=\$1) and local residents, 2.5 yuan." (China Daily, 6/17/87, p. 3)

China Daily goes on to report that private and small collective mining has cut back efficiency and caused the theft of precious minerals such as gold. 846 cases of gold smuggling and 173.5 kg of gold turned up. (Ibid; 6/15/87, p. 2)

Private traders in disrepute

412 people suffered poisoning from salt bought from private traders in South China. (China Daily, Beijing, 6/18/87, p. 3) Of course, salt so traded is illegal.

An illegal alcohol maker also killed 24 people in Guizhou. The state executed the trader. (China Daily, 6/15/87, p. 3)

Unfortunately, law applied after the fact of death does not help the victims of profit-seeking practices that would not even exist under socialism.

Bank concentration due

US Treasury officials and Federal Reserve Chair Alan Greenspan support the merger of several American banks. Currently, several regulations prevent this from happening.

"30 years ago the United States had 15 of the world's largest banks, but today only two, Citicorp and Bank America, rank in the world's 25 biggest banks." (China Daily, 6/8/87, p. 2)

One treasury official said he believed larger US banks were necessary to compete with foreign banks in large ventures. (Ibid.)

Past issues of MIM Notes have noted the difficulties of US banks, how their profit margins have been squeezed. It would be quite natural for a shakeout to reduce the competition in the field and increase profits.

China: Competitive bidding and enterprise leasing next?

According to Economic Information (in China), "bidding in capital construction is a good form of competition. . . Competition helps to promote talented people and encourages telling the truth. The worry that leasing enterprises to individuals smacks of capitalism is an outdated view." (China Daily, 6/8/87)

Struggle in India

"In the worst caste-related violence since India gained independence from Britain in 1947, Maoist peasants and untouchables slaughtered Rajput landlords, women and children in the villages about 130 km south of Patna, the impoverished state of Bihar, late last week." (South China Morning Post, 6/3/87, p. 27)

Deng takes a new tack

Under Hua Guofeng, China said it would catch up with the current West by the year 2000.

Lately, Deng has focussed on saying that China will only become a medium-industrial power @2050. He says that the superiority of socialism can not be proven till then.

This view which is circulating now to combat a slight leftwing eddy before the fall's party congress, dovetails nicely with the views of many young intellectuals in China: The reasoning goes like this: "The US and Japan are rich; the Soviet Union and China are poor. Therefore, capitalism is superior." (Most Chinese youth seem to think China and Russia are equally poor.)

MIM asks its readers, is it true that socialism does not demonstrate its superiority until after it outproduces the most advanced capitalist countries? Please write your answers.

Indications of small trend toward left form of state capitalism in China

College graduates will have to work in factories or farms before taking up government or education jobs according to the Chinese State Education Commission. (South China Morning Post, Hong Kong, 6/16/87, p. 1)

This summer students will also supposedly take part in manual labor.

The new policy has two purposes. One is to remind students that their privileged position is not guaranteed if they demonstrate against the state. Secondly, the announcement implied that students' views on democracy were out of touch with those of the common laborers.

Workers not masters in China

According to Workers' Daily, "workers' status as the 'masters' has not been safeguarded." The contract

"Agreement to spur profits"

"Industrial enterprises in Beijing are being pushed to increase their profit earnings and raise funds to improve their out-of-date equipment...The agreements will force these enterprises ["four major industrial groups"] to increase earnings year by year. They can retain 70 per cent of the profits outside the set quota." (China Daily, Beijing, 6/17/87, p. 2)

Rural prosperity in China

Peasant income grew by a real 3.2% in 1986. But non-productive spending rose 8.3%.

Non-productive spending includes traditionally bankrupting funeral and marriage ceremonies, religious rites, jewelry and dowries.

Housing is the second largest category of non-productive spending. Private rural spending on housing grew 8.6 times between 1978-85. 3.2 billion square meters of housing went up between 1980-85.

With the growth in housing in recent years we can expect a transformation of family and sexual practices in China as more and more people find themselves living in less crowded conditions.

Perhaps less heartening is the fact that housing is eating up 670,000 acres of cultivated land a year. Also, with the revival of Confucian burials, peasants are making graves which take up land and make mechanical plowing impossible.

Emphasis on unproductive spending generally also results in a depletion of soil fertility and soil erosion. (China Daily, 6/15/87, p. 4)

Aquino worries about land problem

Corazon Aquino's cabinet has had 18-hour meetings to discuss how to implement land reform. So far she has not implemented any sweeping land reform, but it is apparent that she wishes to avoid semi-Maoist revolution in the countryside. (South China Morning Post, Hong Kong, 6/5/87, p. 13)

Citicorp sells S. Africa subsidiary to First National of S.A. (China Daily, 6/18/87, p. 8)

Students form Marx study groups

At Fudan U., Jiaotong U. and East China Normal University, small groups of students have formed to study Marx independently. According to China Daily, students have often boycotted political study classes established by the government as boring and dogmatic.

Some students cited the demonstrations last December as kindling their interest in political theory and debate." (China Daily, 6/18/87, p. 4)

Unproductive work up in China

10,000, 50,000 and 80,000 people worked in advertising in China in 1981, 1984 and 1987 respectively. (South China Morning Post, 6/14/87, p. 4 "Money")

Rural housing conditions better

Between 1949 and 1985, China built housing averaging 6.36 square meters of floor space per urban resident. At the end of 1985, rural residents averaged 17.8 square meters of floorspace. (China Daily, 6/12/87, p. 1)

Soviet enterprises to go self-sufficient

As proclaimed in previous long-range policy statements, the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party "announced plans to make all state enterprises self-sufficient by the end of the decade." (China Daily, 6/13/87, p. 8)

Already 1,500 to 2,000 are financially self-sufficient. (ibid.) The plan is to make all units able to run themselves without government financing.

This implies that firms should produce what makes a profit, not what seems a political or need-based priority. As Marx would have said, the Soviets are chasing exchange-value, and not producing use-values.

Deng puts together leadership group

With the political fall of General Secretary Hu Yaobang and the serious illness of Politburo standing committee person Chen Yun, Deng has put together a new group of people to lead China.

The CCP will have a National Congress in the fall.

The group of five "reformists" include "Mr. Zhao Ziyang, acting party General-Secretary and Prime Minister, Mr. Wan Li, senior Vice Premier; Mr. Hu Qili, a party Secretariat member; Mr. Bo Yibo, permanent vice-chairman of the Central Advisory Commission; and Mr. Yang Shangkun, permanent vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission."

According to the South China Morning Post's Terry Cheng, the five "have succeeded in halting the swing to the left" of the political elite in China.

It is difficult to assess this analysis. According to Bo Yibo, the CCP has only purged 33,869 members in the last 3 and one-half years. Many think that...

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World War III continues

US buildup in Gulf largest since Vietnam

WORLD WAR III continued with last Saturday's attack of US Navy F-14 jets on Iranian F-4 fighter-bombers, which the United States built. The US fired at least two Sparrow missiles, but there were no hits or further hostilities reported.

Contrary to what most major papers implied, the Iranian planes were not preparing to attack a US surveillance plane. The Iranians did not have their targeting radars on. (New York Times, 8/12/87, p. 3, second to last inch in story) Instead, the US activated its "shoot first" policy because "the speed of the Iranian planes, their low altitude, their direction of flight and their refusal to acknowledge warnings from ships and aircraft all indicated possible hostile intent." (Ibid.)

The P-3 Orion surveillance (spy) planes that the fighters rushed to protect do not usually perform duty in the Gulf. They may have attracted Iranian attention.

The US military has made many unusual arrangements for various kinds of aggressions in the Gulf. In fact, the US military buildup in the Persian Gulf and now the Gulf of Oman is the largest US military buildup since the Vietnam War.

"By early September, the military expects to have about 31 ships and smaller vessels and more than 25,000 military personnel on duty in and near the gulf." (Ann Arbor News, 8/11/87, Molly Moore, "US combat buildup in gulf becomes largest since Vietnam," p. c1)

That force will be slightly larger than forces assembled during the Iranian hostage crisis and the bombing attack against Libya last year.

Review of hostilities

Ironically it was the apparently accidental Iraqi attack on the USS Stark that killed 37 crewmen on May 17th that the US used as a justification to start its "shoot first, ask questions later" policy.

The supertanker Bridgeton hit a mine on June 24th and the United States started sweeping for mines in the Persian Gulf.

The American-operated tanker Texaco Caribbean hit a mine on Monday, August 10th. The explosion ripped a 12 foot hole below the water line and caused its oil from Iran to leak. Apparently it is common for American companies to operate ships loaded with Iranian oil and headed for Western Europe and Japan. This ship had a Panamanian flag, but its destination was Northwestern Europe. (Ann Arbor News, 8/11/87, p. B5)

On August 11th, so-called Second World countries England and France announced they would send minesweepers to the Gulf of Oman. The fact that the Texaco Caribbean hit a mine in the Gulf of Oman indicated to these imperialists that the threat to their interests was more widespread than originally thought. (New York Times, 8/12/87, p. 1)

On August 12th, crews from the Sultanate of Oman, the United Arab Emirates and the US Navy found a sixth mine in the Gulf of Oman. Who is setting the mines is not clear. Iran has offered to deploy the Iranian Navy to clear the mines, which it claims the United States has set. (Ann Arbor News, 8/13/87, p. c1)

US imperialist concerns

Iran has set up missiles in its territory capable of hitting ships in the Gulf of Oman and Persian Gulf. They are called Silkworms, which are part of Iran's nearly one billion

dollar a year arms trade with China. The United States has responded by sending surveillance planes capable of jamming the Silkworm's aiming mechanism.

According to bourgeois columnist William Safire and Charles Krauthammer the Iranians are happy to let the United States patrol the Gulf because Iraq had the naval advantage in its war with Iran. The United States also protects Iranian oil, thereby protecting Iranian revenues and arms purchases.

Calling the Iranians "Persians" and the Iraqis and Saudis "Arabs," Safire hopes to fan the flames of war, which he believes the "Arabs" can win with US help. (Ann Arbor News, 8/11/87, p. a7)

According to Krauthammer, who also advocates a more overt pro-Iraq tilt, the problem with the US policy is that it forced Iraq to stop shooting, not Iran. On the other hand, the Reagan administration claims that its policy will make clear who is the aggressor in the Gulf while protecting US oil. (Detroit News, 8/11/87, p. 11a)

Libya and Chad at war

In what may figure into the Mideast conflagration, Chad claimed that Libya bombed Chad for the fourth day in a row.

Meanwhile, "on Saturday, Chadian troops, racing across the desert in jeeps, routed Libyan soldiers from the Aozou Strip, a 100-mile-wide band occupied by Libya since 1973." (Ann Arbor News, 8/13/87, p. c2) Chad claims to have killed 427 Libyan soldiers and taken 61 prisoner, while suffering 17 dead and 54 wounded.

France has military forces in Chad that have pledged to defend against Libyan attacks. (Ibid.)

Trade with Iran continues

While claiming (perhaps correctly) that Iran set mines in the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman, the United States continues to operate oil tankers loaded with Iranian oil. Last year, the United States imported \$569 million in goods from Iran including \$468.2 million in oil and oil products.

To the chagrin of the US imperialists, Iran only imported \$34.1 million in goods from the United States, not counting at least \$30 million in secret weapons sales. "In pre Khomeini days, Iran was one of America's biggest customers in the Middle East," moans AP. (Ann Arbor News, 8/13/87, p. c5)

\$1 million anti-Contra campaign is a drop in the bucket

Three liberal groups—Witness for Peace, Citizen Action and Neighbor to Neighbor Action—have shown an understanding of what is required to determine US policy—big money. The groups have raised half of \$1 million expected in a television and radio campaign that targets Congressional representatives who have borderline positions on whether or not to support aid to the Contras, who are counterrevolutionary terrorists fighting to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. The ads will ask constituents to phone their Congresspeople.

Still, the funds from the State Department pro-Contra publicity campaign described in a previous issue of MIM Notes alone dwarf the liberals' efforts. This is not to mention the free publicity given to every pro-Contra word of Reagan, North etc.

Who ever heard of Neighbor to Neighbor Action? This group may have good intentions, but it does not matter much in a society where capitalists own the means of communication. Democracy only exists for those who can afford to own a share of the media.

South Korean workers take advantage of political situation

"Tens of thousands of workers at 192 companies across the country either demonstrated or stayed off the job today, according to Government estimates. The unrest has closed plants at some of the largest companies in the country and for several days halted shipments out of Pusan, the nation's largest port." (New York Times, 8/12/87, p. 1)

In the last issue of MIM Notes, the lead article was on the situation that led to the June 29th declaration of democratic reforms in South Korea.

Beyond the political situation is the long-standing economic condition of the proletariat in Korea. According to the US embassy, the average wage in South Korean industry is \$1.75 per hour. In addition, S. Korean regime statistics indicate an average work week of 57 hours. Moreover, "the pro-government Federation of Korea Labor Unions lists average wages at less than \$370 a month. Some entry-level workers in fields such as textiles and footwear manufacturing say they earn less than \$120 a month." (Ann Arbor News, 8/13/87, p. e10)

With these kinds of conditions the South Korean dependent bourgeoisie can afford a few days lost to strikes. Hyundai Motors settled its strike in four days, but strikes at its suppliers have stopped its car exports for now.

According to the Chun regime, S. Korea may have lost \$55 million in exports because of strikes so far, but exports for the year should still exceed \$40 billion. (Ibid.)

Since small disruptions are affordable to the dependent state capitalist class of South Korea, the real question is how much further the unrest will go. And once again, the students are demonstrating far-reaching militance despite the June 29th announcement of democratic reform. On August 12th, 2,000 students joined striking workers in battles with police in downtown Seoul.

In Kwangju, which has a history of anti-imperialist struggle, riot police injured six people when they stormed a campus to rescue police captured by students.

While many strikes are proving short-lived, many others are starting. 33 new strikes started on August 11th. On August 12th and 13th, at least 90 new strikes started. "Newspapers said the closure of major industries crippled more than 1,200 smaller suppliers dependent on them." (Ann Arbor News, 8/13/87, p. c3; New York Times, 8/12/87) Hundreds of small companies have had to close.

South African mineworkers go on strike

The South African regime arrested 78 union officials on August 12th in what the US press is billing as the largest "legal" strike in S. Africa.

On August 11th, the apartheid regime announced that it would introduce laws against "political strikes" and "unfair action" and laws for the compensation of employers by unions engaged in "illegal strikes."

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) claims to have shut down 44 out of 46 targeted coal and gold mines in part for a 30% wage increase. In contrast, "the Chamber of Mines, which has unilaterally implemented pay raises ranging from 15 to 23 percent, says about 230,000 of the nation's 600,000 black miners are striking at 31 mines." (Ann Arbor News, 8/13/87, p. c3)

On August 12th, security guards at one mine shot rubber bullets and injured 15 people to bring the total of injured people to 52. (Ibid.)

Miners also killed one scab in Natal Province. (New York Times, 8/12/87, p. 5)

According to NUM, workers' wages average \$165 a month. The Chamber of Mines claims \$245 a month, but in either case, the Black workers make one-fifth or less of what white mineworkers make. (Ibid; Detroit News, 8/11/87, p. 3a)

In the editor's opinion, when MIM talks about the international proletariat, it should mean the South Korean workers and South African Black workers, not Americans who make 10 and 20 times the salaries of the truly revolutionary class.

The next double issue of MIM Theory will discuss the issue of where to draw the line between the proletariat and the bought-off labor aristocracy and what this means for revolutionary strategy. (Send 60 cents.)

"Five Jackson guards fired for abusing inmate who died"

Jackson State Prison corrections officials suffocated Oscar Rowls Jr. when he refused to strip in front of female officers on May 8th.

Nonetheless, the Jackson County prosecutor refused to push criminal charges "after a citizen's inquest jury concluded Rowls' death was accidental." (Detroit News, 8/11/87, p. 4a) The Rowls family has said it believes criminal charges are warranted.

Others disciplined besides those involved in the violence include a captain who did not open the cell immediately for first aid and a nurse for delaying resuscitation efforts.

Rowls was serving a life-sentence for armed robbery. (Ibid.)

Once again the state has perpetrated a greater crime than the one it supposedly was attempting to correct.

Reagan Commerce appointee is pro-Soviet trade

Occasionally our liberal friends say that US foreign policy is motivated by Reagan's blindly anti-communist ideology. This theory does not wash; however, because US imperialism is driven by the imperatives of capitalist competition, no matter who is president.

The proof of this is that both the late-Secretary of Commerce and the new Reagan appointee favor increased trade with the Soviet Union. Is this part of a sneaky effort to gain influence over the Soviet Union?

This seems unlikely because the Soviet Union is not a one-crop, one-export country like so many countries dependent on the United States. The United States can not hope to do much to hurt the Soviets via trade. Surely the wheat embargo proved a nuisance, but it did not bring the Soviets to their knees.

Indeed, to the chagrin of ideologues and Australia and the delight of farmers, it was Reagan who ended the grain embargo.

The US imperialists see possible gains from war against the Soviet Union, collaboration with the Soviet Union as in the suppression of the Eritrean liberation struggle and cooperation with the Soviet Union in business matters. Right now military conflict is principal in the US agenda, but collaboration and cooperation never completely disappear.

Why is former steel company executive C. William Verity Jr. pro-Soviet trade? The bottom line is that he "has opposed government restrictions on doing business with Moscow on grounds that American companies have lost at least \$10 billion a year." (Detroit News, 8/11/87, p. 3a)

What did you expect column

Reagan to appoint Moon supporter to UN

Former Michigan Congressperson Mark Siljander, who spoke at a recent conference organized by Reverend Moon is Reagan's choice to serve as one of the United States's five non-voting delegates at the UN according to Siljander.

Moderate Republicans in Michigan sent a letter to Reagan asking him to withdraw the nomination.

Siljander lost his House seat in 1986 when he fought his opponent in the Republican primary by asking voters to "break the back of Satan." (Ann Arbor News, 8/13/87, p. a12)

Michigan National Bank chairperson stole money

A jury found the chair of Michigan National Bank guilty of "misapplying" hundreds of thousands of dollars in the words of the mass media. (Detroit News, 8/11/87)

44 Government officials accept bribes

The FBI charged 44 highway superintendents and purchasing directors with accepting 105 out of 106 bribes FBI agents offered through the guise of a steel company salesperson. "'And on the other occasion he turned it down because he didn't think the amount was enough.'" (New York Times, 8/12/87, p. 1)

The municipal officials in the New York area accepted bribes in return for ordering steel from the FBI agent's fictitious company.

The FBI also charged 14 suppliers.

Under communism money will not have this kind of appeal.

Correspondence:

Reader uses literature list in library

Thank you kindly for the book and literature list and the no. 29 MIM Notes "Why Study the Cultural Revolution?" From the book list, I have checked out (from the library) the following titles: *Global Reach* (a thick one), *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao*

Zedong, and Hinton's books *Turning Point in China* (small and easy to read) and *Fanshen*. I plan to visit some larger libraries and look for the others.

I have been studying Marxism-Leninism for about three years now. This is not very long, and I do have much to discover. I have always been curious as to the Maoist point-of-view. The RCP's paper, *Revolutionary Worker*, is too expensive. However, I am not a Maoist; but a Trotskyite. Nevertheless, I am not a sectarian and as I have said, I am interested in the Maoist point of view, even though I disagree on many points. I am not a member of any party and I have not found any that I am 100% satisfied with.

I believe there are Maoists, Trotskyists, anarchists, and others who want a fighting movement as opposed to the Moscow liners, the social-democrats, and other reformists. I hope your efforts are fruitful—for a fighting movement against the capitalist offensive!

—A reader in the South

May 9, 1987

Prisoner wants any free books having to do with Mao

I'm presently incarcerated and I'm writing to you because I'm highly interested in learning about Mao Zedong. Therefore, I'm writing to you hoping that you can provide me with any free books and/or literature pertaining to this great man.

Any material that you are able to send me in order to further my knowledge of him will be greatly appreciated.

—A writer from the Northeast

July 24, 1987

[MIM sent *The Political Economy of Counterrevolution in China: 1976-83* and *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, ed.]

Writer wants our literature on Philippines; upholds pacifism

I want to thank you for the information packet you recently sent me—the Founding Documents of the MIM.

After reading the material, I can say that I am in agreement with many of the points expressed. I too am anti-apartheid, anti-nuke, anti-racist and against the US foreign policy in Central America. For that matter I am opposed to US foreign policy in general. It seems that the US has a knack for backing dictators. I am a Filipino-American and having been born and raised in the Philippines I know first hand how the US backed a corrupt dictator named Marcos for many years. . . .

I understand the thinking of replacing the system of government, but I am left wondering if you advocate the overthrow of the government by peaceful or violent means. I am of the belief as was Martin Luther King, that nonviolent means are the best methods to use to gain the most sympathy for a cause.

—A friend from the South

July 27, 1987

[Editor's note:

MIM Notes has reported on events in the Philippines, but currently our literature list does not carry anything on the Philippines. Our last list contained a declaration dated 1984, but since then no one has reviewed any revolutionary literature on the Philippines. Hopefully, our readers will take up this task soon.

As for nonviolence, MIM officially upholds Mao Zedong so of course it upholds armed revolution as a necessity in ending the world wars wrought by imperialism; although, the editor admits he has not read any of what Mao had to say about the United States's possibilities of revolution.

In any case, pacifists who direct their energies against US militarism and imperialism are certainly our allies. The problem only comes up when imperialists use violence to repress peoples across the world and the pacifist counsels nonviolence. As Malcolm X used to say, if you can convince the government to be pacifist, we'll be pacifist in return.

For a critique of pacifism as petty-bourgeois ideology, see Christopher Caudwell's *Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture*, available from MIM for \$5.]

Feminist comrade writes on Baby M case

Your issue #30 of MIM Notes was most interesting, in particular, the Mary Beth Whitehead case as interpreted by Off Our Backs. Since I also publish a feminist newsletter, and since I have sent for and read a sample issue of the latter Off Our Backs, I would like to comment on both.

Firstly, although it is advertised as primarily concerned with women over forty, I found that the issue I read seemed primarily concerned with Lesbianism.

Further, I would like to add here my editorial comment on the Whitehead case with this article which will come out in the spring '87 issue.

"The Baby M Case—has generated much publicity and is a prime example of how our high tech lives now make medical and legal professions rich and bring tragedy to others.

We shall not go into the legal technicalities nor the morality nor ethics of mothering a child for profit, or as Ms. Whitehead said, 'To do something nice for someone.' (To which we might add, was it doing something nice for the child?)

In our own heretical opinion, we might best let nature take its course and stop meddling in an already messed up world. Medical intervention might best be left out of procreation.

However, since it is done, we do wish to comment on the selection of caregivers/parents for the baby. From the beginning, we felt that Ms. Whitehead was not the most emotionally stable person in the case. The prime example of this was her reported and acknowledged threat on the telephone to kill both herself and the baby. This she lightly glossed over in a TV interview during the week of March 30, 1987. The televised interview with her after the judge awarded custody to the Sterns, was the clincher for me. She appeared to be the least qualified parent as to emotional stability, ethics, morals, and concern for the child. She came across to us as engaging in maudlin sentimentality, and kept emphasizing the family theme in that she and her family would be deprived, and the biological connection between her and Baby M.

I was not impressed with her sincerity or concern for the baby herself. This writer has been a child welfare librarian for ten years, a teacher for thirteen and has read in the fields of psychology and psychiatry for 35 years. We are convinced that the judge made the right decision for the baby, a certain radical feminist element notwithstanding.

The newspapers put in quotes the term 'narcissistic disorders' used by a courtroom psychologist as though this were some fancy, contrived term. It is not; there are very serious implications of the narcissistic disorders; they are very real, and create havoc with those who live with patients with these disorders.

We would hope to see some legislation prohibiting the sale of babies in this fashion in the near future. No matter what other name it goes by, it is a form of slavery. Slavery, you may recall, is a profit-making venture on the backs of other human beings. There should be no 'contracts' to bear a child for others. The human race seems to have enough brains to screw us up, but not enough to straighten us out again."

In my opinion Mao Zedong had the right idea about professional profiteering and their place in the culture—that they should take their turn at hoeing the potatoes. The professional in our society make top dollar and most often do more harm than good. Long live the revolution and the Red Guards! This is a case in point.

—A comrade

Florida Womans World

PO Box 28253

Kenneth City Contract Sta.

St. Petersburg, FL 33709

[Editor's note:

The MIM literature list in its updated form includes the address for Off Our Backs along with subscription information and MIM's recommendation.

Although we look forward to the day when MIM Notes gets on top of all the struggles that communists must support, for now it is important to take the Marxist approach of working with the best of what is at hand and not waiting for perfect revolution to fall on the silver platter. In this spirit, MIM comrades must admit that Off Our Backs does a better job than MIM on many issues regarding women's liberation, if only because

MIM itself is too limited and is not involved in all the struggles. Off Our Backs is an extensive, if not exhaustive effort to cover all the news bearing on women's liberation in a month. Its non-sectarian approach (e.g., listing addresses of various feminist groups) is also especially helpful since no one group is really doing the all-round job required on women's liberation.]

Available for the first time from MIM!

Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base of Social Democracy

In his great classic, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin described the labor aristocracy of that time as a "tiny minority of the working class." Ever since, without relating current statistics to Lenin's guidelines, the world Left, especially in the West, has continued mouthing: "The labour aristocracy is a tiny minority of the working class."

This book undertakes to apply official U.S. and other data to the criteria for a labor aristocracy which Lenin set forth in his "Preface to the German and French editions" of the cited source. Supported by a resulting 43 statistical tables, it proves that, today, the entire working class of the West constitutes a labor aristocracy on a world scale; that its former "crumbs" from the capitalists' table have, due to the escalation of imperialism's parasitism, augmented greatly; that the labor aristocracy's acceptance of this kickback, which Lenin called "imperialist bribery," has created for them in the West a "Way of Life" such that a serious internal contradiction now exists within the international proletariat: the one between workers in the West and those of the "Third World;" that Social Democracy is and always has been the political mouthpiece of the labor aristocracy; and that the Least Common Denominator of Social Democracy is racism.

The author contends that, if not seriously studied and fought against, this internal contradiction can and will harden, if it hasn't already, into an antagonistic one within the international working class, in a world of which the imperialist section is now ruled by transnational corporations rather than by nations, as in Lenin's day. If such a political sclerosis is allowed to set, it can only postpone further the arrival of the necessary "final conflict." (from the back cover)

H.W. Edwards, Stockholm, Sweden, 1978, 430 pp.

\$8 cash, postal money order or write to make arrangements.

Also for the first time!

The Capitalist Roaders Are Still on the Capitalist Road (1977)

In October 1976 revisionists in China launched a successful counterrevolution to establish Soviet-style state capitalism where socialism had previously existed. Within months, some comrades based in Colorado using the telescope and microscope of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought realized what had happened and exposed it as a counterrevolution.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the formerly Maoist October League/Communist Party Marxist-Leninist bought the new Chinese line hook line and sinker and proceeded to intimidate opponents who criticized China's new leaders. At the same time, the supposedly Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party flailed about for some time. Internal party struggles, or was it opportunism, kept the RCP from helping to resolve confusion in the international communist movement. To this day, at least some RCP members try to keep the existence of this book buried, as if to say it was not important to clear up the confusion in 1976 or even 1977!

The strength of this book despite its timeliness for 1977 is its excerpting of the best theoretical statements of the Chinese Communist Party on why there was a possibility of counterrevolution as did in fact happen in 1976.

During the Cultural Revolution the CCP argued that it was possible that China would become social-imperialist or a mere dependent capitalist country if it suffered capitalist counterrevolution. The book also excerpts materials indicating a historical conflict within various branches of the government that served as a material basis for the new bourgeoisie. Indeed, all the major theoretical contributions of the Shanghai School of Political Economy are to be found excerpted in this volume. Approx. 130 pp. \$4 cash, postal money order or write to make arrangements.

Back issue MIM Notes #23, 4/28/86 on the bombing of Libya 60 cents!

In this special joint MIM Notes #23/MIM Theory #4 MIM exposes the bombing of Libya and goes on to connect that bombing with various theories of social change: Where were the Democrats? Where were the Soviets? What did the so-called Second World do? Find out the facts in MIM Notes.

Appropriately, MIM Theory #4 officially delivered a conclusion, shall we say heresy, that MIM comrades had had for some time—that the world war had already started. Unlike all other parties out there, MIM boldly rips away at the social-chauvinist thinking that World War III isn't here until the white boys go to war.

For those who realize that the bombing of Libya, the invasion of Grenada, the aggression in Lebanon and now the maneuvers in the Gulf mean that the international proletariat has precious little time to stop the current World War III before it intensifies militarily, this back issue is a must.

no.33 **MIM Notes** 11/12/87

Unofficial newsletter of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

US bombs Iran, kills fishers in Gulf

By MC5 and MC99

"US warships sank two Iranian oil platforms and Navy commandos raided another in the Persian Gulf on Monday in retaliation for a missile attack on a U.S.-registered oil tanker." (Detroit Free Press, 10/20/87, p. 1)

"The Reagan administration announced Monday [10/19/87] morning that four U.S. destroyers had fired 1,000 rounds from their five-inch guns on two platforms of an Iranian oil facility in international waters." (Ibid.)

The United States justified the attack with references to Iranian attacks on US bloc shipping in the Gulf and the reputed role of the oil platforms as a military base. On October 15, Iran hit the "the Sungari, an American-owned tanker flying the Liberian flag" with a missile. On October 16th, Iran hit "the Sea Isle City, a Kuwaiti-owned tanker flying the American flag." (New York Times, 10/23/87, p. 7)

Previously, US helicopters had attacked three Iranian speedboats on October 8th.

The most recent incident as MIM Notes goes to press indicates what the US means by its literal "shoot first" policy in the Gulf. The US navy fired machine guns on three Arab fishing boats in the Persian Gulf and killed an Indian fisher, Bekwan Kangee on November 4.

The United States states that it is making international waters in the Gulf safe for use against Iranian and Iraqi attack.

After the US aggression, Iran attacked Kuwait's main offshore oil terminal and caused it serious damage on October 22nd. (Ibid.) Iran considers Kuwait its enemy in the war with Iraq.

Democrats support President

The Democratic Party as a whole supported the bombing of Iran. The most-quoted Democrat prior to the bombing was Senator Sam Nunn, the chair of the Armed Service Committee: "The Iranians should be aware that if they do use those missiles in a way that jeopardizes American ships, they are subjecting themselves to possible and probable retaliation." (New York Times, 10/17/87, p. 4)

Although the press focussed on the reaction of moderate and conservative Democrats, those considered more liberal also supported the bombing.

Senator Edward Kennedy's office (D-MA) told MIM that he "supported the President's action and thought it was appropriate." Senator Alan Cranston's office had this to say: "the Senator has not given a position. . . no senator criticized the attack."

Presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts "supports the president. . . when vessels are fired on we should be able to retaliate." He added that the Gulf needs "a multilateral UN force. . . to maintain peace," according to his office.

Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) had a lengthy statement prepared in support of the bombing: "Destruction of the oil platform seems to be a measured response given the circumstances in which we find ourselves in the Persian Gulf. An appropriate response was necessary. But this clear exchange of hostilities is added cause for invoking the War Powers Act. We were left with no choice but a military response which is why I have expressed concern about the reflagging

effort from the beginning. We need to protect the freedom of the seas in the Gulf, but it should not be unilateral. We need the help of other nations." So the most liberal white presidential candidate admits that even if he were in office, he would be "left with no choice but a military response." Indeed, his call for the involvement of other nations is ominous and indicates on what scale the problem in the Gulf is.

Jesse Jackson

Jesse Jackson, in the opinion of this author, is the Democrat, who because he seems promising to progressive people, is the most valuable in co-opting people into the Democratic Party. Indeed, numerous supposedly Marxist-Leninist groups have dissolved because of the hope they found in Jackson's campaign. These activists want to be among the rainbow communities so as to pull people into radical politics, whether Jackson fails or succeeds.

More than one organizer for Jesse Jackson has admitted to MIM that Jackson is opportunist. These same organizers say that they are able to campaign for Jackson on the basis of any platform they choose.

According to Jackson's Washington and Chicago offices, however, Jackson has only one stand on the Persian Gulf. Jackson supported the oil platform bombing calling it a "tactical, surgical strike within the boundaries of international law."

The War Powers Act is moot

According to Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.VA), "the U.S. response...was minimal and appropriate." (Detroit Free Press, 10/20/87, p. 5a) Likewise, House Speaker Jim Wright (D-TX), "it was necessary to make a demonstration that the Iranians cannot willfully and at their whim attack U.S. vessels without expecting measured retaliation." (Ibid.)

So popular was the move with Democrats that the call to invoke the War Powers Act took on a different meaning than that wished by some naive liberals. The Democrats supported the invocation of the War Powers Act so that Reagan could prove the public fully supported the war against Iran.

A key example of this was that of former-president Carter: "Mr. Carter said that Congress would probably not overrule the President's policy if the War Powers Resolution were invoked, and that doing so would 'help alleviate the worldwide belief' that Congress overwhelmingly disapproves of the current naval buildup in the Persian Gulf." (New York Times, 10/17/87, p. 4)

On Wednesday, October 21st, the Senate voted to call on the President to issue a report on hostilities on the Gulf and give the Senate 30 days to respond. The Senate did not call on the president to uphold the War Powers Act. The bill has no teeth and even some Democrats thought it was "mishmash." (Detroit Free Press, 10/22/87, p. 1)

Pentagon selects, provides for journalists to report Gulf war

In July Marines aimed machine guns at a chartered boat of journalists who attempted to cover the progress of US-escorted tankers through the Gulf. The journalists involved left.

The Pentagon only allows 10 people from the press to cover the Gulf military actions. The Pentagon determines when it is safe (by its standards) for the 10 people to release the news reports.

The 10 reporters traveled in two groups of five on the cruiser Fox and the destroyer Kidd.

The first reports from actual action in the Gulf were allowed through by "Defense Secretary" Caspar W. Weinberger. He "immediately approved" the release of the first pool dispatch once it arrived at the Pentagon, Sims [Pentagon spokesperson] said." (Los Angeles Times, 7/22/87, p. 10)

According to one of the AP reporters, Tim Ahern, however, the military did in fact censor reports from the ships. In the first place, the first reports from the Gulf were held by the Pentagon for three days: "It wasn't until days later that we found out that those reports had been held back at the Pentagon, supposedly because they breached operational security by reporting about future military events. I didn't think that was so, nor did any of the other reporters, but we didn't have much avenue of appeal aboard the ships." (Washington Journalism Review, 10/87, p. 17)

Later buried in the story, Ahern also admits that the Navy changed his stories. Captain David Yonkers of the Persian Gulf Flotilla changed at least two aspects of Ahern's stories. "The first concerned a reference to beer drinking, which Yonkers eliminated because he said it wouldn't look good to readers back in the United States if they knew Navy officers had been drinking during such an important mission."

"The second occasion came on July 23, when I wrote a piece about the upcoming last day of the convoy. I detailed how and when we were going to pass Farsi Island. . . . Yonkers objected to putting specifics into the

story, so we fudged the details and then sent the story." (Ibid.)

These facts appear buried in Ahern's story about his trip to the Gulf. Ahern has no major criticisms of the system which let him, along with 9 other people from major capitalist syndicates, be the first to report from the Gulf.

Those who can obtain the Washington Journalism Review of October 1987 should do so to read how intimate the relationship is between the US government and the media: The media has no problem when the government picks the select number of journalists who it wants for its missions, decides when the reporters can report or participate, changes their stories and limits their travel except within the military boats themselves.

Ships hit by Iran were not in international waters

The two tankers that Iran hit with Chinese Silkworm missiles on October 15th and 16th were in Kuwaiti waters. The United States is claiming to protect international shipping lanes in the Persian Gulf, but its retaliation against Iran for the destruction of Kuwaiti ships indicates that Kuwait is little more than a protectorate of the United States. (Indianapolis Star, 10/17/87, p. a3; Los Angeles Times, 10/17/87, p. 1)

"The tiny emirate of Kuwait has become a prime target for Iranian retaliatory strikes largely because it provides financial assistance to Iraq and allows war materiel to pass through its ports en route to Iraq." (Los Angeles Times, 10/16/87, p. 6) Kuwait is "contributing billions of dollars and allowing Iraqi military supplies through its ports." (New York Times, 10/23/87, p. 7)

The United States government had previously admitted that Iranian attacks on Kuwait are not US business. (New York Times, "U.S. Calls Latest Iran Raid An Issue for Kuwait Alone," p. 7)

Shipping and oil capitalists pushed for retaliation

"If one of these vessels [US controlled vessels without the US flag—ed.] were being attacked, we would like to see the United States authorized to intervene and stop the attack," said Thomas S. Wyman, director of

governmental and public affairs for Chevron, the San Francisco oil giant." (Los Angeles Times, 10/17/87, p. 12)

Wyman went on to say that it should not matter what flag is on a ship in the Gulf. The United States should protect its "vital interest" in the Gulf.

Chevron only sends three or four tankers to the Gulf each month, but it spoke for a number of oil shippers in its lobbying of the Reagan administration.

Chevron pointed out that 40% of US controlled oil shipped to the US from the Gulf does not travel in US registered ships. (Ibid.)

Also supporting the reflagging is the US Mideast Force. Perhaps seeking glory, promotion or greater resources, Rear Adm. Harold Bensen has asked for permission to attack Iranian gunboats "stalking civilian oil tankers." (St. Petersburg Times, 10/16/87, p. 16a)

Press bias is obviously against Iranians

The New York Times (10/20/87) wrote stories about the bombing of Iran that totalled more than 100 inches in length. Almost all of the coverage was based on the comments of the U.S. government or shipping executives.

Below, MIM Notes quotes all the Iranian reactions that the New York Times found fit to print:

"At the United Nations, an Iranian delegate said "several innocent people" had been killed in the attack, but the assertion could not be confirmed." (p. 1)

"Before the shelling began, the Iranian installation was warned by radio messages that an attack was imminent. Receipt of the message was acknowledged, and Iranians were seen leaving the platform in a small boat, according to the Secretary." [This is a second-hand report of the Iranians's reaction as relayed by the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Caspar W. Weinberger to the New York Times, ed.] (p. 6)

"Iran vowed today to deliver a "crushing blow" against the United States in revenge for the raids on its offshore platforms in the Persian Gulf.

"We're sending so much over there that the water level of the gulf is going to go up two or three inches when it's all done."—Reagan administration official.

"The United States has entered a swamp from which it can in no way get out safely," said the director of Iran's War Information Office, Kamal Kharrazi. He said Washington was now embroiled in a full-fledged war with Iran.

"The remarks, released by the official Iranian press agency, were the first Iranian reaction to the raids on the platforms, which the United States said were used as radar and speedboat bases for preying on shipping.

"[At the United Nations, Iran's envoy, Said Rajaie Khorassani, described the target of the attack as an "oil terminal" without military significance and said "several innocent people were killed." He acknowledged his country was behind the missile attacks against two ships in Kuwaiti waters last week, but called the action a justified measures (sic.) against a nation supporting Iraq in its war with Iran. One ship was Kuwaiti-owned but registered in the United States; the other was American-owned and registered in Liberia.]"

The Iranians got one-half inch on page one out of seven and one-half inches. Three-quarters of an inch for the second-hand U.S. government report of the Iranian reaction appeared on page six. Then on the last page of coverage of the bombing in the New York Times, Iran got a whopping four inches. (p. 8) Meanwhile, Britain's reaction also received three inches on the same page. All together, Iran had its views explained or quoted for a total of five and one-quarter inches. The next day contained no coverage, so it was not the case that the New York Times did not have the time to report more of a response.

While the New York Times is the best major newspaper in the United States, it is still a crude mouthpiece for the Pentagon, shipping executives and various Reagan officials.

History — a review of hostilities

The bombing of the Iranian oil platform was not an isolated military act on the United States' part. On October 8th, US helicopters attacked and sank between one and three Iranian gunboats in the Persian Gulf. The two sides dispute who fired first. (Los Angeles Times, 10/10/87, p. 8)

The last issue of MIM Notes neglected to mention an important conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran that the imperialists are trying to enflame—the Arab vs. Persian conflict.

Friday, July 31st, at least 402 people died in Mecca when Saudi Arabian police fired on Iranian demonstrators. Mecca is an Islamic holy city in Saudi Arabia. At least 275 of the dead were Iranians. (The Plain Dealer, 8/4/87, p. 2a)

After the riot, Iran called for the overthrow of the Saudi government for the first time. (Los Angeles Times, 8/3/87, p. 1)

There is also more information in on the role Soviet economic and military competition had in driving the U.S. into Gulf intervention. In April, Kuwait made an agreement with the Soviet Union "to lease three small tankers from the Soviet Union, which will provide a naval escort to and from Kuwaiti ports." (The Plain Dealer, Cleveland, p. 5a)

Indeed, the US attempt to have all the states of the Middle East as its dependents figures into the Kuwaiti request for US military escort in the Persian Gulf. Having heard that the United States is supplying Iran in its war with Iraq, Kuwait decided to "test" the US commitment to protecting the "moderate gulf states" from "Iranian aggression" according to a Kuwaiti official. (Ibid.)

In reality, as of October 16, 1987 Iraq had attacked 258 commercial ships, while Iran had attacked 142. (The Indianapolis Star, 10/17/87, p. a3)

Iranian military actions are partly response to US provocations

In the past, Iran has indicated that its actions in the Persian Gulf are at least partly responses to the US military force there. "As long as there are foreign forces in the gulf, it is quite natural to use such means to block approaches," said Iran's Kamal Kharazi of the Supreme Defense Council.

Iran, however, has denied responsibility for mines that have caused the destruction of various tankers in the Gulf. Some evidence

for this is that Iranian oil has spilled as a result of the mine attacks.

Iran claims that both the United States and Iraq are also using mines in the Persian Gulf. Even if Iran is the only country putting in the mines, it is not in the Iranians' interests to blow up their own oil, unless there is a larger threat such as the United States in the Gulf.

Iran also claims not to want to block free navigation in the Gulf, but it has said that the US "is trying to find justification for its presence" in the Gulf. (Los Angeles Times, 8/21/87)

US punishes China for arms trade with Iran

Despite the fact that no one has gone to jail yet for the Iran-contra scam, the US has imposed a high-tech embargo to China because China has sold Silkworm missiles to Iran.

Meanwhile, the US is preparing finally to put a ban on Iranian imports including oil. It will also act to cut off exports to Iran that could be useful to terrorists. Of course, in perfectly hypocritical order, the US will act against China first: "the trade curb. . . was imposed as President Reagan was poised to announce a ban on most trade with Iran. . . Oil and other imports would be cut off, as well as exports of all goods that could even be vaguely useful to terrorist groups." (New York Times, 10/23/87, p. 1)

Typically, China has denied arms sales to Iran, as it has denied most controversial arms sales before, including nuclear sales to South Africa. According to the US, the US showed China photographs of China's shipping the arms to Iran, but China still denied the sales.

If this high-tech embargo has any teeth, it will be an interesting test of the government in China. Is the Chinese government a mere lackey of US imperialism? Certainly, the US role in the Chinese economy has become much more important since 1976, but is it big enough so that the US can make China act as a dependent vassal? The actions of the US seem to indicate that the US considers China a dependent state, not a partner in imperialism.

China continues to learn from the West

"In one of the worst environmental disasters on record in China, an estimated 20,000 people were poisoned when a fertilizer factory dumped toxic chemicals into a river and contaminated the source of water

for thousands of people." (Los Angeles Times, 3/21/87, p. 1)

"The leaders of the chemical factory did not take immediate measures to stop the continuing contamination." Apparently, the clean-up project was still unfinished in March; even though, the disaster took place on January 2nd.

"When you do not pay attention to environmental protection, but only go after developing production, production cannot be developed, and even more importantly, a higher price will have to be paid economically, and this is very harmful to the masses," said Environmental News in China. (Ibid., p. 10)

Confucius makes open comeback in China

Scholars met in China to discuss Confucius at the end of August and the beginning of September. Contrary to The Sun's article on the conference, however, this is certainly not the first discussion of Confucius in China's history since 1949.

During the Cultural Revolution, the Gang of Four led discussions and rallies across the country to criticize Confucius. (The Sun, 9/3/87, p. 22a)

Cai Shangsi, a professor at Fudan University, said that Confucius represented old ideas that needed to be conquered. He also reportedly said "another cultural revolution" would be needed. A colleague, in defending Cai's views against a Columbia University professor, said, however, that Cai was not referring to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. MIM is not able to assess this information, whether or not Cai really desires the uprooting of reactionary ideas.

China goes to pure private farming

Since the counterrevolution after Mao's death, the Chinese state capitalists have had China's peasants engage in quasi-private farming. In that farming the state has assigned families plots of land for their use. There were only two restrictions—that the family sell a certain minimum of its product

to the state and that the family not sell the land it was on.

Now, the Chinese state capitalists are going to allow peasants to buy and sell their land. That is to say, a family can transfer its plot to someone else. (Ann Arbor News, 10/26/87, p. c1)

Farming in China is hence capitalist in the sense of private capitalist. Many so-called leftists in the United States have said that capitalism only exists where there is private property. Well, now even by their own standards, China is capitalist.

How Deng learns from the West: Going for Western plastic surgery

With the disgusting aping of everything Western in China these days, the latest trend is eyelid operations. A surgery procedure costing between one-fifth to one month's salary of an average worker makes Chinese eyes appear less slanted and more Western.

Other operations give Chinese people larger noses and breasts. Breast operations cost between two and three years' salary. We can only hope that the prohibitive costs will prevent people from having them.

Even skin creams for lighter complexions are reportedly popular. (New York Times, 4/30/87, p. 17)

While it is unavoidable in this author's opinion, that human bodies will become increasingly synthetic as science advances, the operations that the counterrevolution in China is promoting are not for the health of the patient. On the contrary, the operations contribute to the mental subjugation of the Chinese people to Western ideals of beauty and fashion.

More evidence of the left eddy in China last summer

In mid-August, 5,000 citizen volunteers helped put 800 street pedlars out of business in Beijing. The pedlars were accused of speculation, swindling and tax evasion. (Christian Science Monitor, 8/24/87, p. 7)

In Guangzhou, hundreds of other pedlars had the same fate. (Ibid.)

Prison inmates in Ohio seek to join IWW

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) claim that over 400 inmates in Ohio have sent cards in requesting union membership.

Inmates in Ohio make road signs, license plates and furniture and grow vegetables for the penal system, but they are only allowed to make \$24 a month.

Apparently, prison officials have blocked IWW organizing in various ways. The officials claim that the IWW represents a threat to the health and safety of the prisoners. (The Plain Dealer, 8/4/87, p. d1, d7)

"Defense" increasingly dominates academic research spending

The "Department of Defense" claims to only fund \$930 million in research at universities in the United States, but that figure is twice what it was ten years ago by the DOD's own figures. (Los Angeles Times, 4/12/87, p. 32)

By MC Zero and MC5 LA Times review criticizes 'Platoon' from Latino point of view

According to Gregg Barrios, Platoon is a movie without any believable or significant Latino characters. Yet, statistics show that Mexican-Americans constituted 10% of the population of the Southwest during Vietnam but 19.4% of the Vietnam War casualties.

In 1965, Blacks suffered 23.5% of the combat deaths in the Army while serving as only 10% of the armed forces in Vietnam. (Los Angeles Times, Calendar, 4/19/87, p. 2)

At the same time, Platoon was praised for localizing the Vietnam war for the folks at home. Holding up one white boy who choose to enlist for macho reasons instead of resist at home in no way forces the issue. Amerika still refuses to admit total defeat or acknowledge the Vietnamese government. Naturally, the US is still completely unsympathetic toward the Vietnamese efforts to stop Paul Pot's genocide.

Stock market crash reveals parasitic nature of economy

How is it possible that the stock market could fall 22.6% in one day? (New York Times, 10/20/87, p. 1) Since August 25th, the Dow Jones index of stock prices fell 36%.

Stocks are supposedly the paper deeds to the means of production in the United States. Just as there are ownership forms for cars and houses, there are ownership papers for the factories, machines and everything else corporations need to produce.

Yet, the fall of 36% in the average prices of stock shares does not mean that something destroyed 36% of the factories, machines and other means of production in the United States! No, the actual property is still there.

What has changed so much is the perception of the monetary value of the stocks. Under capitalism, everything is expressed in monetary terms. A share of stock does not refer to a particular building or a particular machine. Rather, a share is really a deed for some fraction of a company's value.

It is up to the market to determine what the monetary value of a share of stock is. This is an inherently speculative activity. There is no right or wrong answer as to the value of a stock in monetary terms.

In addition, there are good reasons why the monetary value of a stock should change. For instance, if an incompetent management takes over a plant, the machinery and buildings can become as good as useless. If management can't produce anything with its machinery, then that machinery is worthless. This is one of the real reasons for merger mania.

When a capitalist such as T. Boone Pickens finds a poorly run company, he can offer the company's shareholders a higher price for their stock. Pickens would say, "look with your assets, we could make a lot more profit; that's why I want to buy your stock and get rid of the old management." So the price of a stock depends partially on the competence of the company's management, and that competence is measured in terms of

profit generated.

When, the whole stock market fell 36%, however, it did not mean that managers suddenly increased their incompetence. Indeed, the capitalists themselves do not claim that there is a real reason that could explain this: "We don't know how to interpret it, and we don't think anyone else does either," said John A. Rolls, executive vice-president of the United Technologies Corporation. (New York Times, 10/20/87, p. 48)

The slight rise in interest rates, the persistence of the trade deficit and the continued war in the Persian Gulf are not sufficient real reasons to account for the stock market's sudden decline.

That is why Marxists distinguish between real, actual and physical forces in the economy on the one hand and speculative, fetishistic and illusionary forces on the other hand.

The Great Paper Shuffle

Eight percent of the New York City work force is employed in the securities trade. (New York Times, 10/20/87, p. 48) In 1977, 77,000 worked in the securities trade. By 1987, that number was 157,000. The total exceeds 250,000 when one counts the lawyers, accountants and computer operators directly involved in Wall Street.

That means there are over 250,000 people working on deciding how much a stock is worth in New York alone! And, the best justification for this is that someone has to analyze the companies to see if they have competent management!

Yet, when the whole market falls 36% in two months, one has to conclude that there was simply a lot of speculation going on. Wall Street people were paper-shuffling their way to profits until the whole house of cards came tumbling down.

In this most recent paper-shuffle, the bourgeoisie unintentionally erased over \$1 trillion of wealth in monetary terms! (New York Times, 10/20/87, p. 1) But that \$1 trillion is not anything real! The \$1 trillion

loss can have real effects, but only because under capitalism how much money one has affects how much one is willing to purchase. The \$1 trillion loss says nothing about the needs of the public or the physical ability of the U.S. economy to satisfy those needs.

Socialism undermines monetary calculation

Under socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat sees to it that profit is not the goal of the economy. What matters is the real economy and what is useful to the proletariat.

Marx pointed out this problem in capitalism in his greatest work, *Capital*. He distinguished between use-value and exchange-value because he knew that what was most useful to the proletariat was not necessarily the same thing as what was most profitable to sell, thanks to speculation and other distortions inherent to an economy that chases money.

Under socialism, the goals will be expressed in terms of barrels of oil, tons of corn and pairs of pants. Capitalism is incapable of directing its energies in this direction. The people on Wall Street chase after goals expressed in money terms. In contrast, the proletariat counts real work, real products and real needs.

Role of foreign investment in the United States is increasing

In explaining Wall Street's previous bull market, there was some talk of Japanese investment's raising the prices of US stocks. After all, the earnings to price ratio was supposedly several times better in the US than in Japan.

Many liberal/radical economists have said that high interest rates and a strong dollar in the early '80s financed US expansion, as foreign investors sent dollars back to the United States.

Even as late as 1987, when interest rates are relatively low, it appears that foreigners are funding the trade deficit. As Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.) said, "America has been selling off its family jewels to pay for a night on the town." (*Los Angeles Times*, 8/3/87, p. 5) In other words, instead of producing for export, Americans are selling the means of production to foreign capitalists to pay for consumption of Japanese VCRs, Korean cars and Arab oil.

The Democrats and social-democrats are invoking nationalism in calling for protectionism. They want to save American jobs and the means of production for Americans. This, however, should not be MIM's position according to MC5.

What is most amazing about foreign investment in the United States is that it is yet another mechanism of imperialist parasitism. The United States can have a trade deficit of \$15 billion a month, and still, other countries will loan the United States the money to pay for it. For example, Japan alone loaned the United States 35% of the money the United States government borrowed from citizens and foreigners in long-term loans in 1986. (*Ibid.*) "At some Treasury auctions, Japanese investors alone have bought as much as two-thirds of long-term United States Government bonds." (*New York Times*, 10/23/87, p. 27) The United States now owes other countries more than they owe the United States.

Another possible source of funds for the US is indicated in a rising chorus in the press to get Japan and other countries to foot the bill for US military spending. Donald J. Trump, who is a "real-estate magnate, casino operator and corporate raider with a fortune of \$3 billion drew a bigger audience than have any of the Republican candidates [in New Hampshire]" (*New York Times*, 10/23/87, p. 9) by calling for Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Japan to pay for the military.

What will happen if the United States continues to sell its assets? Will the United States be able to maintain its imperialist parasitism? At least one answer is that the United States' ruling class will go to war at least in part to maintain the US living standard. In other words, if the imperialists value their alliance with the labor aristocracy in the United States, the imperialists will go to war to seize the resources with which to continue paying off its allies in the Euro-American population of the United States.

Already the billionaire Trump has suggested that the US attack Iran and seize its oil wells. He added, "I'm tired of nice people already in Washington. . . . I want someone who is tough and knows how to negotiate. If not, our country faces disaster." (*New York Times*, 10/23/87, p. 9)

Whatever methods the US imperialists use to maintain US parasitism, it is important to keep a close eye on trends. Foreign investment is thought to total \$1.3 trillion in the United States. \$200 billion is direct investment.

"Carnation Co. is Swiss. Doubleday, RCA Records, Celanese and General Tire are all German. Zale Corp., the giant jewelry retailer, is Canadian. Purina Mills, Smith and Wesson, and J. Walter Thompson advertising agency are British." (LA Times, Ernest Conine, "The Invasion by Foreign Investors," Ibid.)

In the last five years, Japanese direct investment has more than tripled to over \$25 billion. Yet, European investment is about 10 times larger.

Television networks denied Reagan live coverage, then put him in news

Reagan asked for television time on Wednesday October 14th to denounce the critics of the Robert H. Bork nomination for the Supreme Court. Showing off their integrity, the networks claimed that Reagan's statement of position was not newsworthy and turned him down.

Later, however, the networks put Reagan's statement in the Wednesday-night newscasts anyway. "It's getting harder to distinguish the tail from the dog," read a rare criticism of the mass media by the mass media. (Los Angeles Times, 10/16/87, p. vi.1)

MIM to social democrats: Poverty in US is not always increasing

The percentage of people living in poverty (*as counted by the government*) dropped to its lowest level since 1980. "It shrank from 14% in 1985 to 13.6% [in 1986—ed]." (Los Angeles Times, 7/31/87, p. 13) Median family income also rose 4.2% to \$29,460. Median family incomes should set all-time records this year.

Thus, the middle class is doing well for now. That fact is not contradicted by the fact that the gap between rich and poor is expanding: "The top 20% of all households, which represented those with incomes above \$45,980, collected 46.1% of all household income, an increase from 44.2% in 1980 and 43.3% in 1970. Meanwhile, the lowest 20%—those with incomes below \$10,250, col-

lected just 3.8%, a decrease from 4.1% in both 1970 and 1980." (Ibid.) Monthly Review stressed just such figures in its most recent issue as if to say that the US middle class is in trouble.

Social democrats stress such figures to show that movements to expand the welfare state have a material basis, that there are a lot of potential supporters of social democracy. As revolutionaries, we let the social democrats organize for welfare reform. The people we seek to organize are not in the middle class. Nor do we believe that Americans are suddenly becoming poor and amenable to radical change.

Even the fact that the gap between rich and poor is expanding does not mean that the bulk of Americans is no longer middle class. In fact it is still possible to get richer while one's share of income decreases.

Drug trade is rooted in capitalism, not individual kingpins

In early February, the United States successfully extradited a cocaine kingpin from Colombia—Carlos Enrique Lehder Rivas. Six months later, however, cocaine exports from Colombia reached new records.

Drug barons in Colombia simply bought up and intimidated more of the Colombian government. (Ann Arbor News, 8/16/87, p. 1)

A foreign narcotics expert came close to a natural Marxist analysis of the problem: "He [Lehder—ed.] was mainly involved in transportation, but there were plenty of people ready to take his place. . . . The arrest disrupted nothing." Marxists always stress that the problem is the system or the structure of society, not individuals. The fact that Lehder was so easily replaced shows that the problem is the high profits found in the cocaine trade, not particularly crafty drug dealers.

The drug business is very big business: in 1985 "illegal sales of cocaine, heroin and marijuana totaled about \$50 billion in this country." (Los Angeles Times, 3/18/87)

No plan of attack that leaves capitalism and high profits for the drug trade in place can ever solve the drug problem.

Unemployment

Unemployment is the lowest since 1979—5.9% (Chicago Tribune, 10/3/87, p. 1)

Repression continues for some in South Korea

The South Korean regime arrested 11 accused leftists for charges going back to March. The leftists supposedly support the interests of North Korea. According to police, the leftists distributed 80,000 pamphlets that call the S. Korean regime "military fascists exploiting the masses to serve the interests of American and Japanese imperialists and Korean monopoly capitalists." (Los Angeles Times, 10/16/87, p. 8) The arrest of the leftists will contribute to Roh Tae Woo's presidential campaign, which is a campaign for order and unity.

Meanwhile, more than 20 primary and secondary school teachers are on a hunger strike because they were fired by the government. Chung Young Hoon, for example, incurred the wrath of his superiors because he did not order his fifth-grade pupils to "say a silent prayer at a monument to the late Syngman Rhee." (Ibid., p. 9)

Inkatha movement strikes out violently

Quisling Black leader Gatsha Buthelezi of South Africa has initiated violence against the United Democratic Front — a movement group led by the African National Congress. In the first three months of 1987, the UDF suffered 45 deaths at the hands of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. In return, five members of Inkatha suffered death. The President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, has asked Archbishop Desmond Tutu to intervene with "Christian mediation." (Los Angeles Times, 4/17/87, p. 1, 8, 9, 10; see also Los Angeles Times, 3/18/87, p. 7))

The South African ruling class and far right activists in the United States sometimes portray Buthelezi as a Black "moderate" who is preferable to radicals seeking to overthrow apartheid with violence.

Regent Deane Baker at the University of Michigan opposed the awarding of an honorary degree to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and offered Buthelezi as a non-violent alternative. Such propaganda efforts by the far right require that we have a working knowledge of the Black political leadership in South Africa and not just cheer for anybody who is Black in South Africa.

**Black market thrives in
Nicaragua (See article, Los
Angeles Times, 5/3/87, p. 1;
also 3/18/87, p. 93)**

Inter-imperialist rivalry holds back trade, production

Norway's state-owned arms corporation has shipped the Soviet Union "140 computers capable of running sophisticated machine tools" according to Norwegian authorities. (New York Times, 10/23/87, p. 27)

The same company had a hand in Toshiba sales to the Soviet Union, which caused Toshiba to take out full-page ads in the US to apologize.

The Western countries have agreements and laws not to sell state-of-the-art technology to the Soviets that could have military application.

Not surprisingly, individual capitalists do not have an interest in upholding these laws, so they sneak materials to the Soviet Union any way they can.

Maoists don't care whether or not the Soviets gain military advantages from the sales. It is interesting, however, that once again rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union actually holds back business and the development of the productive forces.

Some high-tech companies may have a strong enough interest in trade with the Soviet Union that they would push for detente. The capitalist class, as a whole, however, still would prefer to open the Soviet bloc for trade on its terms, namely terms of subjugation.

Still, it is possible that the US imperialist bloc will opt for a new era of imperialist collaboration that would involve US economic penetration of the Soviet bloc in exchange for reduced military conflict between the US and USSR and high-tech for the Soviet bloc. Such an alliance would facilitate super-exploitation of the Third World also.

For example, the US has recently sought Soviet and Chinese help in subjugating Iran on US terms. At first, those efforts seemed successful, but now both the Soviet Union and China have refused to tow the US line. The Soviets have denounced US "imperialist aggression" against Iran and China is continuing to arm Iran.

Many feminists oppose surrogate mothering

In a previous issue, MIM Notes treated the Baby M case. From reading Off Our

Backs, an article in MIM Notes concluded that feminist opinion had started to consolidate against the Baby M ruling.

Off Our Backs then printed up a follow-up article from a point of view supporting the Baby M ruling, which said that feminist opinion was still divided.

MIM Notes had omitted information about who had pushed for the consolidation of feminist opinion on this subject. It was Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, Phyllis Chesler, Gena Corea, Letty Cottin Pogrebin and Marilyn French among others who filed a brief in the Baby M case. According to these feminists the real issue was the "commercialization of reproductive technologies." (Los Angeles Times, 7/31/87, p. 1, part V)

MCØ comments: Potentially these ideologues are simply after the reproductive monopoly. Would they also fear a device that would free the female work force from the cumbersome chore of childbearing?

As the author said in the previous MIM Notes, no communist should believe that surrogate contracts are voluntary and hence fair. No communist should oppose Whitehead and support Stern on these grounds.

On the other hand, it is not possible to fight capitalism and patriarchy by moving to legally restrict the offering of womb services. The Guardian and Frontline in addition to

pro-Whitehead feminists have erred in implying that the womb is not commercialized already. 11

Surrogate mothering is only an open expression of what occurs normally in the United States within fertile couples. When men dominate women through the institutions of marriage, the church and the workplace, no one rushes to file a brief showing how the economic power of men influences the shape of every male-female relationship in the United States.

Indeed, in typically reformist fashion, these feminists opposed to the commercialization of the womb, not only missed the boat when capitalism started, but also they open the door to pre-capitalist, reactionary social agendas. To a large extent, the New Right would like to portray the marriage institution as religiously sacred and

out of the financial reach of even the ultrarich — not a subject of the marketplace.

The New Right is happy to say that the womb should not be commercial; God willed marriage (and capitalism) etc. Therefore, even the restriction of the already existing commercialization of the womb is not necessarily a good thing. To act to prevent the commercialization of surrogate mothering is to give a certain reactionary myth reality in the rare circumstances of surrogate mothering.

Available now: Settlers: Mythology of the White Proletariat

By J. Sakai

Sakai concludes that Euro-Americans are the enemy of the international proletariat and there is no Euro-American proletariat in the United States, only exploited internal colonies and a proletariat in the Third World.

This book is simply the most devastating U.S. history out there.
\$4.95 or \$1 for prisoners.

MIM Theory is an irregular publication of theory and analysis of the Maoist Internationalist Movement. Each issue is unofficial until and unless a majority of the membership ratifies it after publication.

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Contributors in this issue: MCØ, MC2, MC5, MC6, MC7, MC99
Unless otherwise stated MC5 is the author of articles. MCØ and MC5 jointly edit the articles.

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Correspondence

Writer sets example, writes letter detailing activities

I am hereby responding to the excellent question as to what readers have done for MIM, and I hang my head in shame, because it is so little! That is good inductive teaching! Wasn't it Socrates who first used that?

I have exchanged subscriptions with MIM. That may well benefit us both, so perhaps that is not something I have done for MIM at all. [Of course, MIM benefits from subscriptions that people choose to send us. We never claimed omniscience and hence read! other periodicals—ed.]

I have sent a few clippings of resource material.

I have sent comments on the material found in MIM Notes, some positive and some negative. [This of course is essential if MIM Notes and MIM Theory are anything more than writing exercises. If only everyone did as much! —ed.]

I have tried to send background material that MIM might not have on American life from a native's point of view. (I am not hereby usurping the Amerind's position as the true native Americans, but rather as a person born and brought up in this country).

I have studied material relating to MIM, both items in MIM Notes and The Other Side, trying to learn more about this movement and its philosophy. Have also read other materials from the public library.

—A regular correspondent

Prisoner sends greetings; suggests magazine

Profound revolutionary greetings.

We are vis-a-vis with the most repressive forces of North amerikkka's imperialist state; yet, "these are the worst of times, they are the best of times."

We can no longer stand, sit or watch idly as this fascist state in full gear falsely charge and jail our Freedom Fighters, innocent victims on g.p. (general principle). Neither can we continue to faithfully believe in the same state system which continually violates

our fundamental human rights as human beings.

In order for us to get a much more clear understanding of the oppressive oppressor's wrong doing and the so-called legal law in which we were thrust into, we must first become independent in our analyzing the different things that affect our everyday lives.

We began by looking into the political arena, and to do this one must have political sight. If you would like more information as to how you can obtain political-glasses thereby becoming conscious, and raising the consciousness of others please write: Afrikan Prisoner's Initiative (API) PO Box 25169, Wilmington, DE 19899. API puts out a bi-monthly newsletter. At this moment, API spends a lot of time spearheading the unconditional release of Ramona Africa, and ALL Political Prisoners and POWs your support of us is directly the support of yourself. Uhuru Sasa!!

Also i received "Political Economy of Counterrevolution in China," which i will definitely circulate and share its ideas. Thank you all.

—A writer from the Northeast
October, 1987

RIG runs government for bourgeoisie

As reported in previous issues of MIM Notes, there has been active consortium of particular officials in the executive branch who have set about directing covert wars across the planet. Lewis A. Tams, former ambassador to Costa Rica said the Restricted Interagency Group (RIG) directed him to illegally aid the contras who seek to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. (The Plain Dealer, 5/5/87, p. 2)

What did you expect?

Defense industry bosses suck off largest profits

"It pays big to be boss in defense industry" (The Plain Dealer, 8/4/87, p. 1)

"The average chief executive officer for the top 25 defense contracting firms makes more than \$900,000 a year in salary and bonuses. But the buck doesn't stop there. The corporations contribute tens of thousands of dollars each year to special savings accounts for the executives, pension programs guarantee them hundreds of thousands of dollars a year in retirement income, stock options can net them huge profits and their lives are insured for \$1 million-plus.

"A General Accounting Office report in October 1984 on 12 aerospace defense contractors said executive salaries and bonuses averaged 42% more than the executive compensation at comparably sized firms."

Profits are highest in so-called defense industry

According to the General Accounting Office, military contracts are 120% more profitable than comparable commercial contracts. (The Plain Dealer, 8/5/87, p. 1)

Putting everyone in prison: a classic ruling class stratagem

"Ohio's prison population in the 1970s was less than 8,000. . . . In 1983, there were 16,000. Today we have more than 23,000. In the 1990s it is projected we'll reach 30,000," according to the director of the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction.

"Despite the state's new \$600 million program to build new prisons," Ohio will continue to have prison overcrowding.

It is impossible to attribute such a systematic increase in the prison population to an arbitrary increase in the number of "bad" individuals out there. Why should there be three times as many criminals in 1987 as in 1977 unless the state has decided to brand more people criminals or unless the causes of some kinds of crime by poor

people have increased. (The Plain Dealer, 8/4/87, p. 4b)

Those who would say that Ohio must be an exception are wrong. "Fifteen years ago, the population of our prisons was about 200,000. . . . On December 31, 1986, the population was 546,659 and growing." (The Progressive, 8/87, p. 16)

Arming whites, disarming Blacks

In Florida the rationale for legal restrictions on guns are overtly racist. In Panama City, carrying guns is a way of life connected to white supremacy.

"A 1941 decision by the state's highest court noted that at the time, there had been a 'great influx of Negro laborers' and the purpose of the act was to disarm them and 'give white citizens of the sparsely settled areas a better feeling of security'. (sic)

"It was never intended to be applied to the white population," the court said, "and in fact never has been so applied." (New York Times, 10/12/87, p. 8)

Reagan proposes even tighter political asylum rules

The Reagan administration has proposed that political asylum cases should go before "asylum officers" instead of judges. Hearings would be closed and would not have various procedural rules now in place.

The suspected impact of such a change would be to make the asylum procedure even more rigged for lackeys of imperialism than it already is. Between June 1983 and September 1986, 2.6% and 0.9% of applicants from El Salvador and Guatemala respectively gained political asylum. Meanwhile, 32% of Hungarians and 51% of Romanians had success. The US imperialists would like to claim that political repression exists only in the Soviet bloc, not the US bloc. (Los Angeles Times, 10/15/87, p. 1, 39)

Obituaries

By MC5 and MCØ
Letting other dogs have their
day

Deng Xiaoping, 83, died out of the Politburo of the Communist Party of China having accomplished capitalist social revolution in China. With multiple awards as Man of the Year from Time Magazine, Deng thought it was time to kick off and allow the younger members of the state capitalist class to get in on some of the counterrevolution.

Success magazine editor-in-chief Scott DeGarmo said it best when he named Deng "Success Story of the Year for 1985." According to DeGarmo, Deng made "a Horatio Alger hero look like a piker."

DeGarmo added that "although we are a magazine that celebrates capitalism. . . We've chosen the world's leading Communist because his perseverance, courage and promotion of free enterprise make him a universal role model."

If Deng had dropped dead in his tracks a year ago it still would have been 10 years too late.

Auto fascist heir croaks

"Former Ford Motor Co. chair Henry Ford II, died Sept. 29." (Detroit News, 10/7/87) His fortune is in a trust fund for his widow and children and grandchildren.

The Ford family fortune was amassed in innovative fashion: Ford hired one in ten workers as spies on organized labor in the 1920s. (J. Sakai, *Settlers*, p. 77)

And what does the family do with its money? "Henry Ford was an important early backer of Hitler, and by 1924 had started pouring money into the tiny Nazi party. Ford's portrait hung on the wall in Hitler's Party office. Every birthday until World War II Ford had sent Hitler his personal greetings (and a gift of money). Even during the War the Ford Motor Company delivered vital parts to the German Army through neutral Switzerland." (Ibid., p. 93)

Pigs slaughtered in suburban Michigan

Three pigs were blown away in Inkster, Michigan while supposedly attempting to serve a warrant for a bad check at 5:15 p.m. on July 9. Naturally, the mainstream media is full of sympathy for these goons who entered an apartment without a search warrant.

"They never had a chance to defend themselves," decried Kenneth Walton of the Detroit FBI. Well Walton, the picture of the FBI thug running toward the hotel with an over-under and full flack jacket (see cover) really saddens us. Here's one for Fred Hampton, asshole.

The fact that the suspects were heavily armed and had fortified their room with sand bags is supposed to justify the pigs' illegal entry while no attempt to defuse the situation was made. The four people holed up in the hotel room surrounded by all the local pigs, FBI, Sheriff, a Detroit tactical assault team, and other federal agents, requested to meet with a Black leader of any kind, someone they could relate to. Instead, they were provided with a Black channel 7 cameraman who could only speak to them over a radio telephone.

By MC Zero and MC5 U.S. government legalized Mexican field hands in labor shortage

According to some growers, recent laws passed that affect Mexican immigration ended up discouraging Mexican immigration to the point where there was a shortage of farm labor last summer in the Western states. To make up for the growers' loss, the government embarked on a legalization plan. (Los Angeles Times, 8/9/87, p. 3)

At the same time the INS stepped up enforcement of greencard checks and immigrant deportation in Washington and Nevada and also intensified its efforts against factory illegals in the Midwest. The settlers use illegal labor as fuel for their imperialist engines. They deport and imprison labor in some areas while encouraging illegal entry in other regions.

Labor Aristocracy debate continued

By MC5, MC7 & MCØ

What is the labor aristocracy? Some people found a theoretical explanation useful. As Marx pointed out, in the capitalism of his day, capitalists paid for workers' labor-power, not their labor. This meant that the capitalist only paid as much as was necessary to reproduce the worker's ability to work. That meant paying the worker enough for him to eat and do other things essential to life. It also meant paying enough for the worker to support a family so that the worker would be replaced when he became unable to work through enfeeblement or death.

This wage that the capitalist pays the worker is the exchange-value (defined as price in money terms) of labor-power. It is merely the payment for the *ability* to do work. The *ordinary exploitation* of Marx's day occurred where capitalists paid the worker his/her exchange-value of labor-power. *Superexploitation occurs where the capitalist manages to pay for less than the exchange-value of labor-power. This usually happens where there is extra-economic coercion of workers just short of outright slavery.*

An obvious example of superexploitation occurs where mineworkers in South Africa leave their families behind on the Bantustan. With the wages that South African Blacks get, they die early and they have to let their families fend for themselves on the Bantustans. The families perform subsistence agriculture and otherwise grope for a living. Apartheid is a political system based on race that allows capitalists to pay

workers less than necessary for the workers' survival.

The profits from superexploitation are called super-profits.

With super-profits the capitalists can pay other workers more than usual. *When MIM refers to the labor aristocracy it means that group of people who are paid more than the exchange-value of their labor-power but still do not belong to the petty-bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie.* Historically, the labor aristocracy of Engels' and Lenin's day mostly meant those labor union leaders who managed to gain higher salaries and privileges for themselves. Lenin noted that this group was expanding in his time. According to H.W. Edwards, the labor aristocracy is no longer just the labor union leaders, but most of the workers in the imperialist countries. That is to say with the expansion of imperialism worldwide, the capitalists in the imperialist countries have bought off the majority of workers in the mother countries.

Class alliances in the era of imperialism

Another concept not stressed directly in MIM Theory 9 and 10 is that of class alliance. Commonly on the "Left" one hears that all the struggles out there boil down to the same thing. There is some truth in thinking this way, but it is not true that workers in the United States are fundamentally the same as workers in South Africa.

The reason for this is, according to Sakai and Edwards, the majority of workers in the United States are allied with the US

Below we summarize the three types of workers defined above:

- 1) **Superexploited:** Workers who can't feed families, must supplement wages with other means of survival or die young, e.g. South African Black mineworkers.
- 2) **Exploited:** Can feed their families. Get paid for full value of labor-power, e.g. industrial workers in England of Marx's day.
- 3) **Labor aristocracy:** Not only get value of labor-power, but also substantial privileges beyond that, e.g. U.S. steelworkers today.

imperialists. The labor aristocracy of the United States allies with the imperialists to gain higher wages, better jobs and an easier life.

At home, among the privileges of the male labor aristocracy in its heyday was having a housewife. The housewife helped in easing the tensions of the competitive business world. She replenished the workers' energies by doing the chores and errands necessary as well as by offering emotional support. This privilege of the labor aristocracy has been the first to suffer erosion as the US imperialists have had to tighten their belts because of the military and economic defeats since the 1960s. However, with the return of white women to the work force a moderate increase in luxury consumption became possible. MIM Theory 9 and 10 included a statistical table that showed that real per capita income has increased since 1970.

At work, the allies of imperialism merely do the paper-shuffling of imperialism. Deindustrialization has meant that increasingly, the real work of production is done elsewhere.

The difference between the US steelworker and South African mineworker (excluding the whites who are also bought off) is the difference between an ally of imperialism and imperialism's most determined enemy. According to Sakai, it isn't even so much that the bulk of the working class in the United States allies with imperialism. There just is no Euro-American proletariat, only scattered exploited workers and labor aristocrats, a petty-bourgeois class and a bourgeoisie according to Sakai.

Labor aristocracy and imperialists: struggle or negotiate?

Many "leftists" wishing to see a chance for social change attribute class opposition to every little conflict they see. If workers strike for a few days, that is class struggle. If workers sick-out, that is class struggle etc. according to these "leftists."

Especially these days when many workers face wage cuts, most "leftists" see class struggle everywhere. In a certain nominal sense, of course, these "leftists" are correct. When the capitalists struggle with the petty-bourgeoisie or with other capitalists, there might not be much wrong in saying there is "class struggle."

Yet, many leftists see that the struggle between Democrats and Republicans is a struggle within the capitalist class. In fact, the struggle more resembles haggling or negotiations more than any real struggle. With a moment's reflection on the Hart sex

scandal, the Biden tape scandal and Reagan's "October Surprise" for Carter one can see that the capitalists themselves engage in political struggles. The struggles, however, can only go up to a certain point. The day that Republicans and Democrats are putting each other in prison or executing each other on the battlefield is the day that imperialism is in danger of falling.

The same goes for economic relations within the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie. A store owner might haggle with a supplier. A steel capitalist will negotiate the terms of buying iron ore. There are many potential conflicts but none of these are fundamental in any sense.

Honestly facing empirical reality to avoid social democratic dogma

When capitalists are able to cut wages without violent disruption or even the need to resort to repression, one must ask, are the workers really in struggle with the capitalists? Or, are they merely negotiating the terms on which they will jointly exploit the Third World?

In examining post-WWII history in the imperialist countries, one has to admit that struggle between workers and capitalists resembles negotiations over a common interest more than a life-and-death struggle that Marx would have recognized.

There have been exceptions in the United States, but as the last issue of MIM Notes detailed, the battles between police and workers in S. Korea were more significant in one month of action than all of the post-war history of class struggle in the United States.

In practice, a militant struggle led among steelworkers would only give the steelworkers better terms in the pact to expand superexploitation across the globe.

The ironic effect of such a successful struggle will be an increase in the superexploitation of Third World workers. At the very least, a successful struggle led among the labor aristocracy only tightens the alliance between the imperialists and labor aristocracy.

A historical note: where this line comes from

Some comrades have pointed out that MIM Theory 9 and 10 reminds them of the failed Revolutionary Youth Movement (I) of the '60s and early '70s. Indeed, it seems that MIM does not realize that Progressive Labor (PL) got the better of its argument with RYM. (See *SDS* by Alan Adelson.)

Some people say this as if to say the RYM line is an ancient failure, when it actually only hit the scene in the United States

in the 1960s. Compare the length of time this line has been out there with the length of time that various social democratic and revisionist theories have had to prove their mettle or lack thereof.

The fact is that the RYM line never got a good test. Its leading proponents became intertwined with the drug culture and terrorism in such a way that their trend was almost completely destroyed. Then there is also the issue of state repression of this trend, which has been much heavier than for other trends. (For an interesting treatment of this, see the sequel to Sakai's book — *False Nationalism, False Internationalism*.)

Drugs, terrorism and the state destroyed the historical representatives of the Sakai/Edwards line.

MC5's proposal for MIM's line and a moderation of the RYM line

The RYM line saw the majority of Americans as part of the enemy. Whether this was a result of the intellectual spontaneity of terrorism or the RYM line that saw no social basis for revolution in the United States, the two lines reinforced each other. As a result, RYM made an intense appeal to the drug and youth culture for a social base.

Sakai's line that the majority of the people in the United States are part of the enemy to be overthrown is a plausible line, especially in that it demarcates from simple terrorism and some of the mistakes of the past.

Nonetheless, this comrade would not go as far as Sakai in saying that the Euro-American petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy are enemies. At this time, the proletariat should have faith in the vacillating character of these groups. In a period of more intense crisis, these groups will split.

That means that on the average, and in the long-run, they should be regarded as neutral.

In the short run they are allies of the imperialists. However, proletarian attacks on these allies of the bourgeoisie will only further cement an alliance that the international proletariat is working on severing.

To base a vanguard party in the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy is to recruit for an alliance with imperialism. Of course, small groups of revolutionary intellectuals may recruit among the labor aristocracy with little impact, but over time, even small groups will thoroughly corrupt themselves with the influence of imperialism. Groups like the Workers' League, Spark and Progressive Labor will do nothing but organize a militant front of the labor aristocracy and the line they put out will boil down to fighting to get the workers another VCR.

What keeps these groups away from a revolutionary social base is a refusal to admit the reality that the intersection of class oppression and imperialist oppression is superexploitation and the basis for revolution in contemporary times. All these groups deny the importance of superexploitation.

What social base for revolution is indicated by scientific analysis?

Some people need a cookbook analysis of where to go and how to put together a revolution. Out of a basic hatred for this kind of approach, MIM has always proceeded from line and analysis of conditions to an analysis of social base.

Yet, some people will not see the difference between, say the Trotskyist line and the Maoist line unless social groups are spelled out.

Revolutionary groups in the United States

- Superexploited and exploited workers of national minority groups—Native-Americans, Blacks, Latinos etc.
- Youth of all nationalities and classes except the bourgeoisie
- Immigrant workers, especially illegal aliens
- Prisoners and much of the lumpenproletariat-proletariat, who are largely composed of the above three groups.
- Women who belong to the above groups are even more objectively revolutionary than their male counterparts.

Non-revolutionary or counterrevolutionary groups

- Euro-American workers as a whole including both the labor aristocracy and petty-bourgeoisie
- Bourgeoisie
- Women in the above two groups will be less committed to imperialism because of their oppression by the patriarchy, but on the whole will still be allies of imperialism.

Questionable categories, depends on theory of nation in United States

- Labor aristocracy, petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie of national minorities
- Any other groups of people who have an anti-imperialist and/or anti-militarist line.

The existence of specific classes in the US today

<u>Class</u>	<u>Sakai</u>	<u>Edwards</u>
•Bourgeoisie	yes, small	yes, small
•Petty-bourgeoisie	yes, majority	yes, large
•Labor aristocracy	yes, large	yes, majority in US
•Exploited	isolated cases	yes, some
•Superexploited	yes, many in U.S.	yes, world majority
•Lumpenproletariat	yes	yes

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Superexploited and exploited (not sure there are any merely exploited national minority workers) workers in national minority groups are obviously revolutionary.

The youth are generally revolutionary because one of the most important symptoms of imperialism is militarism. Militarism exploits youth most. This is not to say that youth are a class, only that on the average, the international proletariat can have faith in the youth as allies. To the extent that war is simple push-button war or otherwise not costly in terms of the lives of the youth of imperialist countries, the material basis of this alliance is undercut.

Again immigrant workers and illegal aliens are almost by definition superexploited and revolutionary on the whole.

The lumpenproletariat has a large section open to the idea of revolution. One must remember that the lumpenproletariat of the United States may have better conditions than the working classes of other countries.

Finally, to the extent that there is a Black colony and Latino colony in the United States, there are also revolutionary Black and Latino bourgeoisies.

Fudging the national question

Should MIM advertise in Black Scholar, Ebony or various Black business publications? The question is whether or not the Black petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie is objectively revolutionary or a waste of time for revolutionary organizing.

To answer this question, MIM must finally decide whether or not there is a Black nation and a nation of Latinos in the Southwest. If there are nations to be liberated, then the Black and Latino bourgeoisies will have an objective interest in revolution.

It is easier to say that there is no Euro-American proletariat than to say there is an internal Black colony in the United States and hence a revolutionary Black bourgeoisie. The reason for this is that Euro-Americans at the very least benefit from substantial superprofits from the Third World. They may also benefit from superexploitation from colonies within the United States. On the other hand, whether or not the Black bourgeoisie is revolutionary depends on how

much Blacks benefit from US superexploitation of the Third World and how much the Black bourgeoisie is actually limited by the Euro-American bourgeoisie.

In this author's opinion, MIM needs to have a better idea about whether or not internal colonies exist in the United States.

Confusion over national question

Who is the real enemy? — MCØ

The national question is admittedly more difficult. The neo-colonial nations suffer from confused leadership or lack of leadership.

Amiri Baraka and other reviewers of Black national history in Amerika desire to elect Jesse Jackson which would seem to place these leaders in the category which benefits from imperialism. Witness Jackson's approval of the Persian Gulf bombing or his soft stand on the Palestinian question.

Chicano secessionist efforts in areas of Los Angeles have been strongly repressed by the white settlers in the region. But beyond this, their leadership is lumpenproletariat with extensive contacts in organized crime and more interest in smuggling in cocaine than other illegals. (This is naturally the pervasive influence of Christian-capitalist ethics infecting a highly susceptible community.)

The thorough brain washing of the settler masses as to the righteousness of Amerika makes it considerably more difficult to present them as even a revolutionary neutral class. Hopefully, if Americans were forced to fight in their imperialist war the youth segment of GI Joes would undergo revolutionary enlightenment.

Whatever settler masses which would remain loyal to Amerikan democracy, however, certainly constitute the enemy. It is a waste of time for revolutionaries to concern themselves with individual masses bound up in love for the system. (Those working for the Democratic Party for example.) Rather, we must strive to tear down the system through the demise of the class basis for settlers/labor aristocracy's privileged position and refocus the masses' attention on the struggles against racism and imperialism-militarism. These anti-militarist forces more clearly show the evils of white Amerika.

Comrade responds to MT; offers labor aristocracy thesis

In MIM Theory 9&10, September 20, 1987, 4 approaches to the problem of labor aristocracy were examined. The fourth approach is that the labor aristocracy in the United States is a minority, and, therefore, there is a significant potential revolutionary proletariat in this country. I think position four is basically wrong even though some empirical facts seem to support it.

There are three levels of labor aristocracy in the United States. First, is the classic aristocracy of high paid automobile and steel workers. Second, is a strata of average white factory and service workers. This group includes women stuck in pink collar jobs such as secretaries, nurses and waitresses. Finally, a strata of oppressed nationalities, who despite their relatively low wages by United States' standards are much better off than proletarians in the Third World.

The first level of the labor aristocracy has been in decline since the middle 1970s. Supporters of position four seize on that empirical fact to support a strategy of organizing white workers. But most level one workers who are laid off by Ford or US Steel simply fall to the level two aristocracy. A steel worker making \$12.00 an hour in a unionized shop now must work for \$6.00 an hour in a non-union factory or clerical job. Such a worker may feel some alienation with the capitalist system. He may vote in '88 for Dukakis after supporting Reagan in 1980 & 1984. Only a minority of these workers will become "leftists," let alone revolutionaries. They will cling on to the hope of rising into the level one aristocracy, or at least hope to see their children join the middle class.

Level two labor aristocrats are unlikely to join in solidarity with Third World proletarians. On the contrary, the response of the average white workers is to blame foreign workers in the Third World for his or her problems, and to support protectionism. The AFL-CIO is clearly endorsing a chauvinistic, protectionist strategy. For the AFL-CIO, protecting level one and level two labor aristocrats depends on protectionism, and maintaining defense industry jobs that typically pay above average wages. Any threats to the labor aristocracy bring forth

nationalistic and chauvinist rhetoric from most unions.

Blacks and even some Hispanics in the United States are better off than the average Third World worker. One must not be reductionistic. Afro-Americans feel strong cultural ties to Black Africans. Hispanics are bound by language and culture to their brothers and sisters in Mexico and Central America. The same is true of Asian-Americans. Oppressed minorities in the United States are the most fertile ground for social protest and change.

MIM should work in opposing racist immigration laws, and in support of migrant workers, for example. Oppressed national minorities in the US are closer in income to Third World workers, and share cultural bonds with their brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia and Central America. Still many minorities come to the US or grow up here with the notion of making it in capitalist society. They oppose racism and perhaps sexism, but may believe that it is all right for some people to be rich and others to be extremely poor. Oppressed minorities are the most fertile base in the United States, but one must fall into the trap of certain late 1960s New Left groups who thought that most Afro-Americans support immediate socialist revolution.

MC5 states that MIM has basically followed line I, and concentrated on building up a cadre who back the international proletariat and oppose imperialism, but who do not spend much time organizing US workers. In view of the existence of the first two levels of labor aristocracy, it probably doesn't make sense to spend enormous amounts of time trying to build a class conscious white proletariat in the US. MIM could give some effort toward recruiting white workers who are disgusted by the system, but it is unlikely that large numbers of white workers are ready to support the MIM line.

MIM should stress organizing among Blacks and Hispanics. In particular, MIM must actively back struggles over immigration. Broad social change is unlikely to take place in the United States, at least from the inside, until there is a significant shift in the composition of the population to include more Third World workers. Of course, conflict between the US and Soviet

Union or major social revolutions in Korea, the Philippines, Peru, Chile or South Africa might force from the outside significant political change in the US even while the white middle class is the dominant group.

In short, MIM needs to recruit both middle class whites who sympathize for ideological reasons with the Third World proletariat, and minorities who have at least strong cultural ties with Third World workers.

MC6 also offers theses on labor aristocracy

"Draft Proposal on Work in the Lowest Strata of the US Proletariat"

1. We base our analysis on Lenin's conclusions in *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*, i.e. "to go down lower and deeper" (p. 18, #2).

The lowest strata of workers in the US also contains a higher percentage of national minority workers. The lowest stratum consisting of almost exclusively national minority and immigrant workers.

2. Therefore the connection between the national question, the rights of oppressed nations in the US to secede, and a proletarian revolution in general is centered in the lowest strata.

3. Furthermore, the workers in the lowest strata and in the oppressed nations comprise a bridge between our responsibility in the US proper and toward struggles in the Third World:

Lenin showed how the policy of imperialism caused the international workers movement to split into two sections, the revolutionary and the opportunist. The revolutionary section sided with the oppressed nations and opposed imperialism and colonialism. On the other hand, the opportunist section fed on the crumbs from the spoils which the imperialists and colonialists squeezed out of the people of colonial and semi-colonial countries. It sided with imperialism, colonialism and opposed of the oppressed nations for liberation. . . .

The experience of history shows that if the national liberation movement is to achieve

complete victory, it must form a solid alliance with the revolutionary working-class movement, draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the revisionists who serve imperialism and colonialism and firmly eradicate their influence. . . .

The experience of history shows that if the working-class movement of the capitalist countries in Western Europe and in North America is to achieve complete victory, it must form a close alliance with the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America, draw a firmline of demarcation between itself and revisionism and firmly eradicate its influence. (From "Polemics Concerning the General Line," Peking, 1963)

4. Although the entire population of the US lives at the expense of the oppressed nations in the Third World, is bribed by super-profits extracted from the working people of the Third World, we maintain that the contradictions internal to the US working-class as a whole are antagonistic contradictions. That is, the workers in the lowest strata are in direct conflict with the labor aristocracy, the upper strata. The workers in the lowest strata, including white workers, have less of a material base to side with monopoly capitalism and can be won over to an internationalist perspective.

5. The labor leaders are in league with imperialism directly, and along with a majority of unionized workers and the majority of the petty-bourgeoisie, form the basis for opportunism and revisionism.

6. We therefore maintain that the lowest strata of workers in the US, especially national minority workers, comprise our "social base" of potential operations. We agree with Mao that it is necessary to engage in long legal struggles etc.

7. As far as practice is concerned, we maintain that the establishment of Soviet-like organizations among the lowest strata should be the focus of our work. The forms may vary, but the content is the same.

8. Along with the above, we rely on the lesson to be drawn from *Be Concerned With the Well-Being of The Masses*, etc., by Mao.

9. Finally, in order to arrive at a deepening of these and other perhaps opposing, ideas, we propose that an internal publication be started to be published monthly.

Response by MC5:

The two above responses share a lot in common with H.W. Edwards's analysis (*Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy*) in that they talk about strata within the US working class which are antagonistic to the revolutionary strata of the US proletariat. This analysis falls short of seeing a Black colony or entirely different classes involved.

Personally, this had been my position, and in fact, my position did not see the white working class or even the largest sections as all that antagonistic to the interests of the international proletariat. On this question I must admit that my position was similar to Bob Avakian's with a greater stress on youth and a clearer formulation of the question of economism.

In any case, it seems that to talk about antagonistic strata of the working class implies that the privileged labor aristocracy is a temporary phenomenon, and soon even these workers will see the light with increasing hardship.

Post-World War I US history, however, is not very hopeful on this point. The alliance of US workers with US imperialism has existed so long that it is dogmatic to wish for a return of these workers to the international proletariat. Many workers have grown up in the labor aristocracy and died in the labor aristocracy.

In any case, Marx and Lenin never said that people stay in one class. Marx predicted revolution would happen precisely as the petty-bourgeoisie was thrown into the ranks of the working class and unemployed by the ever greater concentration of capital.

Hence, there is no reason to talk about antagonistic strata within the working class anymore. What Lenin thought was a growing but temporary problem has become much more widespread. The masses of Euro-Americans ally as a nation with US

imperialism according to Sakai and receive benefits as a nation.

It is not necessary that Sakai be entirely correct to achieve the same result. It could be that the ranks of white exploited workers have decreased to such a point that as a small minority they exert little influence in national politics and tend to become swept up in nationalism because nationalism benefits the majority of whites and offers even exploited whites a significant, a tangible chance of rising out of the ranks of the exploited into the ranks of the middle class.

(I agree with the comrade above who cites the pull of US middle class life on people from foreign countries, never mind whites. This is especially true of those fleeing the Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese and Filipino revolutions. People fleeing these revolutions, often with stolen money and assets and Western educations, provide a distorted impression of the proletariat in those countries.)

I look forward to hearing from these comrades after they read Sakai because I wonder if the book will have the same effect on their line as it had on mine.

As for MC6's 9 points, point 4 does not answer the question of who is part of the US and who is not. If Blacks and Latinos are not part of the US but separate nations, they do not share in super-profits.

As for point 6, it contradicts MC6's previous emphasis on the advent of fascism in the United States. Mao explicitly excepted fascism in discussing the necessity for long legal struggles. If open and legal struggles are the way forward, we cannot argue that there is fascism in the United States.

Point 7 is an exercise in dogma with no connection to the other 8 points on the lowest strata of the proletariat. MC6 must explain how Lenin's discussion of Soviets apply in the present day.

Point 8 is also an exercise in dogma when it comes to understanding the United States. According to Edwards and Sakai, the majority of people in the US are middle class. We should not concern ourselves with organizing for their needs. Hence, we are only interested in the needs of a minority of workers within the boundaries of the US.

Writer wants MIM to clarify who the enemy is

To go on to another comment on "settler populations." Does MIM consider the Mongol hordes who overrode China in the past, and whom China absorbed into her culture as was her way of overcoming enemies, a "settler population," and does MIM now advocate throwing them out or beheading them? To me this would make as much sense as to call white Americans whose ancestors came here in the Seventeenth Century a "settler population." This is only an excuse to make war on us, in my opinion.

Does MIM consider the Vandals, the Ostrogoths and the Gauls & Visigoths who overran and ransacked Rome in the Fourth Century A.D. "settler populations?" Should they be routed out of Italy and whatever they owned taken away from them?

The Tartars or "Tatars" pillaged parts of Russia at one time. Are their descendants now "settler population," and should they now be routed out by the skin of their teeth and pilloried?

Should the Moors be routed out of India as a "settler population" since they overcame the Aryans already living there merged with that population. Or the "Moors" who conquered Spain at one time? Should they now be called a "settler population" and disinherited? I would very much like to see your answer to this very important question.

How is MIM received by the Chinese bourgeoisie in this country, who have gotten rich off the sweatshops worked in mainly by women in this country? What is their position?

The theory that there is no white proletariat here and that we are all guilty of stealing the Amerind's land and exploiting them, is we might say, "guilt by association" theory. I did not steal their land and have always admired their culture. Am I going to be hung for these crimes? In all history all political entities have begun as small, admirable states, rose to a degree of power and wealth, exploited and profitted from other countries and then fell, through over-indulgence, apathy, and corruption.

I reject this guilt trip that I and my culture stole the Indian's land. It was a terrible thing

and I have no use for the people who did this: the European trading companies and land companies, the empires, and the religiously neurotic Pilgrims and Puritans and sundry others. I long ago stopped worshipping the Pilgrims and the Puritans.

However, that is an individual thing and I am doubtless a minority in this philosophy. It is difficult to hang a guilt trip on an emotionally healthy, aware person of any wisdom. Christianity also rules by guilt, and helps its governments control mission lands by guilt.

People planning revolutions are also guilty of plotting to take violent control of other people's possessions on one pretext or another, the have vs. the have-nots. Survival of the fittest will prevail. I do not believe in empire, but it has gone on from early history to the present and doubtless will to the end of time, which may not be far off unless we stop making nukes.

—Activist from South
October, 1987

Response by MC5

It is correct not to accept a guilt trip regarding the genocide of Native-Americans. The main point of reviewing Sakai was not guilt-whipping; although, traditionally, groups in trends related to Sakai's—e.g. John Brown Anti-Klan Committee—have employed this strategy of playing, albeit unconsciously, into Christian guilt/ethics.

The point of Sakai, which MC5 obviously did not do sufficient justice to in the review is to understand why Euro-American workers are not rising up for social change right now. Part of the answer to that is to explain why workers have no socialist tradition in the United States. When asked why the working class movements did not develop in the 1800s, one must answer that the United States was always a country of land-holders. If an industrial working class started to develop in the latter half of the 19th century, one must remember that most people in the United States could at least remember times when land-grabbing and landholding was the rule. So the stealing of Indian land is important in analysis of the history of the proletariat in the United States and should be kept in mind in terms of reparations needed today.

More importantly, Sakai did not just talk about the seizure of Indian land, but showed how at each period of history, with brief exceptions, the Euro-Amerikan working class allied with the capitalist class to engage in (super)exploitation of non-Euro-Amerikan peoples.

Today, a key statistic in Sakai's arsenal is that 54% of white workers are white collar. That has nothing to do with guilt and it is only remotely related to the land question of the 1600s, 1700s and 1800s. It is a statistic that revolutionaries in the United States must reckon with today, not as a moral statement, but as a statement about where revolutionary energies will be best spent.

As far as what should be MIM's outlook on the white masses of the US, that is a question answered elsewhere. Sakai has concluded that they are the enemies of the international proletariat, that they must be fought. MCS personally sees that as a plausible analysis, but offers a different one.

As for reparations, it is interesting how some of the writer's arguments could easily be used to oppose something as mild as affirmative action! After all, whites today are not guilty of slave-owning; did not steal the land of the Mexicans or the Indians; why should they suffer reverse discrimination to make up for that?

Euro-Amerikans start their lives with an advantage conferred on them for their group membership. That is not to say every white is richer than every Black. It only says that the *average* white is better off than the average Black. And that has to do with the histories of the two groups and the exploitation of one group by another to this day.

Of course, the poor Euro-Amerikans also deserve affirmative action, reparations to some extent. No Marxist revolution would ignore class in issues such as education, job opportunities, access to health care etc.

Writer supports Position IV (as dubbed by editor): disenchanting labor aristocracy is moving in correct direction

I take strong exception to the premise that there is no proletariat in the United States anymore!!!!!!

What about the poor in Appalachia? What about the homeless? What about single mothers who seldom collect their money awarded to them and their children in court? Poor elderly women? The working poor? The disabled?

I think that the term "bourgeois" is very loosely used. It does not include every poor schmuck driving a truck, pounding a beat, or a typewriter.

I see this position as racism—anti-white. For shame, you need us. We need each other. J. Sakai, this is a thinly disguised excuse to rape this country.

The "labor aristocracy" if there ever was one, had whatever they had because they fought bloody battles on the strike lines. Today labor is all but extinct in this country due to moving companies to the Third World for more exploitation. Benefits at work are drastically reduced, and "bonuses" take the place of merit salary increases.

I have more on thoughts on this business of no white proletariat in the U.S. Firstly, as previously stated, I think that MIM must make use of the disenchanting of this now-losing empire and become the wave of the future. A race war never helps anyone and can boomerang. The Chinese over centuries have absorbed many in invasions and thereby remained afloat as a high-level culture, despite economic difficulties at present. [If I might add, at least partially China has gone the route of integration. Mao brought together many nationalities without giving them their own countries, so if we do not follow Mao's road, are we not contradicting ourselves? —ed.]

I think that Mao has shown that the thing to do is to organize the peasants in the countryside, that is what brought his great success. As you may recall, on the Long March he collected the peasants as he went and that led to his success.

Now there are doubtless few peasants in the countryside here. BUT conditions are fast approaching desperation here for millions of people. The homeless, the poor on welfare, the working poor, parts of the middle class who are rapidly losing benefits at work such as health benefits, parental leave for childbirth, merit salary increases, and many who can no longer afford to buy homes, the old American dream.

Many of these are not people who read, can afford to read, like to read, or have any place to read. They must be organized as Mao did, by collecting them, personally, if need be.

As to the factory workers, they are rapidly becoming obsolete, too, and one may catch. Some few strikes seem to indicate that there is life yet: in a few factories (where they are not brutalized), peace activists, the rich are not brutalized), football players, and the teachers trying to stay in the middle class. The middle class is being destroyed by Reagan and the capitalists, so here is ripe ground for revolution, sooner or later.

In history it is always when the middle class gets so discouraged that they join the lower classes and knock out the top layer that a revolution occurs. So the writers really start a revolution as with Voltaire and others, but the troops then man the barricades. We are getting ripe here, but the middle class is not yet awake as to the situation—just a few of us are beginning to yawn.

But people have some gumption and spunk and have strikes and fight for better conditions and earn them so that they are their families live better, then you immediately consign them to hell as "labor aristocracy." This is a no-win situation, and you might as well admit, straight out, that you simply hate whites who have until recently ruled the world, and want an excuse to snatch whatever they have away from them and wipe them out. Isn't that a lot of wasted effort when you might get the cooperation of many disenchanted people like myself? I am working toward the end of changing this white conformity, so deeply ingrained. Some friends and family will complain of different aspects of our society and I have begun to point out that they still support the system, as do many black "bourgeois" or "petit-bourgeois." Of late some are beginning to see the larger picture. However, it takes time, patience and finesse. Yours is a different path, and rightly so. I understand it.

I also am beginning to understand better that the labor people and some blacks have been bought off with a few more crumbs from the table rather than working to change or overthrow the entire malignant system.

I have studied the Lenin piece, Imperialism and the Split in Socialism, which TOS sent me. It has been very helpful in helping me to understand better some of your theories about the "labor aristocracy" and the lack of a real "white proletariat" in this country. I agree with much that is in the Lenin piece. I have had some of these ideas myself, such as the extreme conformity of the English, for example.

Did Mao collect his people by pamphlets and writing in the beginning? Perhaps he did, but my view of it, with limited knowledge, was that he fought and marched and was concerned that the people had "cooking oil and salt," for example, as in the copied sheets "Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," (January 27, 1934).

—Same friend as above
October, 1987

Response by MC5

First, agreed, written propaganda cannot replace the spoken word or even the graphic and pictorial.

Once again, there is a difference between an individual and the individual's group. As MIM Theory 9&10 said, MIM accepts anyone who upholds its line, and at this point that is contained only in a handful of documents of which MIM Theory 9&10 is not one yet.

However, the fact that one is personally active or that one knows Euro-Americans who are progressive or revolutionary does not prove that Euro-Americans as a group are in the same boat. Indeed, Sakai does not expect Euro-American workers to have a response like the one above on average and it is because these workers do not demonstrate proletarian consciousness *as a group* and because they do not in fact have proletarian interests *as a group* that Sakai says there is no Euro-American proletariat. That is not the same thing as saying there are no Euro-American revolutionaries.

Euro-Americans can be revolutionary if they are revolutionary defeatists, meaning that they support the defeat of the government of their nation. Also in order to be revolutionary, Euro-Americans must be willing to give up the self-interest of their race, nation, class etc. and only take the

ideological view of the international proletariat.

As for Mao's line on the needs of the masses, we should remember to focus on the needs of the super-exploited and exploited and minimize our conflicts with the needs of the middle classes. Fighting to get workers a raise to buy a new car is not the way forward.

Writer criticizes former Bolshevik League/ New International Distributors: supports electoral politics

To comment on one last item of the last issue of MIM Theory 9&10 which was the proposed plan to discredit the Democrats by supporting Jesse Jackson, hoping that that would cause "white flight" from him at voting time, or from the Democrats.

First, this is manipulative behavior, and this usually rebounds like a boomerang against the user.

Secondly, Jesse Jackson is, first, last and always a Baptist preacher, and thinking people aren't going to vote for him anyway. Besides, many of us dedicated to the separation of church and state are not going to vote for him. If he should be nominated, which I doubt, I would, most probably for the first time in my life, vote for no one at all! This has always been the position of the Socialist Labor Party: to vote supports the present system.

I would suggest that we select and run our own candidate if we have a suitable one with the expertise and experience to do so. Run candidates of our own. However, that goes back to the question of how much exposure we want. Are we ready to run our own candidate?

The Socialist Party USA is running candidates and scraping hard to do so, both financially and otherwise.

Either throw caution to the winds, and run candidates, if we have them, or maintain a discreet silence and work covertly to build a base.

It seems to me rather juvenile to think that if the Republicans won there would be war and conditions more conducive to revolution. Wild flights of fancy. If the

Republicans win, things will be even more repressive than now!!!

—Same person
October, 1987

Response by MC5

The only thing I agree with is that the masses can usually tell when someone is being manipulative. Otherwise, MIM disagrees with the above as stated in its founding documents.

Mao, however, stressed that the communists in imperialist countries would have to endure long periods of legal class struggles (speech from the sixth plenary session of the sixth central committee of the CCP):

"Internally, capitalist countries practise bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist or at war; in their external relations, they are not oppressed by, but themselves oppress other nations. Because of these characteristics. . . In these countries, the question is one of long legal struggle. . . and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military)." (H.W. Edwards, *Labor Aristocracy*, p. 394)

MIM does not have an official stance on the above quote from Mao. There are two potential issues in it. One is that Mao says non-military struggle, not parliamentary struggle necessarily (sorry, don't have more on this subject by Mao on hand). Secondly, it is a concrete question whether or not the US is involved in war, and in particular World War III and what that means for action now.

Reader subscribes to other papers with info from MIM

I have found the lit. to be enlightening and relatively non-sectarian. I keep abreast of what's going on in the world by listening to international (shortwave) broadcasts and by reading leftist papers and stuff. With all the shit that's on TV and domestic radio these days, what else is there?

I was thrilled to receive the list of various outfits to the "left" of social democracy. I have written to a bunch of them and have added Challenge and Revolutionary Worker to the list of papers I receive (PDW, The People, the WA, Workers' Vanguard, Workers' World). I'm thinking about adding

the National Alliance, Burning Spear and maybe a couple of others.

I'm pleasantly surprised to get my hands on this list; since I'm not sure just who's out there and you can't find them all listed in a reference like the *Encyclopedia of Societies and Associations*.

I will comment that I feel your criticism of the Sparts as "agent of the state" and likewise insinuations in "The SL: Working for Two Bourgeoisies" are somewhat gutterish and in poor taste. However, the Sparts do seem to have a record of disruptive/disparaging/ wrecking activity. Concerning the "agents of the state" part, how am I to know that MIM isn't such? The revolutionary must take a risk and hope that his/her name does not end up in an FBI file under "subversive" or "agent of a foreign power" as they prefer to call us. Since I am not in the demonstrations, protests, etc., how am I to know how people act? The antics of the Sparts, RCP etc. are often mentioned, but how am I to know how MIM behaves? The MLP often bitches about how LOM, SWP, and the reformist crowd tries to "hold them back" or dissuade militant activity, such as recently at the "young" Reaganite convention in Seattle. (See the *Workers' Advocate*, "To Hell with 'Ollie Mania,'" 8/1/87). What would you have done in this situation?

3) As you recall, in my last letter I was telling you about the books on your book list that I was looking for at the libraries in my area. Recently I have read *The Black Panthers Speak*, *SDS* (really enjoyed this one!), *Seize the Time*, and *Turning Point in China* (too simplistic). I learned a lot about US radical/ revolutionary/ activist/ history during a time when the struggle heated up a bit. I am appreciative of the contribution that MIM makes to today's struggle and to build a fighting movement. I share my literature and papers with a couple of friends who have a half-assed interest.

4) I am still somewhat confused but consider myself as Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary. I must confess I have been "poisoned" by "anti-Mao" propaganda. I ran into your good friends the Sparts and Hoxhaites before I ever found out the MIM and RCP. I do not consider myself as either pro- or anti- Mao; I am still debating it in my head.

Mao-Cow, Trotsky-Shitsky, Hoxha-Codger, what does it matter? Their ass is history anyway.

Who knows what they would "think" if they were alive today anyhow? Yesterday's Maoists and "third worlders," like the CWP are today's pro-Soviet crowd. Trotskyism, likewise, can be just about anything; from "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," or "To Hell with Afghanistan and the USSR"!

In one of your articles, you mentioned that it was "effectively liquidationist" to call Marxist-Leninist leadership of the anti-intervention movement, and then went on to apologize and make "excuses" for liquidationism and reformism. But then, if you want to be "hip" to adventurism also. My conclusion is that the two faces of Maoism are reformism and adventurism.

5) I will say that US imperialism's crimes against Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador are a strong argument in favor of breaking the anti-intervention movement away from the liberals and social-democrats.

Just look at the praises the contragate committee members lavished on Reagan's fascist flunkies during the hearings. Yes, these praises came from pro-contra and "anti-contra" Democrats and Republicans alike. Oh, the fine words for patriotism! Oh, the many eloquent speeches for "democracy" and "human rights" in Central America! Oh, HOW SICK!

But to MIM's way of thinking, we should not get out of line. No we should pray and beg the Democrats to change their wicked ways! It is "liquidationist" or "sectarian" to build a movement that exposes the Democrats and their Reaganite ways. How absurd!

I must wonder why Maoists fall into the traps of social-chauvinism (OL, CPML), anarchism (RCP, Shimo), and outright desertion to social-democracy and reformism (CWP, LOM). And all in the name of "anti-revisionism."

...
You may consider me to be an eclectic, but I consider it "non-sectarianism." Believe it or not, I am trying to overcome my prejudices and suspicions against Maoism. Perhaps Mao had good intentions and the Cultural Revolution was not merely a fiasco and a power struggle within the bureaucracy of the CCP.

When I first began to study Marxism, I was amused by the debates and polemics between various parties. Now I take these things somewhat more seriously.

If I weren't so serious, I'd be tempted to laugh it all off as a joke.

By the way, a recent BBC broadcast mentioned the death of a Chinese youth by drowning. Observers, who watched her struggle without attempting to rescue her, are reported to have said "someone should pay us to save her life," "there are too many people in China anyway," and "it is bad luck to carry a dead person out of water." Self-centeredness, no compassion and superstition is the result of the "get rich" thought of today's China.

—Another comrade from the South August, 1987

Response by MC5:

Well, it's for polemics like this that MIM Theory is made for, as opposed to MIM Notes, which is for wider distribution. The response is numbered to correspond to the letter.

2) MIM's evaluation of the Spartacist League comes from intensive experience.

It is interesting that most people in the US cannot experience the contention of the various "M-L" groups in the major cities. The letter mentions his residence as in a "put-up-and-shut-up, conservative, depoliticized" right to work state and a county where Christian fundamentalists dominate. This letter-writer would not be able to evaluate in practice all the groups that he read about because they do not exist in his area.

Maybe such people need to move or at least visit cities occasionally. Indeed, one could do a service by stocking bookstores in the nearest cities with the literature one gets.

4) MIM Notes has had articles about adventurists who get caught up in the court system. MIM is "innocent as charged" by the letter-writer for generally supporting adventurists/terrorists in such a context.

Despite his non-sectarian veneer, it's too bad he doesn't recognize it as legitimate to work for Prisoners of War, political prisoners in the US and others that the US government is trying to punish for its own injustice.

As for reformism the reference involved is where MIM said it would be better to be liquidationist than armchair dogmatists because even while liquidationist/reformists are incorrect politically, they still have a chance to learn from political practice the truth about the political system in the United States. Armchair dogmatists have no experience with which to compare their dogmas and hence have no hope of advancing politically.

5) This section carries polemics to the point where they start to lose their value because they say too much in too little space.

First of all MIM never said not to build anti-imperialist/militarist movements. The question was whether or not to try to take over specific single-issue organizations.

The writer advocates the opportunist strategy of working in such single-issue groups until its members give him/her their trust, so that s/he can break them away from Democrat/social-democratic reformism.

The problem is that there is nothing to stop revolutionaries from talking to the people in such single-issue groups and showing them the practices of revolutionaries. There is no need to hide out in these groups, withhold one's fully revolutionary perspective or otherwise slime one's way into people's political consciousness.

In Ann Arbor, the largest Latin American solidarity group, which has many satellite groups, is led by the Democratic Congressional candidate of the 2nd district (as of 1986). The people in this group work in the congressional campaign. Yet, the writer implies he would not be satisfied unless MIM helped build up this particular group.

In Cambridge, similar groups are led by FDR cheerleaders, presidential aspirants and the CP. What the writer does not understand is that there will always be a material basis for the Democrats and various opportunists to lead in particular single-issue groups.

People who want to cut-off aid to the contras do not necessarily have revolutionary ideas; some such groups will be organized solely because its participants don't think the contra solution will work; they want a chance for US invasion or no aid at all.

There is no inherent reason revolutionaries should have a strangle-hold on the topic of Central America or the topic of South Africa. The bourgeoisie also organizes on these subjects. They organize their way; we don't need to copy them.

6) The writer has a good attitude on reading the literature of all the groups. The many "M-L" groups may not have earned the role of historical forces yet. At the same time, those who want social change must use their heads to find the best means.



CIA bribes press in Central America

The following is a summary of an article by US journalist Martha Honey which appeared in the March/April 1987 issue of the Columbia Journalism Review.

At least eight Costa Rican journalists, including three top editors, receive monthly payments from the CIA, either directly or through Contra groups. Their job is to get into the press stories, commentaries or editorials attacking Nicaragua and sympathetic to the Contras. This was revealed by Carlos Morales, a Costa Rican professor of journalism, who started an investigation after a former student confessed to him that he was taking money from the CIA to supplement a meager salary. Edgar Chamorro, one of the former directors of FDN (the largest Contra group), submitted an affidavit to the World Court in Sept. 1985 in which he confessed: "I also received money from the CIA to bribe Honduran journalists and broadcasters to write and speak favorably about the FDN and to attack the government of Nicaragua and call for its overthrow.

... Approximately 15 Honduran journalists and broadcasters were on the CIA's payroll, and our influence was thereby extended to every major Honduran newspaper and radio and TV station." Similar admissions come from a former top official of ARDE, the Costa Rica based Contra group. Since 1977, after a Senate investigation revealed that the CIA had maintained working relations with over 50 North American reporters over a period of years, new rules have been in force prohibiting the CIA from entering into contractual relationships with US journalists. The law, however, says nothing about entering into such relationships with foreign journalists, or about allowing agency operatives to pose as foreign journalists. It appears that the CIA is doing both. Martha Honey describes the cases of two CIA operatives who were in Central America to fight with the Contras but who at the same time were posing as foreign journalists.

Paid-off journalists have helped plant fictitious stories. In January 1984 both ARDE and FDN were instructed by the CIA to take responsibility for the mining of Nicaragua's harbors, and after the May 1984 bombing of the press conference at Eden Pastora's jungle camp (the CIA assassination attempt on Pastora) Costa Rican paid-off journalists printed stories intended to get the investigation off track by blaming the bombing on leftist terrorists. A lot of this disinformation is picked up by the Western press and increases disinformation in the US and in Europe.

Drug bosses give \$10m to the contra

Drug lords involved in the cocaine trade in the US donated \$10m to the Contras, according to US congressional sources. The evidence was

presented in a secret testimony to a US congressional committee by Mr. Milian-Rodriguez, who ran the airlift operations for the Contras from El Salvador. (Source: *Independent*, 30/6/87)

Reference materials

(not by MIM authors)

The death squad activities go beyond the community of refugees. Cars of Salvadoran and North American activists have been systematically vandalized, church charities working with refugees have received threats, and offices of solidarity groups have been broken into. The death squads seem to have such detailed knowledge about the activities and precise whereabouts of the victims that it could only have been gained by help from the FBI. The FBI has in fact recently acknowledged that

it had conducted a nationwide undercover investigation of "Salvadoran leftist activities" in the US. It collected 17 volumes of information on CISPES alone, one of the main US-EI Salvador solidarity groups. The FBI has shared the information with EI Salvador security forces according to the statements by Frank Varella, the undercover agent who was tracking one of the women who was abducted in Los Angeles. The death squad activities have driven the activist community further underground. Many of the threatened have had to change their residence, and some have fled to Canada. The activities also sow distrust among activists. (Source: *The Progressive*, Los Angeles, Oct. 1987)

Salvadoran death squads operate in the US - with FBI support

Since April 1987 Salvadoran death squads have been operating in the US, mainly in the Los Angeles area which is haven to about 500,000 Salvadoran refugees.

The attacks have been aimed at activists, most of them Salvadoran exiles, who oppose the repressive governments of EI Salvador and Guatemala and who criticize US support for these regimes. The FBI has begun investigating the attacks, but the FBI is not a neutral party. According to a former FBI informant and a FBI document, the FBI shared intelligence about Salvadoran activists in the US with EI Salvador's notorious security forces. A death list has been circulating. Most of the activists on it are women. The victims received death threats by phone and by mail, and several were abducted, severely tortured and raped. According to one of the victims, Yanara Corea, her abductors used exactly the same torturing methods as the infamous death squads in EI Salvador use. Death squad actions in the US and in EI Salvador are coordinated. Corea's relatives in EI Salvador received death threats at the same time as she did in the US, and the messages had similar wordings.

REPRESSION BY THE HAITIAN JUNTA

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THE HAITIAN PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

During the last two months, the U.S. backed Military Junta in Haiti, has launched one of the most severe repressions against the Haitian masses. This latest wave of repression began when the Central Autonomous Workers Federation had called a strike to protest against the closing down of most of the state controlled industries in the country. The military Junta responded with a communiqué abolishing the C.A.T.H. and seizing control of the electoral process from the Provisional Electoral Council. The latter is a special body put together to supervise the presidential election scheduled for November 1987, as mandated by the new Constitution. In face of the blatant violation of the Constitution, the Haitian masses responded by taking to the streets of the Capital, the Provinces, organizing general strikes, massive demonstrations in order to force the National Council of Government to step down. The army responded by killing scores of people, some being shot right in their homes.

On July 23 and 24, in Jean Rabel, a small town in Haiti's remote Northwest, hundreds and possibly close to one thousand peasants were shot, clubbed, hacked and burned to death by former members of the deposed Dictator, Jean-Claude Duvalier's paramilitary Tonton Macoutes now integrated in the army, and by goon squads sent by local big landowners, such as the Lucas and Poitvien clans. The peasants who were massacred belonged to a regionwide association called Tèt Ansanm (Heads Together) which progressive Catholic missionaries have been organizing since the early 1970's to bring about land reform.

Meanwhile the U.S. government continues to give full support to the very unpopular National Council of Government providing it with arms and tear gas to further repress the Haitian masses. While most people in Haiti do not believe that presidential elections can and will take place with the National Council of Government headed by General Henry Namphy, the United States Government continues squarely to back it up. In the words of the United States representative in Haiti: "Governments are not changed by demonstrations but through elections". But whether the election in Haiti will be democratic or not seems to be irrelevant to the U.S. State Department. As stated in an editorial by the N.Y. Times on August 20, 1987, which has always given full support to the military Junta: "an undemocratic Junta thus seems democracy's best bet."

The undemocratic practices of the U.S. Government in Haiti from the time of the occupation (1915-1934) to date, were clearly revealed when the U.S. ambassador in Haiti, Mr. Benson McKinley said: "in the event that the situation in Haiti becomes uncontrollable, we will all go home and maybe we'll return just like we did during the time of Vilbrun Guillaume." The U.S. Government used the assassination of V. Guillaume who was president in 1915 in order to invade Haiti. Therefore, Mr. McKinley's statement clearly means that the U.S. will once again occupy Haiti at whatever time it sees fit.

Very little coverage by the U.S. media and at times erroneous information about the recent events in Haiti, has given the Military Junta a free reign to murder, assassinate its opponents and even reluctant critics. In light of this, we are inviting all revolutionaries, progressive, freedom loving people to attend a political and cultural event which will be held on:

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 11, 1987, AT 6:00 P.M. AT P.S. 41, CORNER 6th AVE AND 11th AVE. ST.

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DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!
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6/7/88 MIM Notes no. 34

Unofficial newsletter of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

US Presidential campaign

A poll that matters, really

The bourgeoisie as a class apparently has not decided who will be the next president. That is not to say that the key fractions have not.

A poll of chief executive officers of corporations shows that they are divided between George Bush and Sen. Robert Dole. 41% said the Democrats have less than a 50% chance of winning the White House.

A plurality says Bush will win. (Ann Arbor News, 1/14/88, p. b9)

Other polls show that Bush is in trouble because he is losing the labor aristocracy vote that Reagan won. According to Bush's pollster Peter Teeley, blue-collar and low-income white collar workers will be "the swing vote" in November, especially because of their importance in the three swing states — Michigan, Ohio and Illinois. (Detroit News, 5/8/88, p. 1)

Meanwhile, a poll shows that with Sam Nunn on the ticket with Dukakis, Dukakis will beat Bush handily — 46% to 34%. (New York Times, 5/17/88, p. 12) Nunn is the preferred choice of delegates to the Democratic convention. Where does Nunn stand on the issues? He is mostly known as the hawk chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He also opposed extending the deadline for ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment, voted for giving states rights to decide abortion issues and "tried to weaken the Voting Rights Act." (Detroit Free Press, 5/9/88, p. 4a)

Finally, in another poll that matters, the chief executives of the top 120 US corporations with sales of \$1 billion a year or more have spoken: 86% oppose divestment from South Africa; 75% want cuts in non-military federal spending and 60% want a cut in military spending. (New York Times, 4/25/88, p. 2)

Dukakis and Bush spend most money

By the way, if you predicted that the candidates with the most money would win their party's nominations, you were right. Bush and Dukakis had the most money of all candidates before the primary voting started. (New York Times, 10/17/87, p. 7)

Dukakis had planned to spend his legal limit of \$27.6 million by the end of May. (New York Times, 4/23/88, p. 8) This left him little or no money to spend in California and New Jersey primaries.

Dukakis favors first-strike

*Massachusetts Gov. Dukakis, in an interview published in today's New York Daily News, said he could envision using nuclear weapons if the Soviets invaded Europe and conventional weapons failed to stop them.

"I don't think it's going to happen," he said. But "we've got to be prepared to use nuclear force." (AP, Ann Arbor News, 4/13/88, p. f1)

Dukakis removed adopted kids of gays

Dukakis removed two adopted sons from a gay couple's custody while a Governor in Massachusetts. According to the Guardian, Dukakis said the children would be better off in a "normal" household. (Guardian: Independent Radical Newsweekly, 3/2/88, p. 3)

Dukakis has strong bourgeois backers

While it is clear where George Bush gets his support for the presidency — the CIA, Wall Street Republicans and many of the same places Reagan got it — Dukakis is also well-backed in bourgeois circles.

In New York, Ted Kennedy Jr., campaigned across the state for Dukakis. (Poughkeepsie Journal, 4/15/88, 2a)

Throughout the campaign he has had heavy support from a major Boston bank.

Harvard politicians are also behind Dukakis. His campaign manager is a Harvard law professor. He also has backing at the Kennedy School of Government.

One former campaigner turned critic has pointed out the extent that Dukakis now kow-tows to corporations. The co-coordinator for Dukakis in Randolph, MA in his 1982 gubernatorial bid claims that Dukakis promised that Prowse Farm would be saved as a historic site. However, despite national coverage and making the promise to luminaries such as Boston Celtics players, Dukakis caved in to Motorola Corp. and allowed its subsidiary Codex to develop the Farm. (Robert L. Keighton, Ibid., 5a)

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Jesse Jackson takes US chauvinist line

Asked by the New York Times his stance on the PLO, Jackson changed his position once again and said he would talk to the PLO. Yet, this time the rationale was quite explicit.

He said he would negotiate with Qaddafi in Libya and anyone else including the South African regime because "there must be no place on earth off limits to American influence." (New York Times, 4/16/88, p. 8)

Jesse Jackson backs away from PLO

"Jesse Jackson, often attacked for what critics call pro-Arab stands, continued to distance himself from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) by saying that allowing extremists at the bargaining table would be a 'formula for catastrophe.'

"Jackson, who had said Sunday that the PLO and the Palestinian people are not the same and that he would not meet again with PLO leader Yasser Arafat, as he did in the late 1970s." (AP, St. Petersburg Times, 4/12/88, p. 6a)

This backsliding by Jackson caused one MIM correspondent to say, "It is impossible to get elected to the Presidency if one is not beholden to the corporate structure."

Confederate flag still flies

A battle in the Alabama state legislature concerns the Confederate Flag which still flies over the state Capitol. The speaker of the House called his Black opponent a "monkey" and said that if the Black legislator climbed the flag pole to take it down, he would "reach greater heights than any Black man in

Alabama history." (Guardian: Independent Radical Newsweekly, 3/2/88, p. 5)

The flag also flies in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi.

A majority of whites favors leaving the flag up; a majority of Blacks opposes it. Once again, there appears to be no white proletariat even in relatively poor Alabama. (Ibid.)

Traditional leftist scholars argued that the Civil War was a class war in the interests of white labor. However, aside from the lack of historical support from the Northern white working class for the Civil War, it remains true today that the common white person of the South identifies more with the bourgeoisie than with the international proletariat, which would never tolerate the flying of the Confederate flag.

US bails out largest Texas bank (New York Times, 3/18/88, p. 1)

Police kill Black in detention

"Loyal Garner Jr., 34, of Florien, La., died Dec. 27 of head injuries investigators believe were inflicted during a beating in the Sabine County Jail." (AP, Ann Arbor News, 1/10/88, d5)

Three white police officers stand charged, but only for civil rights violations. Each was released on \$25,000 bond.

200 people in a town 1,300 showed up at a rally in front of church protesting the incident. (Ibid.)

Dollar down to post-WWII low against Mark and Yen (NYT, 12/11/87, p. 35)

A long time has elapsed since the November issue of MIM Notes. Some comrades wrongly assumed that MIM Notes had come out several times in the meantime and wrote to say that they would like to be put back on the subscription list. Others probably concluded that MIM had folded. The good news is that there was just a lapse in MIM Notes publication, nothing too serious.

The bad news is this has been the worst lapse in the existence of MIM Notes.

It underscores some problems in the MIM organization.

1) MIM Notes is not run professionally. How Lenin would scoff at MIM's lack of permanent financial backing!

2) The revolutionary movement is understaffed as a result.

3) There has been a security breach in the organization, which MIM has not overcome at this time. Despite this unsolved breach it was deemed necessary for MIM Notes to come out.

4) Comrades who communicate with MIM should do so anonymously or from addresses that do not leave them exposed to the state.

5) MIM comrades have had the additional problem of having to dedicate themselves to diverting and deepening local struggles that reached critical turning points.

MIM will keep people posted on progress made in these areas.

For now, MIM can only offer its largest issue of all time to make up for the longest lapse of all time.

Editor-in-chief this issue: MC5

Associate editor this issue: MCØ

Researchers: MC2, MCØ, MC5

Comrades should send their votes, criticisms and comments on "Focus on focoism" and the two articles on the Soviet Union in MIM Theory, so MIM can determine whether they can be adopted as official statements of MIM.

MS allows interracial marriage!

Last November Mississippi voters repealed a "97-year-old constitutional ban on interracial marriage (which had already been struck down by the courts), but they did so by an embarrassingly close 52% to 48%." (Time, 11/16/87, p. 32)

Corps. in S. Africa will pay double tax

Reagan signed into law a bill that will increase the effective tax rate of US companies operating in South Africa to 72%. It should raise revenue of \$20 million.

Previously, corporations could deduct taxes paid to South Africa from taxes paid to the United States.

Other countries to have the same type of tax are Iran, Syria and Libya. (Guardian: Independent Radical Newsweekly, 2/3/88, p. 9)

Democrats promote anti-Iran racism

The Reagan administration has said that its arms for hostages deal with Iran aimed at increasing the influence of moderates in Iran seeking to curb Islamic revolutionary zeal.

Critic Caspar Weinberger (Defense Secretary) within the Reagan administration questioned this view, not because he opposed secret methods to arm the contras but because he believed that the Iranians are "a group of fanatical madmen." (Cox News Service, Ann Arbor News, 12/1/88, p. c1)

Weinberger's criticism of the Iran-contra scam is a good example of how not to criticize the Reagan-Bush-Poindexter-North shenanigans.

To the extent that Democrats have dismissed Reagan's view of Iranians in the government as rational people, they have contributed to a racist view of Iranians — a view very useful to justify making war on Iran. (See MIM Notes 33 for an analysis of the US bombing of Iran.)

Anti-Iran chauvinism is quite popular. In a poll of 836 people conducted 9/21-2/87, the New York Times found that only 2% had favorable "feelings toward Iran generally." (New York Times, 9/24/87, p. 9) 78% had an unfavorable feeling toward Iran. (Ibid.)

While it is hard to outdo Reagan on the chauvinism front, the Democrats are doing just that with the Iran-contra scam. They criticize making deals with terrorists out of the theory that all Iranians are insane terrorists.

The correct lesson to draw from the Iran-contra scam is that the US ruling class is desperately engaged in covert wars across the globe — wars so covert that the public and part of the government itself is not informed of what is going on.

Women's earnings for full-time work 70% of men's (NYTimes, 9/4/87, p. 1)

Women unhappy with men

"Most American women are alienated, unhappy and unsatisfied in their relationships with men, and 75 percent of women married for at least five years are having affairs according to a new book by Shere Hite." (Ann Arbor News, 10/3/87, p. a3)

Poverty shifts frequently

"At least one-quarter of all Americans will fall into poverty during their lives but most won't stay poor long. One-third of today's poor will have left the impoverished ranks within two years. But another one-third will stay poor at least 10 years." This is according to the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research. (Ann Arbor News, 1/28/88, p. d12)

The fact that most people do not stay poor long prevents them from developing class consciousness. Instead, people aspire to higher classes.

Labor aristocracy is doing well

"Paychecks for the nation's 78 million full-time workers rose an average 4.2% in the past year [1986--ed.], nearly double the rate of inflation."

Women earned 69% of what men did. Blacks received 77%, Latinos slightly less.

Gains in 1986 were largest in the Northeast. (LA Times, 4/29/87, p. 4, part IV)

Such information is contrary to the theory of many leftists including comrades at Monthly Review that there is a growing economic basis for a labor movement in the United States. The alliance between the labor aristocracy and the imperialists is still in good shape.

USA Today makes public feel guilty

With an across the banner headline, USA Today once again attempted to get the general public to accept blame for high consumption. "Higher prime takes on inflation" (USA Today, 5/12/88, p. 1)

A 4.2% inflation rate expected to grow to 5% is supposedly the justification for a rise in the prime rate to 9%. As proof, the USA Today cited 2 economists at banks — the National City Bank of Cleveland and Fleet/Norstar Financial Group in Providence, R.I.

The prime rate is the percentage of interest that commercial banks charge to their best customers who borrow money.

In addition to putting the battle against inflation on the top of the agenda, the editors in charge of USA Today's front page have constructed repeated stories about the federal deficit in order to justify economic austerity measures — belt-tightening by the public — the poor and labor aristocracy.

USA Today editors thus join the Reagan administration in using the deficit to strike a better deal for the imperialists with the labor aristocracy.

Americans pay same taxes as in 1977, but poor pay higher proportion

"CBO [Congressional Budget Office — ed.] estimated that the poorest 10 percent of Americans will give 20 percent more of their income to the federal government next year [1988-ed.] than they did in 1977. The wealthiest 10 percent — income average about \$120,000 — will pay 6.4 percent less than in 1977." (AP, Ann Arbor News, 11/11/87, p. d1)

THE ANN ARBOR NEWS • WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1987

How rates have changed

WASHINGTON — Here, according to the Congressional Budget Office, are estimates of how effective federal tax rates for families at various income levels will have changed from 1977 to 1988. The figures include federal income taxes, Social Security taxes, estate taxes and a share of the corporate income tax. The income figures are adjusted for inflation through 1987 and are based on averages for each of the brackets. The figures for each year are the percentages of income paid in taxes.

Income	1977	1988
\$2,000	12.1	13.3
2,000-5,000	12.0	13.2
5,000-10,000	11.9	13.1
10,000-20,000	11.8	13.0
20,000-30,000	11.7	12.9
30,000-40,000	11.6	12.8
40,000-50,000	11.5	12.7
50,000-60,000	11.4	12.6
60,000-70,000	11.3	12.5
70,000-80,000	11.2	12.4
80,000-90,000	11.1	12.3
90,000-100,000	11.0	12.2
100,000-120,000	10.9	12.1
120,000-150,000	10.8	12.0
150,000-200,000	10.7	11.9
200,000-300,000	10.6	11.8
300,000-500,000	10.5	11.7
500,000-1,000,000	10.4	11.6
1,000,000+	10.3	11.5

Supply is up; demand is down

Although the Gross National Product (GNP), the monetary measure of the USA's output of goods and services per year, showed growth over 1986 in 1987, the growth is partly in the inventories of business.

Some bourgeois economists consider the last quarter's GNP growth false because it was mostly growth of business inventories, which are unsold commodities held by corporations. \$33.7 billion of the \$39.2 billion in growth was in inventories. Demand fell \$24.1 billion in the same quarter.

Can the bourgeoisie cut prices and sell off all that excess inventory? Can the bourgeoisie raise wages and other disposable income for the common people so that they can buy business's goods sitting in warehouses? GM chair Roger Smith is making no bones about telling the government that it cannot afford a national cutback in consumer credit if car sales are to attain desirable levels. Will the bourgeoisie allow credit to expand forever? Will it end up giving it away — writing off more and more debts? Stay tuned for panic or deflation or recession or pressure from the labor aristocracy to increase its share of the capitalist pie.

Black infant mortality increases

In the continuation of a national crime perpetrated by the ruling class, Black infant mortality for babies who died within 28 days of birth increased from 11.8 per 1,000 to 12.1 per 1,000 between 1984 and 1985.

Maternal deaths during or within 42 days of birth among all non-white women also rose from 16.9 to 18.1 per 100,000. (Ann Arbor News, 1/25/88, p. c1, c2)

The overall infant mortality rate stayed the same.

Nuclear disaster in West revealed

At Windscale in England of October, 1957 there was a nuclear accident that released 1400 times more radioactive iodine than was released at Three Mile Island. The reactor came within hours of meltdown.

The British government only just this year released a report on the affair.

"Millions of gallons of milk were destroyed over an area of 200 square miles. . . . At least 13 people are thought to have died as a direct result of the radiation released, not to mention a number of newborn babies not counted in the official figures." (Guardian: Independent Radical Newsweekly, 2/3/88, p. 12)

Still, the accident was not as bad as the one at Chernobyl in the Soviet Union. Nor was it as bad as a cause of cancer as US atmospheric nuclear tests. (Ibid.)

Australian Aborigines protest settlers

White settlers arrived in Australia 200 years ago, but the original inhabitants are protesting the bicentennial celebrations. "The past two centuries have been a period of annihilation, dispossession and now poverty for the aborigines, who today number perhaps 160,000, a fraction of their earlier population. They make up 1 percent of Australia's population." (Ann Arbor News, 1/26/88, p. c3)

Arms treaty disarms anti-militarists

The arms treaty signed by Reagan and Gorbachev scraps a miniscule percentage of each side's missiles. The missiles scrapped, however, are among the most politically sensitive.

"Since 1983, the United States has deployed 256 cruise missiles in West Germany, Britain, Italy and Belgium, and 108 Pershing 2 ballistic missiles in West Germany.

Under the agreement, these will be scrapped over three years, along with 683 Soviet missiles armed with 1,565 nuclear warheads." (AP, Ann Arbor News, 11/26/87, p. c1)

These missiles have evoked tremendous opposition in Europe because they seem to offer the possi-

bility of a short and intermediate range nuclear war limited to Europe. Europeans feared the United States would sacrifice Europe to nuclear war in order to fight the Soviets.

Also, the reality of having short range missiles that could reach the Soviet Union in 6 or 8 minutes contributed to the tension that spurred anti-militarist movements in Europe.

The treaty does not affect so-called tactical nuclear weapons such as nuclear tipped artillery shells. The United States keeps thousands of these in Europe. (Cox News Service, Ibid.)

NY Times admits that Soviets did not knowingly shoot down civilian plane

Korean Air Lines Flight 007 cost the lives of 269 people on August 31, 1983. Probably to cover up its own role in having the plane spy on military bases in the Soviet Union, the Reagan administration told the world that the Soviets knew it was a civilian plane when it was shot down.

Now the NY Times admits that the Soviets did not know. By the second day after the shootdown, the CIA had already determined that the Soviets did not know. Yet, no one was ever told.

Acting to correct this, the NYTimes brought this fact to light. (NYTimes, 1/18/88, p. 16)

Trotskyism is safe in S. Africa

The collected works of Leon Trotsky are readily available in South Africa. The works of Mao, however, are banned.

Some works of Marx's are as available as Trotsky's, but the works of Lenin and Stalin are harder to come by. (Revolutionary Worker, 1/25/88, p. 11)

Could it be that authorities censoring books in South Africa hope Trotskyism will gain greater influence within revolutionary movements? Could it be that since Trotsky opposed guerrilla warfare and believed that national liberation struggles in non-industrialized countries were a waste of time that the South African ruling class does not mind his work?

Clearly the works of a revolutionary Asian such as Mao, who worked for national liberation to defeat imperialism are a danger to the apartheid regime. At the same time, the prattle of Eurocentric "Marxists" known as Trotskyists has never amounted to a serious threat in any Third World country in a revolutionary situation.

United Auto Workers (UAW) leaders and workers are imperialists' allies

While the UAW is one of the more progressive unions in the country, as evidenced by some of its support of the anti-apartheid movement, it is still indicative of class collaboration.

Previous to last year's UAW bargaining with GM, the entire negotiating teams for both sides spent 10 days together in Japan at GM expense. "They took meals together, went drinking together, even shopped together, went drinking together, even shopped together." ("Detroit's Strange Bedfellows," Michael Massing, New York Times Magazine, 2/7/88, p. 20)

During subsequent negotiations, "the union did not even have to set a strike deadline." (Ibid.) The concept involved is "jointness." This is a nice word for direct and open class collaboration of the highest degree. By class collaboration is meant workers' doing what capitalists want.

"Today, the U.A.W. and auto executives travel to Japan together, go on retreats together, even publish newspapers together. Joint committees have been set up to deal with everything from productivity to absenteeism." (Ibid.) Indeed, GM is on contract to spend \$300 million annually in "jointness" activities that include renting "fancy hotels and invited workers to trust-building orientation courses."

Most leftists and so-called Marxist-Leninists would say, "sure, Donald F. Ephlin and Owen Bieber are labor aristocrats who live off the workers' struggles only to sell them out, but autoworkers are typical of the industrial workers that communists must base themselves in." These leftists and Marxist-Leninists expect these workers to be open to revolutionary ideas.

For example, a Trotskyist tendency had this to say about the UAW recently: "US workers could join British, South Africa, (sic.) and South Korean workers in struggle in an international wave of auto strikes."

"Such a scenario is possible in the not-too-distant future. . . .

"Auto companies in the US and in many other countries are bringing some new workers into the plants. This has emboldened the workers and make them more ready to fight, especially since the new hires are mainly young.

"The militance of the young workers and their ability to absorb the experience of older workers could lead to the rapid building of a strong and even revolutionary movement in the auto industry nationally and internationally." (Fighting Worker, 3/88, p. 6)

Then why is it that 81% of GM and 72% of the Ford workers approved the last contract offered by these labor aristocrats? (Ibid., 26) There were supposedly many militants concerned with the contract. Why did they fail in rejecting the contract?

Even more curious, after workers ratified the GM contract, thousands immediately lost their jobs. But rather than fundamentally challenge class collabo-



ration, those recently unemployed workers who did get angry, blamed the union and even applauded the plant manager for a speech he made. (Ibid., p. 52)

GM seeks to operate near 100% capacity

GM President Robert Stempel claims GM will operate lean and mean in 1992. As a result, competitors such as Ford and Toyota are wondering if GM plans a change in its market share of car sales.

Current industry estimates put GM at running at 75% of capacity. To get to 100%, some have speculated more plant closings are in the offing. On the other hand, GM denies anymore Michigan plant closings are in the works except those already announced.

"If you look to Europe — and we operated at over 100 percent (of straight-time capacity) last year — that's a nice way to run," Stempel said." (Detroit News, 5/15/88, p. 1g, 5g)

This is what is happening in Europe, at the Antwerp, Belgium plant for example. "Each plant previously worked two eight-hour, five-day shifts. Under the new system, one plant will work two shifts, but with three crews. The plant will operate two 10-hour shifts six days per week. The three crews will alternate four-day, 10-hour work weeks. An employment reduction of 5 percent is expected, and GM also will save costs by ending duplication of work between two plants." (Ibid., p. 5g)

What is interesting here is not that there will be a 5% increase in unemployment because that is not necessarily true compared with other things GM could do. What is interesting is that GM is planning to get more production-wise out of its plant.

Some factors involved in this decision may be the lower dollar which is boosting demand for car exports and competition with Japanese companies.

On the other hand, one cannot discount the possibility that GM is bluffing entirely in order to fool its competitors.

State allows AIDS in prison

The ruling class is perpetrating another crime in the prisons — AIDS. Prisons have had 1964 AIDS cases since 1984 in 38 states.

Despite the occurrence in prison of drug-use and homosexual sex including forced sex, prison officials in Michigan oppose the distribution of condoms and sterilized needles.

Meanwhile, in NY, Vermont and Mississippi condoms are available in prisons. (Detroit News, 5/15/88, p. n1, 2n)

Anti-gay/lesbian violence is up

In addition to the thousands of deaths that gay men are experiencing because of imperialism's lackadaisical response to AIDS, violent crimes against gays and lesbians are disproportionately high: "Nearly half of Philadelphia's homosexual men and one-fifth of the city's lesbians were victims of violent crimes in a year because of their sexual orientation, according to a study issued Monday by the Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force. The figures were almost 12 times the national annual criminal violence rate for all men and 10 times the rate for all women." (Detroit News, 6/7/88, p. 3a)

"Among those groups documenting greater violence last year were San Francisco's Community United Against Violence, a gay victim assistance agency, which saw 11 percent more violence victims in 1987 than in 1986, the report found. The New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-violence Project served 14 percent more clients in 1987, and the Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force reported a 39 percent increase in violent incidents." (UPI, Ann Arbor News, 6/7/88, p. c4)

Navy murders recruit in training

On March 2nd, five navy instructors murdered a recruit by forcing him under the water and drowning him. Ordinarily, the actions taken by the instructors would not have resulted in drowning, but Lee Mirecki had a previous medical history of a phobia of "being grabbed and pulled under water." (UPI, Detroit News, 6/7/88, p. 3a)

This history includes the February 8th report of "Lt. Cmdr. David Shivley, a flight surgeon, who said Mirecki was not qualified to continue his training because of his phobia." (Ibid.)

Mirecki had requested to drop the course involving the training in question. (Ibid.)

One can only hope that with this new evidence coming out that the charges against the instructors will change from manslaughter to murder.

In any case, the whole incident is an indication of how an imperialist army differs from a revolutionary army of the people. The imperialists have nothing but disdain for their recruits and use money, force and intimidation to get the proper results, whereas a revolutionary army such as Mao's values the lives of every proletarian and peasant. Revolutionary armies rely on the strength of their cause and convictions, not hierarchical force, to achieve military victory.

RW offers more on the Crash of 1987

As polls of Wall Street brokers continue to show that abolishing computer trading would restore confidence in the stock market, it behooves the proletarian analyst to remember what really caused the crash.

By its very nature, the stock market is an exercise in commodity fetishism with little connection to the realities of economic needs and physical production. It is a great paper shuffle with a life of its own. (See MIM Notes no. 33)

In addition, the Revolutionary Worker (RW) has correctly pointed out that the international situation is quite unstable. The Western countries were faced with the fact of a tremendous US trade deficit in October.

Since the trade deficit causes a decline in the value of the dollar, investors started to fear that US investments would lose their value. They started the sell-off in US stocks.

Some evidence for the pause in foreign investment comes from the New York Times, "The flow of money from Japan, a stream that has helped to finance the United States budget deficit and to influence stock prices on Wall Street, is slowing dramatically as investors here wait to see what steps the United States will take to cut its budget and trade deficits.

In June, long-term net capital out-flow — how much more money left Japan than entered it — was \$19.2 billion. By September, it was \$2.3 billion." (11/18/87, p. 29)

According to the RW, once this started the US stock sell-off, "mob psychology" did the rest.

It's a plausible explanation for the international crash.

Underlying the problem is the reality that none of the European countries can afford a major expansion of purchases of US exports. "Western Europe has grown at less than 3 percent a year for the last six years. Unemployment in West Germany now stands at 9 percent and the economy is barely growing. Even Japan, a relative dynamo, is beginning to experience excess industrial capacity." (Revolutionary Worker, 10/26/87, p. 8)

Just how far the bourgeoisie seems to avoid the problem is reflected in the Wall Street Journal's front page editorial thinly disguised as a news article: "If deep pessimism is now setting in, a recession will probably follow. But if the nation concludes that the crash was largely a technical problem, caused by computerized trading schemes, the worst can be avoided. Just how deeply the national psyche has been wounded may not be clear for months." (Boldfaced in original, Wall Street Journal, 10/26/87, p. 1)

Dollar down; manufacturing is up

From 1986 to 1987, manufacturing in the United States increased employment by 303,000, with 63,000 added jobs in October, 1987 alone. (New York Times, 11/18/87, p. 29)

When the dollar goes down, foreigners buy more US exports.

It is not clear what the effect of the increase will be on the strength and well-being of the labor aristocracy.

Gay rights rally draws 300,000

Organizers estimated that 300,000 marched in support of gay rights and more money for research against AIDS in DC October 11th, 1987. (New York Times, 10/12/87, p. 1)

A ruling by the Supreme Court which upheld Georgia sodomy laws partly sparked the rally. (Guardian: Radical Newsweekly, 10/14/87, p. 18)

Rightist Jean-Marie Le Pen calls Nazi gas chambers "a minor point"

Long anti-Algerian in his calls to oust foreigners from French jobs, Le Pen has now made an anti-Semitic barb as well. (New York Times, 10/12/87)

Le Pen did quite well in recent elections — 14.4 percent of the vote. (New York Times, 4/26/88, p. 1)

Oppressed countries:

AP claims Senderos aid cocaine trade

According to the bourgeois press, which only cites two disreputable sources — people involved in the drug trade and the Peruvian police — the Maoist revolutionaries in Peru known as Senderos are taxing cocaine traffickers in Peru. Of course, the press phrased it this way: "Peruvian rebels thrive in alliance with drug traffickers." (Monte Hayes, AP, Ann Arbor News, 1/17/88, p. b1)

In one clash that left 40 dead this past March, the Maoists drove out pro-Cuban elements from the Upper Huallaga river valley, where the coca plant grows according to the Associated Press. The Senderos are now the de facto government in this area.

MIM cannot confirm or deny the AP report, but there are at least some indications that the AP report is partly based in truth. According to AP, where the Senderos have ruled they have "shut down discotheques, ran prostitutes out of town and banned adultery and homosexuality."

As for the morality of cocaine, according to the head of the coca growers association, the Senderos authorize and defend coca production "if it is for the United States. But if they catch you consuming paste, they kill you."

The rebels supposedly oppose the intervention of US drug enforcement agents and therefore protect the drug traffickers militarily from the US.

At the same time, the Senderos militarily defend the growers against the traders in order that the production workers receive better pay according to AP.

AP also admits that the Shining Path guerrillas are the heroes of school children in Upper Huallaga valley. (Ibid.)

What the Sendero "alliance" with drug traffickers amounts to is a \$3,000 to \$4,000 tax per plane load of coca paste according to Peruvian police. According to AP, this type of tax may have netted the Senderos \$7 million in the last few months.

Is any of the above true and worth responding to? It is very difficult to say. An article by the Los Angeles Times paints the same subject as a three-sided war among guerrillas, the government and traffickers with the guerrillas winning and executing traffickers. ("War of Drugs, Rebels Rages in Peru, 8/2/87, p. 20-1) Certainly, if anyone reading this has access to a spokesperson for the Senderos, they should clue MIM in on what the deal is.

For now, MIM has obvious doubts about the authenticity of what the AP article says, but if it is true that the Senderos are repressing homosexuality, that is in conflict with MIM's official program, especially the document "On Sexual Orientation...." MIM favors gay/lesbian liberation. If the Senderos are involved in the repression of homosexuality, and not heterosexuality, then MIM certainly challenges the Senderos on that point and demands an explanation.

MIM does not have a stance on sexuality and Sexual Revolution generally, and certainly does not know the situation in Peru.

As for the issues of adultery, discotheques and drug use, this writer would have to know more about the conditions in Peru before pronouncing on these issues. Also, there is a need for details on Sendero implementation of policy on these issues.

As for exporting drugs to the United States, the Senderos would not be the first to adopt this position that it's OK. The Afghan rebels have done the same. The issue involved here is whether or not the cocaine exports benefit the international proletariat or not. Certainly the exports benefit the Peruvian proletariat since it is not involved in the consumption but it is gaining employment and maybe even reparations of a sort from the United States.

As an expensive habit, can it be said cocaine use is not a problem for the proletariat contained within US borders? Does the cocaine trade wreak havoc on US imperialism or does it sap the will of the proletariat in the US? There are many difficult questions connected with this issue.

New York Times sees some difference between Castroites and Maoists

"The group [Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, Castroites — ed.] is viewed as less of a threat, however, because it is an orthodox movement set in the mold of other Latin America guerrilla groups. Using familiar leftist language and led by middle-class urban intellectuals, it has been more easily infiltrated and has suffered major setbacks at the hands of the police.

"The complexity of the Shining Path, on the other hand, stems from the fact that it fits into no simple category. It apparently has no links with foreign revolutionary movements [false — ed.], (sic.) it uses outright terror as a political weapon, (sic.) it breeds fanatical loyalty among its followers and it values secrecy over publicity." (New York Times, 11/11/87, 16)

So frustrated is the New York Times that it lapsed into rare grammatical errors — a run-on sentence. Tsk, tsk, better compose your "objectivity, New York Times.

There are several lessons here. One is that even the New York Times recognizes that Castroism is a disastrous failure in Latin America as a strategy for revolution. Another is that the Castroites rely on "publicity stunts" to raise public opinion, while Maoists are content to generate public opinion without assuming that the state is not watching.

State Dept. passes Panama and Mexico

Despite charges of allowing drug exports to the US, Mexico and Panama will receive economic and military aid along with trade benefits if a State Dept. recommendation is adopted. (New York Times 2/20/88, p. 1)

Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega holds on

Despite months of its efforts to remove the head of the Panamanian regime, it appears that the US government has failed.

Citing Noriega's involvement in the drug trade, the US sought to replace Noriega with civilian government or military government that would eventually hold an election.

The Revolutionary Worker stated its belief that the replacement of US-backed Third World dictators including Noriega occurs only when they become overexposed and hence a strategic liability in terms of rebellions. Someone like Noriega is unpopular is of little use to the US as an ally unless he can successfully repress his people and line up behind the US.

The Revolutionary Worker also points out that too many pro-Soviet forces were allowed to operate in Panama and the US would have liked Panama to line up against the Sandinistas a little better. (Revolutionary Worker, 3/7/88, p. 14) Noriega's probable sale of arms to rebels in El Salvador for a profit would not endear him to Washington either by this line of thinking. (New York Times, 12/18/87, p. 4)

Now, however, it appears that this assessment was incorrect. US involvement in trying to remove Noriega was at least partially motivated by US domestic partisan politics.

Tarred by the Iran-contra scandal, the Republican party was also getting linked to contra drug-smuggling operations on a number of fronts. Thus, in a certain way, the Reagans' supposed anti-drug campaign was backfiring.

With congressional and independent investigations threatening to devastate the Republicans, the Reagan administration found itself with extra motivation to move on Noriega. After all, the Democrats are only so generous in pulling their punches. They would not reveal the fact that a small number of people runs the government and wages covert wars across the globe. That would be too shocking and would tend to discredit the Democrats and much as the Republicans.

But, by using the drugs and corruption issue in a fashion similar to the Watergate issue, the Democrats attack the Republicans without faulting the whole political and economic system. The Democrats are happy to attack what seems to be a lack of character among Republicans and offer themselves as God-sent saviors. The basic strategy is to reduce everything to an issue of personal character — thus the "wimp factor," the "sleaze factor" etc.

When polls started to show that the US public was most concerned with the drug issue out of all political issues and that the Republicans had failed with the issue, (New York Times, 4/13/88, p. 13) George Bush moved to distance himself from Reagan's failed anti-drug policy. Bush wanted to appear to oppose making deals with drug-dealers like Noriega. He wanted to appear to have the most integrity for not dealing with drug-dealers or terrorists, even if it meant breaking with Reagan.

Within days after Bush's political move, the State Department ceased its negotiations to remove Noriega. (New York Times, 5/26/88, p. 1) This was very interesting if only because for weeks the State Department (unnamed senior administration officials) were saying that a deal with Noriega was imminent. (e.g. "Accord Reported Near for Noriega to Give Up Power," New York Times, 4/29/88, p. 1)

The truth, however, is that Bush knew of Noriega's drug-dealing ways for years. (For a surprisingly hard-hitting examination of this, see Tom Wicker, "Bush and Noriega," New York Times, 4/29/88, p. a39) The problem only started to come to

the political surface recently, but investigations by the Christie Institute and Senator Kerry (D-MA) (New York Times, 12/18/87, p. 4) have been going on for some time.

According to an aide of Noriega, Bush made a deal with Noriega that Noriega would keep his mouth shut about the Medellin cocaine cartel's financing of the contras, if Bush kept quiet about Noriega.

Patently lying, Bush has maintained that he knows nothing about Noriega and drug accusations. (AP, Newsday, LA Times in the Ann Arbor News, 5/26/88, c1) In fact, he maintains his distance from the Reagan administration without mentioning Noriega's name. (AP, Ann Arbor News, 5/26/88, c2)

While no proletarian should harbor any love for Noriega, communists must oppose any US invasion to remove Noriega. The battle to replace one dependent dictator with another would certainly cost many proletarian lives. MIM opposes all wars between bourgeois governments because the fighting is carried at the cost of the proletariat.

Nicaragua releases another Hasenfus

James Denby, doing aerial work for the CIA in a Cessna 172, is another US citizen caught in hostilities against the Nicaraguan government.

Denby is further evidence that US citizens are directly involved in supplying the contras who oppose the Nicaraguan government.

The Nicaraguan government displayed Denby's possessions including an explosives license issued in the United States. (NYTimes, 12/9/87, p. 3) According to the Sandinista government, Denby was on a mission to kill the Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. (Ann Arbor News, 12/9/87, p. f1)

Haiti vote for president was low

"Haiti's army-dominated Government held its presidential elections today, but voting appeared to be light, and irregularities, from multiple voting to voting by youths under the minimum age of 18, appeared widespread. No attempt at secret balloting was made in most voting places visited by foreign journalists." (New York Times, 1/18/88, p. 1)

A World Bank economist estimated a 4 to 6% voter participation rate.

The four most popular candidates in November 1987 refused to participate in the election. (Ibid., p. 5)

US pilots fly material aid to UNITA

US pilots fly supply shipments from Zaire to the South African-backed Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) according to a captured UNITA rebel. US aid to UNITA runs \$15 million a year.

The United States did not deny the report. "The United States is giving UNITA 'appropriate and effective assistance.'" (New York Times, 12/15/87, p. 2)

S. Africa admits to invading Angola

In late November, S. Africa sent 3,000 troops to Angola to support contra-like rebels known as UNITA who are attempting to overthrow the Soviet-backed government of Angola.

President P.W. Botha visited the troops in S. Africa, which admitted to 35 deaths in fighting. S. Africa also admitted for the first time that it had in fact invaded Angola. (Guardian: Independent Radical Newsweekly, 12/2/87, p. 1)

Mozambique contras killed 100,000

Senators Bob Dole and Jesse Helms support a group of rebels in Mozambique called the MNR (Mozambique National Resistance). (Guardian: Radical Newsweekly, 10/14/87, p. 3)

The MNR has long enjoyed S. African support and the right-wingers in the US would like to see the US officially and directly support MNR too instead of just through S. Africa.

A rise in the infant mortality rate from 325 to 375 per 1000 is chalked up to MNR's war against the Mozambique government. Other acts of MNR sabotage are responsible for destroying 1,800 schools, 25% of the health clinics, \$50 million in electric power lines,

\$20 million in sugar and tea factories and \$82 million in bridges and railways. ("An African War Ensnarls the U.S. Ultra-Right," LA Times, June 28, 1987, p. 2, part V)

According to a report released by the State Dept. in mid-April, the MNR has killed at least 100,000 people and caused 1 million more people to become refugees. (New York Times, 5/11/88, p. 1)

The New York Times appears to have done an informative article with information comparable to that found by the State Dept.:

"Since 1981, the Health Ministry [of Mozambique's government — ed.] reported in April, Renamo attackers have looted, destroyed or forced the closing of 595 health clinics — 31 percent of Mozambique's health network. With two million people deprived of care, the child mortality rate doubled in the 1980's to 350 per 1,000, the highest in the world.

Since 1981, the Education Ministry reported, rebel attacks have forced the closing of 2,518 schools that served 500,000 children — one-third of the projected elementary school enrollment.

The war, a United Nations report said, has forced 870,000 Mozambicans to flee their country and 1.1 million more to leave their farms for the safety of cities.

In 1987, the Trade Ministry said, Mozambican farmers were able to meet only 6 percent of the grain needs of city dwellers and refugees. This year, almost a quarter of Mozambique's 14 million people face starvation or severe malnutrition. (New York Times, 5/11/88, p. 6)

The US/South Africa backed atrocities against the Mozambicans are further evidence of how the US is engaged in an undeclared World War III for control of the globe. The United States is only now trying to stop the slaughter because it fears that South Africa is overextended in its battle to repress the African people and because it believes that Mozambique is now in a position to enter the US orbit of influence as Zimbabwe has done.

Oppenheimer lauds Helen Suzman

The chair of S. Africa's largest mining company has long supported "reform" in S. Africa. In the New York Times, he recently wrote a tribute to a woman in the Progressive Federal Party which is a tiny party in the apartheid Parliament.

As the Sullivan Principles were once touted as the hope for reform by US companies operating in S. Africa, the PFP in S. Africa is often considered the hope for white reform in S. Africa.

The PFP is not only insignificant in size, even in comparison with literally neo-Nazi groups in S. Africa, but also the PFP is insignificant politically. It does not favor equal citizenship status of Blacks and whites.

Still, Oppenheimer represents an articulate section of capital in S. Africa that would like to move the economy forward: "The realization of South Africa's economic potential simply could not be reconciled with the policy of apartheid — and that, I'm afraid, is a truth that after 35 years has still not been grasped by those at home and abroad who believe that apartheid can best be fought through the application of economic sanctions." (New York Times, 5/11/88, p. 25)

What Oppenheimer is saying is that the struggle against apartheid should be linked to the struggle for economic growth. Like the line "jobs, not war" this may seem to put material interests behind the end of apartheid. What Oppenheimer believes is that equal opportunity capitalism would bring economic growth for all including whites and make up for the loss in white privilege in South Africa.

It is perhaps obvious, however, that Black self-determination in South Africa should not depend on whether or not economic growth would be promoted by the end of white rule. And for now, unless we are to judge the privileged white labor aristocracy in South Africa as entirely ignorant of its own economic interests, fascism and literal Naziism still seem to be in the interest of the ruling class in S. Africa.

S. Korean cabinet is more of same

New President Roh Tae Woo kept the cabinet of Chun Doo Hwan in tact. Seven out of 23 cabinet appointees retained their previous portfolios, including the critical Home Affairs and Justice ministers who are in charge of the repressive apparatus.

Those who thought that Roh meant a substantial reform in S. Korea should think again. (New York Times, 2/20/88, p. 5)

Fire near Seoul kills 22 proletarians

22 women in a textile factory died when their factory, where they slept, lit on fire and the stairway exits were locked.

The workers there work 11 to 14.5 hours a day every day except 2 days a month. Their pay is \$270 to \$345 a month — on the high side for S. Korea.

In a nearby center for factory workers, one woman earns \$5.80 per day. Another woman — a Ms. Kim — works 12 hours a day, every day except three per month and receives \$5 a day. She tests computer chips. (New York Times, 4/6/88, p. 4)

When MIM talks about the international proletariat, it is talking about people like Ms. Kim.

Eritrea is deprived of donor food aid

Working through the Ethiopian regime, most governments and agencies ignore the imminent starvation deaths of hundreds of thousands of Eritreans.

Eritrea is effectively under the control of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. The EPLF works with the Eritrean Relief Association (ERA), but the ERA does not receive support through the channels that Ethiopia does.

Ethiopia is attempting to starve the Eritrean people into submitting to its colonial ambitions. (EPLF communique, 5/9/87, PO Box 65685, Washington DC 20035 (202) 265-3070)

Mideast:

Press compares Israel to South Africa

In a sign that the US/Israeli propaganda machine cannot cover up the current situation in the Gaza Strip, the Washington Post published an article which discusses parallels between South Africa and Israel. Even more seriously, ABC News has also drawn the parallels.

Prominent Israeli academic Shlomo Avineri, who is a contact of Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, recently drew the parallel, but it was the Washington Post that chose to report it. Avineri said that he feared "by the year 2000 we will look into the mirror and we will see South Africa." (Ann Arbor News, 1/25/88, p. c1)

Thus, while the propaganda machine would like to avoid the moral and political implications of this comparison, there is some sign that the ruling class is considering the long-term strategic situation in Israel. Previous articles in the mainstream press also examined the situation of the rock-throwing Palestinian

youth on the Gaza Strip and saw the potential for Khomeini-style Islamic revolution.

The most important parallels are that the West Bank and Gaza Strip are under military occupation by Israel. There the rights of Palestinians are not much more than the rights of Blacks in South Africa.

Also, on a per capita basis the recent violence of Israelis against Palestinians is comparable to that of the South African white settlers against the Blacks. (Ann Arbor News, 1/25/88, p. c3) That is not to include the deaths of civilians in actions such as the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which took at least 20,000 lives.

It is not that the bourgeois press relishes these comparisons, simply that the bourgeoisie is facing its nightmares on the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

Israeli soldiers bury four Arabs alive

Four Arabs on the West Bank were rescued by relatives after being buried alive. Three left the hospital

the same day. Another stayed eight days. "Relatives charged in a complaint filed with the army that the 20 soldiers grabbed the four Arabs after a violent demonstration in the West Bank village of Kfar Salem on Feb. 5, beat them, forced them to lie on the ground and then poured sand over them with a bulldozer." (Ann Arbor News, 2/15/88, c1)

"Even in my worst dreams, I would never imagine such a thing," Gen. Amram Mitzna, the commander of the troops in the West Bank, said of the case. . . . 'I constantly warn commanders to expect the most awful things could happen when soldiers find themselves all of a sudden commanding and deciding the lives of civilians.'" (New York Times, 2/16/88, p. 1)

Israel invades Lebanon again

On May 2nd, Israeli soldiers entered Lebanon supposedly in search of PLO guerrillas attempting to infiltrate Israel. According to the Israeli military, Palestinian fighters have killed 5 Israeli soldiers in seven incidents in the past year while 20 Palestinian fighters have been slain or captured. (Detroit Free Press, 5/5/88, p. 1)

Israel has invaded Lebanon repeatedly in the past. "Israel invaded Lebanon in March 1978 following a guerrilla attack inside Israel, then withdrew that June. In June 1982 Israeli forces invaded again, sweeping through Lebanon and eventually laying siege to the P.L.O. in Beirut. Israel withdrew in 1985." (New York Times, 5/3/88, p. 1)

Of course, this little synopsis leaves out the fact that Israel killed thousands of Lebanese civilians in the process. To say that Israel was "laying siege to the PLO in Beirut" makes it sound like Beirut was a Palestinian homeland.

To say that Israel withdrew in 1985 is to sanitize Israel's relationship to Phalangists and other forces inside Lebanon that Israel pays and equips to do

its dirty work.

By the 5th, Israel had already killed more than 40 people in its latest invasion of Lebanon. (Detroit Free Press, 5/5/88, p. 1)

Ruling classes continue war in Mideast

Iraq stepped up its efforts to prevent Iranian oil sales by bombing five Iranian oil tankers May 14th. Up to 54 people are missing.

Iraq wants to cut off Iranian oil exports because Iran funds its 7 year old war with Iraq with oil sales.

Days earlier Iraq had fired Exocet missiles at two Iranian tankers. (Detroit News, 5/15/88, 3a)

Both in terms of deaths and losses of resources, the war between Iran and Iraq is not in the interests of the peoples of those countries.

Israel tortures Palestinian children

"Children in Israeli Military Prisons," researched and written by the Rev. Canon Riah Abu El-Assal, pastor of Christ Evangelical Church in Nazareth; Dina Lawrence, cultural anthropologist from California, and Karen White, author and journalist from Florida" reports that children in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are tortured by the Israelis. (The Metro Times, Detroit, 1/6-12/88, p. 4)

Furthermore, the record of the Shin Bet, Israeli security has recently come under attack: "An official Israeli report published Oct. 30 shows that the Shin Bet internal security services lied for 16 years about brutal methods used to extract confessions from Palestinian prisoners." (Guardian: Radical Newsweekly, 11/11/87, p. 17)

Typically the Shin Bet covered up its methods and now lawyers in Israel say they will apply for new trials for Palestinian prisoners based on the official report on Shin Bet.

"Riad Faraj, 15, has been arrested three times and has spent eight months of his young life in prison. He described being bound upside down to a chair and beaten on the soles of his feet while three interrogators sat on top of him. Wa'el Tawfig said interrogators tried to force him to confess to throwing a stone at soldiers first by tempting him with a bowl of fruit and then by threatening to rape him." (Ibid.)

Palestinians did not stone Israeli

"An Israeli girl whose death brought fierce cries for vengeance against Arabs was not stoned to death, but killed by a bullet from the rifle of a Jewish settler guarding her, the army said today. . . . Nevertheless, the army blew up eight more houses in Beita today, making a total of 14 destroyed over accusations that family members took part in the clash. . . . Rabbi Chaim Druckman of the National Religious Party declared that the village of Beita 'should be wiped off the face of the earth.'" (New York Times, 4/9/88, p. 1)

In a pattern seen more than once in Israel, Israelis kill Israelis and then blame Palestinians so as to justify Israeli genocide of Palestinians. (See for example, *Israel's Sacred Terror* on MIM lit. list.)

Arab countries accept Egypt again

Iraq, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar plan to reestablish diplomatic relations with Egypt.

Relations broke when Egypt and Israel made the Camp David accord. (AP, Ann Arbor News, 11/12/87, p. c1)

Tokyo stocks surpass New York's

At the end of October 1987, the Tokyo stock market was worth \$2.677 trillion, the New York exchange, \$2.254 trillion. (NYTimes)

Bank closings set post-War record

184 commercial banks closed and another 19 required federal bailout in 1987.

Still, in 1933, 4,000 banks closed. (AP, Ann Arbor News, 1/7/88, p. b9)

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MIM should also apologize for informing prisoners that off our backs is free. It is not anymore. Only female prisoners receive it free.

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State capitalist countries:

Rumania alienates East and West?

The New York Times ran an article critical of Rumania. Although commentators generally fret over debts both domestic and international, in this case, the New York Times criticized Rumania for cutting its dependence on foreign debts in half since 1983 — from \$10 billion to \$5 billion.

This supposedly resulted in vast deprivations for the Rumanian people according to the New York Times three times in the same article. (Henry Kamm, "For Bucharest, a Great Leap Backward, 2/15/88, p. 6)

That the New York Times recognizes what debt repayment means when done by East bloc countries but not by other countries shows the ideological biases of our bourgeoisie.

Rumanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu supposedly reject Gorbachev's reforms and upholds central planning. This too is no good and cause for New York Times editorializing in its supposed "news" article headline.

Alienation of Soviet workers grows

Demand for sugar in some regions of the Soviet Union increased as much as 29% in the earlier part of this year according to a Soviet official.

The source of the demand is the moonshine industry. (New York Times, 4/27/88, p. 1)

Alcoholism in the Soviet Union has been a steadily growing problem since the death of Stalin.

Gorbachev has said that the alcoholism problem is the people's fault, instead of targetting the system which causes people to desire an escape from reality in alcohol. "It is a scandal against which the people themselves must struggle," said Gorbachev. (New York Times, 11/16/87, p. 6)

With this blame-the-people approach, Gorbachev has resorted to repression to solve the problem. "New statistics [from the Soviet Interior Ministry — ed.] show 390,000 arrests thus far this year [Nov. 1987 — ed.] — against fewer than 70,000 in all of 1985 — for home brewing." (Ibid.)

It must be admitted that Gorbachev started from such a poor situation that what he did actually did have some positive results. The death rate in the Soviet Union is declining for the first time in 20 years, no doubt partly because of a 37% decline in deaths from drunk driving. (Ibid.)

The city of Fuxin with 700,000 people has leased every thing in the city "every grocery store, department store, movie house and factory in town." (New York Times, 2/10/88, p. 4)

One woman who leased a factory made about \$200,000 in profit one year. (Ibid.)

Soviets also do Star Wars research

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has said that the USSR does Star Wars research. At the same time, he said the Soviets will not deploy a Star Wars defense. (Ann Arbor News, 12/1/87, p. c1)

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee becomes new class

"Half of the Central Committee members now are college educated and 40% have engineering degrees. Until recently most of China's leaders had been veteran revolutionaries from peasant backgrounds with little education." (Guardian: Independent Radical Newsweekly, 12/9/87, p. 10)

What the Guardian means is little "formal, bourgeois education."

Long-time China field researcher sees Chinese production going down

William Hinton has reported that grain production may have declined in China since the counterrevolution in 1976 and the decollectivization of agriculture since 1979. Yields at the famed Dazhai have declined as they have in the bordering counties.

Hinton rips through many of the accounting devices that make Chinese economic success since 1976 seem greater than it is.

While it is way to early to say that China has suffered in short-run economic growth since turning to capitalism, Hinton's work shows that even this much vaunted advantage of the counterrevolution is worth monitoring. (Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine, 3/88)

China re-abolishes stock market

In Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin, stock trading started in 1986. In 1987 the government stopped it.

Apparently this so-called reform was too much for the supposedly Communist Party of China to swallow. (LA Times, 4/27/87, p. 1, part IV)

Students protested ouster of Yeltsin

Boris Yeltsin is regarded as a "reformer" in the Soviet Union, perhaps more reformist than Gorbachev.

In November Gorbachev removed him as head of the Moscow Party Committee for views that are too reformist. Hundreds of students demonstrated against this repeatedly over a period of days. In fact, at one confrontation at Moscow University, students drowned out officials who tried to explain why Yeltsin was ousted. (New York Times, 11/21/87, p. 5)

Neither Yeltsin nor Gorbachev are people that communists should admire.

Yet, the protests undercut the right-wing argument that there is no intellectual or political life outside a monolithic communist party in the Soviet Union.

Soviets to make profit on summit

The Soviets' official newspaper, Tass has hired a promoter for Hulk Hogan and Michael Jackson to sell commemorative T-shirts, buttons, records, plastic tote bags and audio cassettes for the upcoming summit. "Tass plans to sell the shirts for \$15-\$20 and already has ordered 10,000." (Detroit News, 5/21/88, p. 1)

Publisher typifies ignorance of China

Having been to China at least twice, one might

think Allen H. Neuharth would have some first-hand insights on the situation there. Neuharth is the chair of Gannett newspapers, the Detroit News and USA Today.

In his recent column on China, he was full of praise for Deng Xiaoping's institution of capitalism. As evidence of progress Neuharth made three points.

First, he said that GNP per capita had doubled in the last ten years. These GNP figures, however, mean nothing thanks to inflation and changes in relative prices.

In fact, this year inflation may hit 20%, up from 8% last year. This has caused a decline in real living standards for 1 in 5 urban residents. (New York Times, 3/4/88, p. 6)

Secondly, he cited "Dozens of new hotels, which last year housed 1.7 million foreign tourists." (Detroit News, 5/24/88, p. 3d) OK, that's true, there has been progress for foreign tourists.

Thirdly, TV sets and radios have replaced loudspeakers for communications. (Ibid.) Although this is a bit of an exaggeration, it's not worth arguing over.

This is what constitutes progress according to the people who run the press in this country!

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Student membership \$10.

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Write to AAUG, 556 Trapelo Rd., Belmont, MA 02178 for more information.

This ad is paid for by MIM and was not solicited for or sanctioned by AAUG.

Correspondence:

Prisoner requests any literature possible

Dear MIM:

I am presently incarcerated at X Correctional Facility in the solitary confinement unit. As a result of my predicament my access to positive, constructive and enlightening literature is very limited. I would greatly appreciate to the utmost any material or information you care to provide me.

Thank you—keep on fighting the struggle is constant.

—A prisoner in the Northeast
April, 1988

Supports dictatorship of proletariat, not the system

Dear MIM:

I am in receipt of your publication and literature offers pages.

I believe the "Establishment" must be replaced by revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

As in Rome, the unpropertied class in the USA is the root of solidarity.

I am a prisoner of 12 years and under strict censorship. I would like any literature you can send and request a copy of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* if you can get a copy to me. I would like to have your "List of Other Organizations." It is listed as "The Competition."

Workers of the World Unite!

—A prisoner from the South
February, 1988

Praises MIM Founding Documents, opposes Trotsky

Dear MIM:

I have received the catalog and the MIM's Founding Documents, and I thank each of you very much for them!

The MIM's Founding Documents are very interesting, especially the "Manifesto on the International Situation and Revolution." The Manifesto is a very valuable document. It is a good launch pad for further investigation and is well worth

studying closely. It gives a very accurate appraisal of Trotskyism, and the phony socialism that Trotsky advocated.

Even though I am a supporter of the X [one of the "competition"—ed.] I am not against learning about what other parties, groups or people think and the political and ideological lines they advocate. This was my main reason for writing MIM.

I've been in prison for five years now, but I didn't get turned on to the revolutionary scene until about three and a half years ago. During my three and a half years of study, I've had the chance to come in contact with only seven different political parties. I've studied the lines of these parties, and so far the X is the only one I've found to have the most revolutionary and necessary political and ideological line.

I'm very interested to know what kind of stance the MIM has taken toward the RCP, USA and of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement—which was formed in March 1984—that the RCP, USA is a part of? Has the MIM ever held a debate about joining with the RCP, USA? If so, I would please like to know what the MIM centered its debate around? Also, if the MIM forms a party instead of joining one, would it become a part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement that was formed in March 1984, or would it try to form a new internationalist movement?

I'm real sure that there will be other inmates interested in MIM and its work.

Also, please send me your list of other groups to the left of social democracy, with the special page for prisoners, so that I may pass this around too?

I thank you for all of your help and consideration, and I thank you for what you are doing for the future!

—A prisoner from the South
May 1988

MCS replies:

We have sent this comrade the draft critique of the RCP, a piece on personality cults and MIM Theory 7 in response to his/her questions on the RCP/IRIM.

The founders of MIM were quite familiar with the RCP and its practices in the

Cambridge/Boston area. Debate centered on Trotskyism (conscious and unconscious), relations between the vanguard and mass movements and party internal life.

There were numerous practices that MIM founders were dissatisfied with in the RCP, but

today MIM is trying to focus on issues of the RCP's broader line.

Comrades who are dissatisfied with the responses to the RCP found in existing literature distributed by MIM should write with their inquiries and comments. It is not MIM's policy to go into much detail on this subject in public.

Do more on Iran and Kurds!

Dear MIM:

Revolutionary Greetings! I sincerely thank you for providing me with copies of Iran in Resistance and Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas "Draft of Program."

The National Workers Network was truly correct in stating in the Underground Notion, "Their attention [MIM] to the needs of, and work with, prisoners is unparalleled." Again, thank you for your "unparalleled" support, and I hope you will provide me with more literature in the future. Strength in Struggle!

P.S. I strongly encourage you to, in the future, publish, in MIM Notes, articles on the Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas struggle for the liberation of Iran in unison with the Kurdish people's struggle for liberation and self-determination throughout the Middle East.

In solidarity,

—Comrade from West coast
April, 1988

MC5 replies:

The National Workers Network put a blurb in its newsletter the Underground Notion which said what the comrade above quoted. While MIM is grateful for the attention, it should be said that MIM is a small group of modest capabilities.

We have just received word that the National Workers Network is now defunct.

Uses lit list in college

Dear MIM:

I do want to be on your mailing list. I find your materials do make a difference in my college studies. I no longer rely on newspapers so I guess that is what happens when one begins to think independently.

—Student in the Northeast
March, 1988

Obituaries:

John Chase

A supposedly deranged vagrant shot and killed a Dallas police officer by using the officer's gun. Police then killed the vagrant.

The officer was white and the assailant Black.

Apparently, Chase was writing a traffic ticket at the time.

Chase and the assailant named Williams were arguing when Williams took the gun. Two to 10 people in the crowd told the vagrant to "shoot him, shoot him."

The bourgeoisie has rallied all its own forces and allies in this incident. "Dallas billionaire H. Ross Perot and oilman Ray Hunt have offered planes to transport officers to Chase's funeral. . . . Fort Worth-based American Airlines offered a jet to fly officers and family members to Des Moines." (AP, Ann Arbor News, 1/26/88, p. c4)

Hundreds of middle-class pig-supporters marched on City Hall as the police attempted to capitalize on the officer's death by using it to squelch criticism in City Council. The Dallas Police Association and the police chief asked the mayor and three city council members not to attend the funeral, but changed their minds later.

Police blamed city council members for the shooting. Some had supported a congressional investigation into charges by Black leaders that police has used excessive force in killing several Black people. (AP, Ann Arbor News, 1/25/88, p. c2)

Police Chief Billy Prince complained about "constant bashing" on the police: "The feeling and atmosphere of controversy and criticism that permeated this past year . . . you take someone a little mentally deranged, and the circumstances are just right and they're on the edge, it makes them just bold enough to attack an officer." (AP, Ann Arbor New, 1/26/88, p. c4)

Many government offices put the flag at half mast to honor Chase. At least one, flag did not fly at half-mast. The reason the Black government official gave was that the flag did not fly at half-mast when a Black officer was recently killed in trying to prevent a burglary.

What did you expect?

North calls indictments an honor

Oliver North gave the commencement speech at Jerry Falwell's University in Virginia, called Liberty University.

Falwell compared North to Jesus in his own speech by saying Jesus was also indicted, convicted and crucified.

Die-hards in Virginia are attempting to draft North for a Senate race. (New York Times, 5/3/88, p. 12)

Methodists continue heterosexism

"The chief policy-making body of the United Methodist Church voted today to maintain its position that homosexual behavior is 'incompatible with Christian teaching' and a bar to the ordained ministry." (New York Times, 5/3/88, p. 13)

There are about 9.5 million Methodists in the US.

On the other hand, at least the church made steps towards adopting gender-inclusive language when referring to Father, Son and Holy Ghost. (Ibid.)

Rev. Moon still buying up friends (Detroit Free Press, 12/20/87, p. 1)

A group named Christian Voice joined with Moon's Unification Church to establish the American Freedom Coalition, which seeks to move the Republicans right or form a third party.

Behind the coalition is Richard Viguerie, who himself was "rescued from the brink of bankruptcy in October by Bo Hi Pak, a former Korean military intelligence officer and Mr. Moon's top U.S. operative." (Ibid, p. 15a)

Others coopted by Moon including former critics are Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, Former Treasury Secretary Robert Anderson, New Right lobbyist Warren Richardson, Eugene McCarthy, Terry Dolan and Neal Blair.

Falwell declined a \$1 million dollar to give one speech in Seoul.

Since 1980 Moon has made at least \$165 million through high-pressured sales in Japan of religious artifacts and talismans. One estimate is \$800 million.

"Detroit officers suspected of crack ties"

According to police officials and investigators, 125 Detroit police officers are under investigation for involvement with crack. Detroit has a total of 5,000 officers.

On April 20th, reputed drug-dealers shot and killed Officer Paul Dunbar, who had robbed the drug-dealers' house.

"Among the cases under investigation by the police Internal Affairs Section are:

- Three groups of officers, operating in three precincts where they are assigned, who are believed to be robbing crack houses.

- Several supervisory officers, who hold the rank of sergeant or lieutenant, for using powdered or crack cocaine.

- Two officers who owned homes that were raided by narcotics officers because they were suspected crack houses. In one of those cases, the officer was living in the house at the time.

- An officer who was the victim of a street robbery after walking out of a crack house where he had been buying drugs.

- Several officers who are both selling and using crack cocaine obtained during shakedowns of street drug dealers." (Detroit Free Press, 5/5/88, p. 1, 18a)

President pushes astrology on masses

According to Donald Regan, "virtually every major move and decision the Reagans made during my time as White House chief of staff was cleared in advance with a woman in San Francisco who drew up horoscopes to make certain that the planets were in a favorable alignment for the enterprise." (Detroit Free Press, 5/9/88, p.1)

Furthermore, "Regan blames the president's four months of isolation during the height of the Iran-contra scandal in the winter of 1986-87 on the astrologer's warning that those months would be ill-starred for the president to travel or appear in public." (ibid.)

Other decisions including getting the CIA director to resign, the 1987 State of the Union address and the missile pact with the Soviets were said to be governed by similar guidance.

The worst part of all this is that the publicity will embolden liberal opponents of the president to say that he is just stupid or mistaken in his policies, and not an expression of the ruling class's interests. At the same time, supporters of the president will probably look at astrology more favorably.

Pentagon can afford budget cuts

Frank C. Carlucci, the Defense Secretary ordered \$33 billion in defense cuts for fiscal 1989. "At \$290 billion, it [the war budget—ed.] will also be less than the \$296 billion" (New York Times, 12/5/87, p. 1) for fiscal 1988 already appropriated.

These cuts are the largest even discussed during the Reagan administration; although they amount to less than 15% of planned expenditures and less than a 2% cut from the previous year's budget. (It just goes to show that when the Pentagon asks for

outlandish appropriations to begin with, it can afford the appearance of cutting back later.)

Surprise, surprise, the cuts are aimed at helping Republican Party candidates say that they helped build up military strength and supported military cuts at the same time. It just goes to show that with such huge resources at its disposal, the Pentagon can afford to play a numbers game for the public and mislead public opinion.

By alternating between hawkish calls for defense build-ups and calls for trimming of fat, the ruling class intentionally confuses the public on what it is doing.

Meanwhile, in reality, the Pentagon has more money than it knows how to spend.

Judges are corrupt

Judge William Haley Jr. admitted to taking bribes to fix traffic tickets and to tax evasion. He refused to finger other judges who are under suspicion in Detroit's two courts.

The judge had served 6 years on the bench. (Detroit Free Press, 4/15/88, p. 1)

Arias favors US intervention

President of Costa Rica Oscar Arias said the US should "send in the Marines" if Nicaragua threatens its neighbors or engages in expansionism. (Michigan Daily, 2/3/88, p. 1) Arias also supports aid to the Contras according to Michigan House representative Carl Pursell.

Denying the assertions of Secretary of State Schultz and Pursell, Costa Rican ambassador Emilia Barish said that he did not think that those were Arias' views. Of course, with a peace plan with Arias' name on it, the ambassador was obliged to deny that Arias opposed his own peace plan.

Arias' peace plan for Central America won him the Nobel Peace prize in 1987. (Ibid.)

Falwell still backs apartheid

Jerry Falwell and Citizens for Reagan (with 100,000 members) urged followers to boycott HBO because of a "dramatized biography of Nelson Mandela" that HBO ran. (Anthony Lewis, Ann Arbor News, 9/23/87, p. a9)

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MIM THEORY 1/7/85

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AN OPINION ON THE JOBS WITH PEACE LINE

Often times in the US the connection between the the issues of imperialism and jobs at home are linked together. Obviously the "guns or butter" issue comes up every time the Congress makes an appropriation, but perhaps even more revealing, proponents of US corporate withdrawal from South Africa point out that the \$14 billion invested in South Africa means that much less invested in the US. Successful divestment legislation in Massachusetts called for investment in Massachusetts instead of South Africa and legislation that failed in the lame duck Ohio legislature did the same. South Africa is one big runaway shop using virtually slave labor. This is true and no Marxist should try to deny it. However, Marxists should point out whose interests this kind of statement is in. It is the American middle class and industrialized labor that are most concerned about runaway shops. What does this mean for revolutionary strategy and the "jobs with peace" line?

From the standpoint of the international proletariat, it is the middle class that benefits from the raising of the jobs with peace line in the US. Proletarians are by definition that class of people who sell their labor-power at such low wages and in such insecure conditions that they "have nothing to lose but their chains." Obviously, the autoworkers' loss of jobs by Ford's operations in South Africa does not qualify. The exploited do not care who exploits them and where they are exploited.

Does this mean that people who uphold the "jobs with peace" line are enemies of revolution? No, in fact they are part of the united front in certain circumstances. The unions that only push for protectionist trade are working to save their jobs, but this is not progressive in the context of the US. However, when the unions support divestment--though for the wrong reasons--they are part of the revolutionary proletariat's united front. That is if you accept as I do that divestment is a revolutionary demand. The same is true of anti-intervention and anti-militarist rallies. In these rallies, forces that raise the "jobs with peace" line are our allies, for the wrong reasons.

It all depends on the line that is leading. Pro-divestment rallies, anti-draft rallies and anti-nuke rallies are generally objectively revolutionary as opposed to imperialist because their demands can not be satisfied in the given historical context by any other means than revolution. On the other hand, an organization that only presents studies to the Congress that show that more jobs are generated by non-military than military spending is just a think tank for the bourgeoisie struggling to pacify the masses.

MIM THEORY

no. 2/3
2/10/86

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

ON PERU'S SHINING PATH/ ON SEXUAL ORIENTATION

PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS FOR "MILITARIZATION OF PARTY"

Recognizing the profound universal significance of Maoism for the development of Marxism-Leninism, the Peruvian Communist Party is working to develop and apply Mao Zedong Thought to the question of the vanguard party's relationship to the military. According to a speaker from the World Tour to Support the Revolution in Peru, Chairman Gonzalo supports the "militarization of the party."

In the imperialist dominated countries, comrade Gonzalo stresses the political necessity of armed struggle. Formed in 1928, the Communist Party of Peru had two years of development before it was sidetracked. For 30 years, the rightists dominated the Communist Party of Peru. Then in the midst of a wave of spontaneous struggles of the Peruvian peasants, workers and students and the rising crescendo of revolution in China, a red faction formed in the Peruvian Communist Party led by Comrade Gonzalo. According to the speaker from the World Tour, the Peruvian Communist Party marks its formation as a Leninist party of a new type only in 1964 when revisionists were finally expelled from the party. For 15 years, the party of a new type prepared for armed struggle. In 1979, the party finally agreed to go over to armed struggle after prolonged struggles within the party. From 1980 to this day, the Peruvian Communist Party has led the armed struggle of the Sendero Luminoso.

Criticizing the FMLN of El Salvador for not forming a vanguard party to lead the masses' armed struggle, the PCP points out that the masses are politically disarmed as a result of the eclecticism, revisionism and opportunism of the FMLN's leaders and its social democratic political wing--the FDR. While the speaker did not waste his time pissing on the anti-imperialist struggle of El Salvador, he made it clear that Peru's armed struggle took a different form because of the leadership of the PCP. The PCP has vowed to never lay down its arms.

In El Salvador, the military wing of the FMLN is viewed by at least its pro-Soviet revisionist leaders as a terrorist bargaining chip to gain a share of parliamentary power in coalition with the social democrats of the FDR. Armed struggle need not win or lose, only serve as a bargaining chip according to revisionists.

In Peru, there is also such an arrangement led by the pro-Soviet supposed communists. It is called the United Left. The pro-Soviet revisionists, Dengists, social democrats and all other kinds of revisionists agree to stick together to gain electoral power and then divide up their power afterwards. In this strategy, the pro-Soviet revisionists have organized the largest of four unions that have organized the one-sixth of the 40% of the Peruvian masses who have steady jobs. They try to convert economic struggles into parliamentary power. The PCP says this is a farce because real power is in the military.

The "militarization of the party" is also a development of the program of the Gang of Four in China. According to the speaker for the tour, Jiang Qing favored the formation of militias which would eat up the army bit by bit. In fact, this did happen in China in the 70s. A militia of over a million formed in Shanghai for example. Bourgeois observer Roger Garside has detailed the events leading to the coup in 1976 and the possibilities of the militia led by the Gang of Four in his book Coming Alive: China After Mao.

The theory behind the people's militia was sound. The standing army of the People's Republic did form a material basis for the coup as comrade Gonzalo apparently stresses. Regional commanders protected Deng after he was purged from his state posts one last time in 1976. The same commanders forced Hua's hand in the arrest of the Gang of Four. Comments by Deng show that he considered veteran regional commanders to be a base of his power. It is also clear that leading generals from China's Liberation did not have an active hand in the Cultural Revolution, and for the most part behaved as bourgeois

nationalists stuck in the first stage of China's revolution called the New Democratic stage.

A standing army is by definition a professional army. Although the effects of rank were mitigated, there were ranks in China's professional army. Experts in the army had much the same power as experts in production. By arming the masses of workers and peasants, the Gang of Four hoped to insure against the ever present possibility of capitalist restoration. Comrade Gonzalo suggests that even before socialism, the vanguard party needs to politically prepare people to arm themselves and seize power. Hence there should be no separation of the army and party; although, the details have yet to be worked out completely.

This question deserves more study. Although it is clear that the army did serve as a basis for the counterrevolutionary coup in 1976, it is not clear that Mao did not adopt the best strategy in fighting that eventuality. Mao adopted three strategies in handling the possibility of the army's getting out of hand.

First, the People's Liberation Army of China held repeated campaigns to serve the people. Indeed, the PLA kicked off the campaigns that led directly to the Cultural Revolution. Army members, as during the War of Liberation, took part in production so that the PLA would not be a parasite on the people. The Learn from the PLA campaign also demonstrated that people in the army could be models of politeness and political studiousness. While the army had to know how to fight, it certainly received training in staying close to the masses and serving the masses through public works.

Secondly, Mao had separated economic and governmental administration from the military. People in the military were not the same people who led the party except for a few such as Mao, Lin and Deng. Comrade Gonzalo points out that the Gang of Four of China certainly had leading posts in the party, but they did not have corresponding posts in the military; although, the military might have had campaigns at times to learn from the Gang of Four. On the other hand, precisely because the ranking military leaders and others were not the leaders in the party, they did not have economic and governmental administration experience. Quite frankly, power flows from the barrel of a gun, but the army leaders at least could not directly form the bourgeoisie in the party. They needed heads of state like Liu, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping to articulate their concerns. Chairman Mao was able to keep the army from physically attacking Cultural Revolutionaries through his preeminence in both the party and army. One implication of Comrade Gonzalo's plan is that the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the party

Finally, during the Cultural Revolution, the ultraleft pushed for "dragging out the handful of capitalist-roaders in the army." Circles very close to Mao advocated this position. Indeed, they won out momentarily before being purged. It seems likely that Mao would have supported this position if it were feasible. Instead, Mao called for the army to support the Left in the Cultural Revolution. He said that the beauty of this was that the army itself would become politicized in deciding who is Left or not. All participants involved would see that there are two lines struggling. Hence, the PLA was not monolithic and Mao saw this well enough to be able to politicize the army and make contradictions for reactionary army leaders.

In the end, people's militia's are the way to go. However, comrade Gonzalo points out that even Lenin had to rely on a standing army to defeat the invasions of 14 imperialist armies. Later it formed the basis for party-splitting and the coup from 1953 to 1956. On the other hand, a successful revolution in Peru may face the same problem on a larger scale. There is no friendly socialist bloc for Peru to lean on and Peru is in fact much smaller than the weakened Soviet Union of 1917.

Even so, it is not a simple matter to conclude that therefore comrade Gonzalo is wrong. Today, unlike Lenin's time, any genuine revolution benefits from the historical experience of the international communist movement. One of the lessons that is taught again and again is not to adopt pragmatist solutions for fear of losing. A principled loss could form the basis of later victory, as in the case of the Paris Commune. On the other hand a capitulation to revisionism or imperialism may gain a movement material support but cause it utmost confusion and eventual disaster as in the case of the PLO. In the case of Peru, it is clear that no standing army or conventional Soviet-style war is going to protect the gains of the revolution. People's militias and People's War is the only way to go. It would be better to let the enemy come in deep and bide time for a final victory.

According to Bob Avakian in Conquer the World, revolutions in the imperialist countries will require standing armies because every revolution has so far. (Conquer the World, p. 8) With that kind of

reasoning, the anarchists would be right that since every revolution has faced capitalist restoration, it's no accident that Leninism ends up as capitalism.

Avakian denies the universal validity of the Chinese experience in the struggle against capitalist restoration. He does not explain why people's militias would not be equally appropriate in the United States. Also, he pisses away the universal validity of the Cultural Revolution by implying that it will not be as much of a problem in the United States for the proletariat to hold power as it is in the Third World. (Ibid., p. 37) Of course, Trotsky said the same thing, but Mao has shown that what determines the success of the revolution against capitalist restoration is the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. That means success is determined by the proletariat's dictating over the bourgeoisie in each of society's institutions. It is precisely here that Avakian is disarming the masses with Trotskyist shibboleths. If anything, the army in the United States will serve an even greater basis of revisionism than in China. The American Army will not be hardened by a protracted People's War. Indeed, it will necessarily reflect some of the weight of history in the United States, which is nothing but the genocidal history of the U.S. military composed of the oppressed but run by the most vicious and advanced dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, surpassed perhaps only by Hitler.

political experience and progress. Cultural revolution China provides the most advanced political experience seen in the world yet, but Avakian is already prepared to say that the proletariat of the imperialist countries will have an easier time holding power under socialism and will require a standing army. Avakian: From what concrete experience of socialist revolution in the imperialist countries are you pissing away the Cultural Revolution?

TOUR SPOKESPERSON MENTIONS WAR COMMUNISM

From the speaker's presentation, it appears that comrade Gonzalo sees "war communism" ahead for Peru. That is that he expects the party to have to organize the masses largely by emergency measures and to exact the most thorough-going sacrifices for revolution. It is unclear to what extent that Gonzalo sees this as permanent plan for socialist construction.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND LIBERATION

So-called Marxist-Leninists internationally have a poor record on the relationship of sexual orientation to revolution. Most so-called Marxist-Leninist groups in the US uphold the belief that homosexuality is a form of the decay of capitalism or a product of class society to be eliminated with socialism and communism. Lenin and particularly Stalin said little about sexuality, and Stalin tended toward a straight puritan line. To a certain extent, Lenin and Stalin believed that discussion of sexual matters would cause a diversion of people, especially youth, from revolutionary tasks.

The historical practice of supposed Marxist-Leninists towards homosexuality has not been conscious, rather a simple unquestioned continuation of moral practices from the religiously mired past. For example, Castro jailed homosexuals in Cuba. Judges in Cuba merely cloak old thinking in the rhetoric of "proletarian morality." The current position of the supposedly Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) USA is that the ideology of homosexuality should be reformed in socialist revolution. Significantly its draft of its current program contained a simple paragraph statement that homosexuality would be reformed and ended under socialism. While making such a broad condemnation of homosexuality, the RCP program did not see fit to devote much space to the justification of its view. The RCP's more virulently anti-gay predecessor, the RU did a whole pamphlet on homosexuality as a product of capitalist decay and a bourgeois diversion from revolution.

It is high time that communists examined the issue of sexual orientation. Six to ten percent of the people in the USA are homosexual. This is a large strata of people that faces obvious repressions from the state and the masses as a whole.

Sexual orientation raises as many questions as there are presumptions in USA WASP culture. First, is the question of the importance or role of sex in the first place. Following Lenin, M-Ls tend to downplay sex relative to its preeminence in American culture. Any group arguing for sexual rights tends to be tarred as selfish and narrowly concerned with unimportant matters. Unfortunately, the M-Ls do not say that they are going to reform "heterosexual ideology" during the socialist revolution; therefore, they attack one form of pleasure-seeking but not the other.

Secondly, the issue of the family is not far behind. In these days when artificial insemination, never mind test tube babies, is so prevalent, it is distressing to hear some M-Ls defend heterosexual relations as necessary for procreation. The influence of the Pope is not far behind.

Thirdly, is the husband-wife relation. Somehow, lesbians seem more justified in their actions to M-Ls because they have found an avenue of averting the oppression of husbands and boyfriends. But where does that leave men? If women are more likely to enjoy relations of equality with themselves does it not follow that men do not exploit women if they are involved with men? If M-Ls accept that patriarchal institutions exist, then how can they deny that it would be better for exploiters to exploit each other and weaken the patriarchy than to exploit women?

True, the majority of men are not the target of socialist revolution, just as the majority of whites are not. Still, sexism and homophobia are as much allies of the bourgeoisie as racism. All serve to justify domination. All divide the proletariat and its allies. The handling of these contradictions between the people and the enemy and within the people themselves requires that Marxist-Leninists discard philistine thinking on these matters.

No strategy concerning sexual orientation alone is going to overthrow the state. However, this is not to belittle the spirit of "by any means necessary." Women do not enjoy political, economic, social or sexual equality with men. It is especially loathsome that men through their economic and political power can obtain sex from women with less power. Such power relations are responsible for the fact that women are made into sex objects in advertizing, television and music more often than men. By withholding sexual pleasure from men, not to mention their money and work at home, women exhaust one avenue of power open to them. Objectively speaking, gay men are the flipside of women's all-out struggle against patriarchy, whether they are conscious of it or not.

If sexual rights are to disappear the way national rights are to disappear, there must first be equality in sexual rights--for homosexuals and women more generally. This alone speaks for defense of homosexuals against the state. Just as there must be self-determination for all nations before nations disappear, there must be sexual self-determination and equality before questions of sexuality become irrelevant.

Under communism non-state backed national cultures will flourish and intermingle. Likewise, communism will require a long period of broad-minded thinking concerning sexual/leisure-time activities.

While neither homosexual nor heterosexual leisure-time is the main issue currently facing the revolutionary movement, it is time that M-Ls stopped tailing the most backward sections of the masses and the Pope and Jerry Falwell. Homosexual relations are not necessarily any more selfish than heterosexual ones, and in fact, they serve as one possible means of all-out struggle against the capitalist patriarchy.

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MIM THEORY no. 4

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

W.W. III IS ON ALREADY

BOMBING OF LIBYA: AN AGGRESSIVE ACT OF AN ONGOING WORLD WAR
MIM unequivocally condemns the U.S. bombing of Libya. Polls seem to show that only 23% of the U.S. public opposed this nauseating act of militarism and chauvinism. This makes it especially important that people who read MIM NOTES and MIM THEORY not cave in to superficial public opinion or this escalation of the current WWII.

And it is important to note that the bombing of Libya is not a preparation for WWII. It is an act of WWII. No other organization that MIM knows of officially analyzes the current international situation as one of WWII already in progress.

This distinction is not sheerly academic. There are a number of implications that flow from this theoretical insight forged through MIM's analysis of the international situation.

First, there is no point in waiting for nuclear holocaust to seize opportunities to make revolution. With every desperate act perpetrated by the imperialists in South Africa, Central America or the Middle East, opportunities for revolution open up, as the case of Peru so clearly demonstrates.

Secondly, it is necessary to grasp the current world war to make a break with American or European-centered thinking. By this thinking, imperialism does not bring about world war unless it finally involves "our boys" or, in contemporary times, "our missiles." War does not really count as World War until large numbers of white people die according to most current "Leninist" thinking. MIM repudiates this simultaneously chauvinist and racist thinking.

Thirdly, the battles going on around the world are connected and not isolated events or mistakes. Put together the events in the world constitute world war. Where there is imperialism there are wars between imperialists and against subjugated peoples. Today, the U.S. bloc is making war against the Soviet bloc, mostly through proxy. This is war between imperialist camps. Then there is the kind of war like the U.S./Israeli invasion of Lebanon that killed over 20,000 Lebanese and Palestinians. That is war of the imperialists against oppressed peoples--namely the Palestinians. The U.S. backed apartheid regime averages five police murders a day. That is war against the Azanian people of South Africa. The Soviet Union just increased its military occupation forces in Eritrea by several thousand. That is an act of war. In Central America, the United States' puppet regime in El Salvador bombs its own people and the contras terrorize the Nicaraguan people. That is war. The list goes on and on. By number of deaths or area of the world covered, the current World War is already more significant than the first world war and is catching up with the second one. More importantly, it has already started and

Fourthly, where there is imperialism there is world war. War is not just acts of violence coordinated by military officers. It is the institutional control of Third World peoples and the proletariat of the imperialist countries that means starvation, inadequate health care and living conditions and political and military control. This institutional violence is a part of the objective situation that allows for the creation of class consciousness by the vanguard party.

Finally, the creation of public opinion is not exactly the same thing as revolutionary strategy. The general political line that MIM promotes should not be one of CONJUNCTURALISM. Vulgar forms of pseudo-Leninism focus public opinion on the possibilities for making revolution in the distant future given near-holocaust conditions and a general advancement of objective conditions which make the U.S. and other parts of the world "ripe" for revolution.

It is extremely important on a strategic level to understand that the final seizure of political power in a revolution can not take place at any time that revolutionaries wish. There must be a certain intersection of historical events, a simultaneous occurrence of several

conditions--for revolution to happen. This occasion is known as a revolutionary historical conjuncture.

However, this strategic understanding is not the same thing as a political line for revolution. Specifically, CONJUNCTURALISM as applied as a political line is a Trotskyist deviation, which results in the overlooking of the war and conditions of revolution that already exist in the world today, particularly in the Third World. CONJUNCTURALISM diverts the this worldly Marxist to the next world and prevents an analysis of how to move forward in the present.

Most of the currents in genuine Leninism in Europe and the United States are both chauvinist and racist in their analysis of world war. Worse, CONJUNCTURALISM as applied by signatories of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, such as the Revolutionary Communist Party (USA) will result in blown opportunities to create public opinion. Unless public opinion is created now that connects war all across the world to imperialism and inter-imperialist rivalry, the subjective conditions for revolution will not exist at the time when a revolutionary opportunity does open up in the imperialist countries.

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MIM Theory

An Unofficial Forum of the Maoist Internationalist Movement
Special double issue no. 5, no.6 2/8/87, 2/23/87

ORU dissolves and Women, environment and proletarian democracy

MIM in its official literature on the international situation has set forth the lines of demarcation for Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought — namely the question of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and China. It is thus with disappointment that we report the collapse of another Maoist organization in the United States — the Organization for Revolutionary Unity (ORU).

ORU's dissolution leaves the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and MIM as the only two political organizations in the United States that uphold Mao and the Cultural Revolution.

ORU had written in support of the Cultural Revolution and against the Khrushchevite restoration of capitalism. While individual members of MIM polemicized with ORU, MIM also distributed significant quantities of ORU literature in xeroxed form. Thus, it could be said that MIM took up a line of struggle with ORU and practical unity wherever possible, especially in distributing ORU literature on Central America, the Cultural Revolution, the Soviet Union, Poland and the RCP. For its part, according to ORU spokespeople, ORU studied and distributed some MIM literature. Despite ORU's collapse, MIM will continue to distribute works by ORU unless any MIM distributor wanted to challenge this practice and bring it to a vote.

What follows is an unofficial view by a MIM comrade put forward for discussion purposes.

ORU's explanation

ORU's explanation for merger with two other non-Maoist organizations is attached as a negative ideological example for the reader's benefit. It is a reminder of many questions that confront Maoists and revolutionary-minded people at this time. It is tempting to point to the announcement as an example of the weakness of the Maoist movement at this time, but that would be presumptuous, as we do not know how significant ORU's practices were. It is also always possible that the splintering and reunification of leftist groups is actually the work of the state.

More on who the FRSO is

It is perhaps useful in this instance to employ the RCP's descriptive rhetoric in regard to these organizations: The unity of ORU, RWH and PUL is like that of Lin Biaoists, Hua Guofengists and Eurocommunists respectively.

ORU held that the split between Mao and his second in command — Lin Biao — eventually doomed the Cultural Revolution.

Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWH) is a faction ejected from the Revolutionary Communist Party. It comprised much of the RCP leadership and about 40% of its membership. The internal struggle of the RCP is documented in a book sold by the RCP — *Revolution and Counterrevolution*.

RWH endorsed the arrest of the Gang of Four by Hua Guofeng. RWH never obtained Chinese recognition, however.

As for the Proletarian Unity League (PUL), aside from its theoretical activities, MIM has had no evidence of any political practice by PUL. Perhaps it had merged so well with the Rainbow coalition or the RWH that MIM activists couldn't detect its independent influence.

ORU's gripes with MIM

In member to member polemics with ORU, MIM comrades disagreed with ORU comrades on the nature of the revolution in Nicaragua. One ORU comrade tended to stress that the revolution in Nicaragua was a real one and that it was dogmatism not to recognize it as such.

The ORU comrade, in echoing PUL attacked MIM for seeing itself as the center of revolution. It pointed out the fallacy of vanguardism, mountain-topism, stronghold mentality etc.

Another notable issue is the role of trade unions. ORU claimed roots in trade union struggles and sought to make them a central focus.

Today, as gathered from the ORU announcement, ORU is plugging FRSO work in the Rainbow coalition. (See also the latest issue of International Correspondence, #10, 1987 for a shift of a Stalinist group toward supporting Jesse Jackson) At least some MIM members have held that the Jackson campaign has served to draw Blacks into the Democratic Party, promote illusions and set up the movement against white supremacy for a big fall.

These questions put a distance between ORU and MIM comrades. Both sides inevitably decided to concentrate on their political practices rather than continue full-blown polemics. MIM for its part believes that it is possible for Maoists to have widespread disagreements on the questions raised above in this section.

MIM response: relations with the mass movements

In Marxism-Leninism there is one stupidity with two poles that comes up in the question of the revolutionary organizer's relationship with the masses. On the one hand, there is the liquidationist tendency as evidenced in PUL and now FRSO (also the pro-Albanian tinged Red Dawn Assoc. which recently dissolved) and on the other hand there is the isolated dogmatist position that was especially prominent in the RCP immediately after its split with its Mensheviks.

(This comrade would point out that the Revolutionary Worker has started to carry detailed stories of the mass movements and even photographs of demonstrations. In the past, RCP members had found photographs and stories of demonstrations whether by students or workers or petty-bourgeois forces to be inappropriate for revolutionary purity.)

To the ORU, MIM has argued that starting a group as a party with the aim of becoming a vanguard party is not the same thing as sectarian isolation from the mass movements. It is unfortunate that both ORU and the RCP (until recently, i.e. since about the time their anti-imperialist contingent went to Germany) believe it is impossible to work in close contact with the mass movements without giving up one's independent identity.

The ORU announcement of its own liquidation stresses that PUL and RWH have done considerable work in the trade union and anti-white supremacist movements. They also cite the pro-Deng Xiaoping League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS) as a hard-working organization.

Indeed, collected impressions indicate that LRS members are hard-working. This is also true, however, of many people in the anarchist movement, the Mobilization for Survival, the Democratic Party and countless bourgeois political groups.

Why does ORU seek to join two groups that are so easily overshadowed in terms of "work" by other groups when the RWH and PUL do not even demarcate the same way as ORU on the cardinal questions?

At best, ORU might expect to win the struggle within the democratic centralist organization on the questions of the Soviet Union and China. This seems unlikely given that it appears that FRSO has no definite stance on these questions at this time. The probable numbers involved, the likely dishonesty of some forces, future plans for uniting with LRS and a host of other factors make it seem unlikely that there is a basis for uniting previously splintered forces.

Of course, it is possible the majority involved in the FRSO are honest forces. In that case, by-gones will be by-gones if developments turn out other than as expected by this MIM comrade.

Reuniting the past or catching up with the future

We suggest here that the reason ORU joined FRSO is its own demoralization and experience from the '60s and '70s. Instead of seeking out new forces to carry forward the revolutionary banner, ORU drops its banner to follow another banner with '60s and '70s experience.

To an extent, the prestige and model of the Chinese Revolution still exists. Hua and Lin Biao supporters claim a portion of that historical prestige. In a sense ORU is trying to go back and unite some of the forces that fell out in the '60s and '70s.

The problem with this approach is that it does not recognize that there is an actual material and historical basis for the broad political divisions discussed above. There is no reason to expect that everyone would unite on the questions of China and the Soviet Union.

That is not to say that joint work is impossible.

Quite the contrary, even the predecessors of the MIM, the RADACADS had a style of working with several different self-styled parties (and mass organizations) including the RCP, CWP, PL, May 19th etc. On concrete issues there is no problem with this. ORU, however, is not only working with other groups, it is dissolving its own independent organization.

This is perhaps an inevitable result of ORU's own relativist and liquidationist approach to knowledge, political line and party-building as expressed in its criticisms of MIM.

It is MIM's experience that uniting time-tested revolutionaries is desirable but not necessary and certainly not worth the price of giving up propagating correct stances on China and the Soviet Union. One of the lessons of the '60s and '70s is that political naivete exerts a terrible price on fledgling organizations. The movements of the '60s and '70s paid a high price before they realized that they were not monolithic.

If people are not able to agree on socialism where it has already existed, how are they ever going to build socialism in a country which has never had it! To create socialism in the United States will require more, not less unity on questions of the international experience of communist movements, especially in the Soviet Union and China. By overlooking these experiences now, FRSO sets itself up for future failure and factionalism especially if it does eventually attract a large following.

It is foolish to do work in mass movements and expect that these movements will not develop severe ideological conflicts over the international communist movement and the particulars of the struggle in the United States!

MIM members themselves emerged from the mass movements of the '80s — e.g. anti-militarist, solidarity movements etc. All of the founding members of MIM distrusted the RCP for its lack of contact with the mass movements and yet believed it necessary to hold onto certain principles and form an organization leading in a definite direction against imperialism and militarism.

Mao pointed out in the Cultural Revolution that the youth and intellectuals are always the first to come to the fore in revolutionary movements. He also said that the only real political test of these particular groups is their willingness to go amongst the masses.

Nonetheless, there is nothing Maoist about dissolving a revolutionary organization at this point in time. While the revolutionary movements may have many leaps to make until they are ultimately successful, that does not justify trashing everything and starting from scratch.

Correspondence:

Comment on Raymond Lotta's *America in Decline*

Our main disagreement with the *America in Decline* analysis is that it does not really develop our understanding through an analysis of contemporary reality. We feel it is not sufficient to repeat Lenin today.

In this regard we consider that the post-WW2 period should be considered as a distinct phase of imperialism — neocolonialism, where though the basic laws enunciated by Lenin hold good, their forms of motion etc. are different. A major change between the pre and post WW2 period is the change in the relation between imperialism and feudalism in the colonies and semi-colonies and the emergence of new contradictions and class nature of change and of the contradictions which have emerged depend on the internal particularities of the different social formations and to carry out revolution one must focus in understanding this.

Another point of disagreement is the splitting of the 2 forms of motion of the fundamental contradiction. We feel they are not being seen in their interrelationship and interpenetration. Moreover by according the anarchy/organisation contradiction the principal position, the principal role of class struggle as the motive force is being negated.

—A comrade in India

Proposed platform on women and the environment

Women

- MIM promotes full equality for women. Equal struggles bring equal rewards.

- MIM supports comparable worth and other feminist goals.

AS with minorities and other enslaved groups in the U.S.A., MIM recognizes that an international struggle requires men and women working harmoniously together. This cannot be done as master and slave.

- MIM supports free day care for the woman who wishes to work outside the home. The efforts of all are needed. WITH women having peace of mind, they can be more productive and efficient on the job.

- MIM supports the choice of occupation for women, from the bottom of the sea to the ends of the earth to the realm of the clouds.

Environment

- MIM supports the highest concerns for the environment. Without a planet to live on our struggles are for naught.

- The water, air and land must be purified. Toxic wastes must be cleaned up and the cost borne by the capitalist imperialists who manufactured it and dumped it, causing a supreme hazard to the people.

- Harmful food processing for the profit motive must stop. Capitalist supermarkets are full of poison and trash—seductive foods—to deplete the pocketbook and ruin the people's health.

- The manufacture of useless luxuries and harmful items will no longer be tolerated. Pesticides will be greatly reduced and natural methods re-introduced into the land.

- The earth will not be torn asunder and paved over with concrete to enrich the builders and developers (destroyers).

Quality of life

- Under the MIM animals will not be tortured to make the medical industry rich, and animals and human guinea pigs suffer.

- MIM offers the choice of voluntary euthanasia for the terminally ill. People do not need to suffer and be tortured during their last days on earth to enrich the medical industry, the lawyers, and others of their ilk.

General—points numbered for discussion immediately following

- 1. MIM invites lovers of freedom everywhere to join us in this struggle for human rights and dignity. Basic freedoms belong to the people. We must control our own affairs. Goods must be produced for use rather than profit.

- 2. The right to free speech is a human right, not to be taken away by mankind. A benevolent system of government need not fear the people's voice. It is the lying dogs of capitalist imperialism who fear the truth and suppress the people.
- 3. MIM offers the right to fight for what is right and life-giving for the people. People have the right to work for a living wage and a modest life of decency. Too often in the capitalist world nincompoops, knaves and the mentally ill are bright enough to earn a degree and thus lord it over the people.
- 4. With MIM the common citizen with common sense will reign supreme.
- 5. The worker and farm families that support the rest will rise to the top.
- 6. AS with Mao-tse-tung's Long March, the people, will succeed. The people will revolutionize the world. All oppressed people will join and make the world a better place.

Comment and alternative to part of proposed platform on women and the environment

It is good to see this ambitious platform in such a concentrated form. Mostly I support it. I have no problem supporting the points in the subsections "women, environment and quality of life" as long as it is recognized that there is more to say on these subjects and that the demands are largely minimal program demands. By minimal demands, I mean that to ask the capitalist manufacturers to pay for the cost of toxic waste cleanup presumes that there will be capitalists. In other words these are demands that can be made right now without revolution; although, it is debateable how much these demands can be achieved without revolution.

As for the more generally oriented comments, I support the general thrust but not the wording. It seems especially the case that words such as "rights," "dignity" and "freedom" are confusing ones. For the most part, the bourgeoisie owns these words because it uses them the most, no matter how hypocritically.

Is not the word freedom most frequently repeated in the mass media to oppose genuine communists and social-imperialists? Are not the Contra "freedom-fighters" in Nicaragua simply terrorists? Words such as "freedom-fighters" are so grossly distorted, they are not worth fighting for anymore. (See Christopher Caudwell, *Further Studies in a Dying Culture* for a Marxist discussion of freedom.)

It was this problem that Lenin addressed by calling socialism a million times more democratic than bourgeois democracy. To the extent that democracy means participation of people in society, socialism is one million times more democratic than bourgeois democracy. To the extent that democracy includes the "freedom to exploit," "freedom to be exploited," "freedom for the bourgeoisie to do unto others" etc., socialism is not democracy but dictatorship.

Is it not true that the word "rights" is emblazoned in the Constitution but is nothing but a concept? Ultimately, the word "rights" as it is used today comes from 18th century thought which held that God vested himself in individuals and thus to violate certain aspects of individuals was to violate God.

Needless to say, communists are atheists and can not confuse the people with the rhetoric of rights. For example, women do not have the right to abortion because God is not in fact guaranteeing it for women. Even now it is somewhat practically limited in the United States, and the move is afoot to make abortion illegal. What is more some people are saying that fetuses have rights etc.

Nobody has rights. There is only struggle over power. Women will very likely lose the God/Constitution interpretation game in the Supreme Court. Concretely, however, women have the possibility of struggling for the power to prevent this.

Another point on rhetoric that I would make is that the ruling classes of all ages have called the masses stupid, incompetent, crazy, mentally ill, lazy and otherwise unfit to rule. As communists, we should not care to use such characterizations. If the masses are not acquainted with Einstein, can not program a computer or understand Shakespeare, it is just that ruling class never provided the proper opportunity. In order to mystify the masses as to the source of their ruling power, ruling classes have intentionally encoded knowledge in such a way as to make it inaccessible to the masses.

As communists, we say "smart" people figure out how to make their knowledge and skills accessible to other people.

As for calling Reagan or other ruling class people "stupid" or "crazy" as the liberal intellectuals do, we say Reagan does what is in the interest of the ruling class, no matter

how strange that may seem. Reagan is not war-crazy. He is driven to war by his capitalist system.

Overall, I would rewrite the points in the general discussion as follows:

•1. Goods must be produced for use, not profit or some other exchange-value (monetary-denominated) goal. To do this, the people, especially the proletariat must see to running all of society—economy, administration and the state especially.

•2. The common citizen of the United States is middle class and can just as easily ally with imperialism as with the proletariat. For the dictatorship of the proletariat to stay afloat in the United States in its present form would require too much repression of the middle class masses. The dictatorship would eventually fail without a mass base.

Unless the middle class meets destruction over a period of time in pre-revolutionary capitalist society, *the mass base for socialism will have to come from outside the existing United States*. This means opening up for immigration from the Third World to double or triple the population of the United States or to somehow give access to government resources to the people of the Third World perhaps by voluntary federation of countries. As the United States has superexploited the Third World for so long, it is the duty of the communist to see to it that the line of the international proletariat, not the middle class, is in command in the United States.

•3. It will be necessary for the vanguard party to seize the mass media for itself in order to make up for years of oppression of the proletariat at home and abroad, women, minorities etc. After decades in which the vanguard party makes up for capitalist media distortions, the mass media will no longer be the monopoly of the vanguard party.

Once the rule of the international proletariat is established, however, "free speech" for all shall be guaranteed by the force of the state. No one shall have the "right" to buy space or time in the mass media with unearned income. There will be a kind of sweat equity in political participation. What will count is the quality of ideas presented and the fervor with which they are struggled for, not how much money one has to present them.

The dictatorship of the proletariat will ruthlessly crush bourgeois attempts to gain resources at home or abroad that allow the bourgeoisie to present its views disproportionately.

Without control of the state or unearned income to spend to buy up the mass media, the former bourgeoisie and its allies in the middle class will present no threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The political activities of the bourgeoisie will serve as a reminder for the need of continuous revolution.

Thus, communists do not stand for empty "free speech." Rather communists seek the seizure of resources of the state and mass communications by the proletariat and its laboring allies, the vast majority of people in the world. No longer shall the bourgeoisie have all the government and media organs to espouse its views. To oppose such an apparatus with homemade xerox copies such as this is difficult, but the bourgeoisie shall have to once the dictatorship of the proletariat is established.

•4. Once the rule of the proletariat is established in the United States, the bourgeoisie in the communist party leadership shall stand out for its attempts to repress the political activities of the masses. It will thus make itself a target for overthrow by the revolutionary masses.

Please send your comments on this issue. Those who distribute MIM literature should cast their vote for (or against) sections or the entirety of the piece on the collapse of ORU. They should also send comments on the discussion of women, environment and proletarian democracy. Counterproposals are welcome.

MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

Subscriptions 30 cents per issue for as many issues as desired. No post office money orders please.

ORU MERGES INTO FREEDOM ROAD SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

The Organization for Revolutionary Unity is pleased to announce it has joined the Freedom Road Socialist Organization (FRSO), a national revolutionary organization.

To give a bit of history, the FRSO was formed last year by the merger of the Proletarian Unity League and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters. As you are probably aware, the RWH was a split from the Revolutionary Communist Party. Having exposed and repudiated the many and manifest left errors of the RCP, the comrades of the RWH went on to carry out a national campaign in support of the United League of Tupelo, Mississippi as well as numerous local campaigns in support of Black struggles. The RWH has also been very active in the contemporary student movement and trade union work.

The PUL united a number of local collectives in the Boston area in opposition to the dominant ultra-left line of the early 70's, which included premature, almost irresponsible party formation. On the basis of its persistent struggle against left errors as well as its emphasis on the fight to expose and combat white supremacist national oppression, PUL grew to be a national organization. Both PUL and RWH have had extensive experience in the electoral arena and united on the basis of making Rainbow work a central focus.

Not only were the PUL and the RWH from somewhat divergent political backgrounds, but each was quite different from the ORU. What has united us has been basically a firm commitment to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their application to the United States, including hard-won lessons our groups learned from the defeats suffered by Left organizations in the 60's and 70's. This unity became clear across a broad range of issues, ranging from important political line questions such as the vital role of the struggles of the oppressed nationalities to the importance of genuine democratic norms within a democratic centralist organization.

Given our divergent backgrounds, it was to be expected that there would be some substantial areas of disagreement on political line questions. In the process of a two year unity struggle, the majority of the differences that existed, which were few in number, were overcome. A few,

however, were not completely resolved. The remarkably positive experience we shared in struggling toward unity gave us the confidence that our remaining differences could and would, in fact, be worked out in a principled way.

For those of you familiar with the backgrounds of the groups, it probably comes as no surprise that the major area of disagreement was over international line. While FRSO is united on the proposition that the Soviet Union is one of the major enemies of the world's peoples, there remains a range of views on the class nature of contemporary China and the applicability of the Theory of Three Worlds. (We hope those of you who are interested in these issues will consider joining us for what is likely to be a lively debate at some time in the future.)

What we feel is most important, however, is the commitment to revolutionary unity that these merger processes represent. In a period when the survival of revolutionary socialist politics as an organized force in the U.S. seemed in doubt, even small steps toward reversing the trend of dissolution and demoralization are important. We do not see ourselves as the center for the eventual formation of a revolutionary Marxist party, but we do intend to play a role in forming that center.

Our merger process has convinced us of not just the necessity, but also the possibility of struggling successfully for unity among a broad range of revolutionary forces. The most obvious of these is the League for Revolutionary Struggle, whose record of struggle in the people's movements is noteworthy, but we feel it is also necessary to look much further afield - particularly to the isolated independents and collectives which continue to fight against such difficult odds.

That the U.S. Left is in crisis has become a commonplace observation. We would like to remind folks, though, that the Chinese symbol for crisis is a combination of the characters for danger and opportunity. While remaining aware of the dangers, let us reach boldly for the opportunity inherent in the current situation.

RCP update:

Positive trends in the RCP?

RIM publishes magazine upholding Mao

In the last issue of MIM Theory, the collapse of a Maoist organization in the United States this year received detailed attention. This issue contains various contributions on the recent work done by the other remaining Maoist organization—the RCP. The RCP deserves MIM's attention at this time because it has been three years since the MIM's predecessors had to grope to a summation that the RCP did not serve the cause of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought adequately.

MIM's critique of the RCP has gone through three drafts, and still it is not official MIM literature. Meanwhile, three years have passed. Is the need to form "another" Maoist organization of the same nature as it was three years ago? Those who wonder about Maoism in the United States can not help but ask.

This issue presents various views on the RCP.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which took the name of MIM's predecessor organization, has published a slick magazine in support of Mao Zedong's path to communism.

In its original international declaration, the RIM said that the principles enunciated by Lenin remained key to the struggle against revisionism. In the magazine *A World To Win 1986/7* though, the RIM stresses that "without upholding and building upon Mao's contributions it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general." (p. 4)

This is a positive step by the RIM.

The RIM went further to say that "*he [Mao] raised the science of revolution itself to a qualitatively new level.*"

Perhaps this spirit rubbed off, because within the same magazine, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) issued the best statement it has made on Mao Zedong Thought. The statement is not unlike positions taken officially by MIM and developed by individual MIM comrades in literature now under discussion within MIM.

1) the RCP stands against the line that Mao Zedong primarily made his contributions as a military strategist or strategist for the Third World. Indeed, the RCP correctly acknowledges that "Mao's single most important contribution to the body of Marxism is the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." (p. 27)

The RCP goes on to say, "Can anyone deny that upon seizing power in an imperialist country the proletariat will also face very acute contradictions between the socialist road and the capitalist road? Certainly the soil for new bourgeois headquarters to arise within the party in power will be at least as great in a (formerly) imperialist power as in former colonies and semi-colonies." (p. 27)

2) the RCP recognizes the internationalist stance of Mao by quoting him to the effect that the final victory of socialism can not be won but on a world scale.

3) the RCP upholds Mao in "On Contradiction" by pointing out the need to develop the internal basis of revolution in the United States and other imperialist countries. "Communist have to learn to seize hold of the contradictions within society and not wait hopelessly for "deus ex machinas." (p. 29)

4) the RCP recognizes internal struggle as the lifeblood of the party. "The need to keep the party truly revolutionary is universal."

5) the RCP raises discussion of the united front, which it started in 1969! "Mao stands in sharp contrast to all those many forces which declared united front on Monday only to essentially liquidate the independent ideological, political and military role of the proletariat on Tuesday morning." (p. 34)

6) the RCP quotes Lenin on the necessity of the struggles of the masses with all their impurities and basically anti-capital thrust. (p. 35)

7) the RCP recognizes that Lenin's military tactics did not show the genius that Mao's did in establishing power on a proletarian basis. If the military in the imperialist countries is not handled correctly, it will serve as a basis for counterrevolution.

Comrades, it seems that the RCP is moving in a good direction. The theoretical/line statement in *A World to Win* by the RCP along with the improvement in the Revolutionary Worker in reporting on concrete mass movements from an independent and revolutionary point of view—recent articles on the Hormel strike, previously taboo—are credits to the RCP. (See "Chicago Irangate Forum," 2/23/87, "Howard Beach: Double-Edged Indictments," "Kiko Martinez Sentenced," "Protests Against Amerika," 2/16/87, "Revolution Books Forum on 'Crisis in the Middle East,'" "Breakdown the Border Conference," 3/2/87)

It seems that since the publication of "Support Every Outbreak," the concrete experience of the anti-imperialist contingent sent to Germany, the creation of No Business As Usual and RCP participation in other mass movements, the RCP has demonstrated some genuine practices of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

MIM must encourage such trends and give credit where credit is due. It would not be correct to attack the RCP the same way all the time while the RCP's practice and line change.

At the same time, MIM must not hastily generalize that MIM's independence as an organization is no longer required. Indeed, the sketchy information offered here does not touch upon the issue of whether or not various individuals in the RCP leadership are genuine. Nor has MIM done a recent collective investigation of the RCP's internal and external political practices.

Rather, MIM members must constantly investigate and re-evaluate the RCP in a more thorough-going way. The RCP's nature is not a simple issue.

Correspondence:

Comment on the formation of an international communist organization

On the question of democratic centralism at the international level, we do not think that this is simply a question of the present situation. The problem involved here is whether we can conceive of an International organisation as a World Party with its norms of democratic centralism. Our evaluation is that such an understanding would ignore the reality of the present world and the complexities of world revolution finally turning into a straitjacket rather than aiding the process of communist revolution.

Thus we see this as one of the reasons, and an important one, for the ready acceptance of the dissolution of the Comintern by the then Communist parties. In other words the problem is not one of correcting bureaucratic tendencies as manifested in the Comintern in the past but of criticising the basic concept on which it was founded. This is why one of the main tasks in founding an International of a new type is that of seeking out and evolving a viable organisational form.

As you have correctly pointed out maximizing the ideological struggle among genuine communist parties while maintaining a level of unity that is possible is essential for carrying out this collective task. At the same time this unity does not remain stagnant, the development from the Joint Communiqué [referring to the communiqué of the RIM which caused us to change our name to MIM—ed.] to the formation of the RIM was a development of this unity which has still to be carried forward.

On the question of "focussing" on their country—in our opinion this is not bad but good. We consider the main aspect of internationalism to be that of carrying forward revolution in one's own country. The problem is that one cannot do this properly without a correct internationalist line, without a correct understanding of the international situation. Because the revolution in each country is and should be carried out as part of the world revolution.

--A comrade from the revolutionary, Maoist newspaper *Mass Line* of India

Criticism of both the MIM and the RCP

The problem with a paper such as RCP's Revolutionary Worker is not just that we disagree with them on certain points, even important ones. It is that their whole approach is not M-L, but at best that of a petty-bourgeois revolutionary trend. We really suggest looking at some of Lenin's *Iskra* articles, available in two old, red International Publishers "Iskra Period" volumes, for what we see as models of political exposure. This is not to say that other things, such as a lit. list or a "wire service" are of no use. We just don't see that they really show a way forward at this time.

--A comrade from a now defunct organization

Bullets, by Bob Avakian, RCP Publications

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) USA has written a book of little quotations, barbs and comebacks.

The book has a white cover in paperback. It's the size of Chairman Mao's original version of *Quotations from Chairman Mao*.

Unfortunately, the format similarities go beyond size. The quotes are about the length of Mao's. The citations are done in the same style underneath every quote. The chapters in the book are very similar too.

To defend Mao's *Quotations* against the current revisionists in China is different from copying something that Mao himself did not approve of.

Despite Avakian's slap at Mao Zedong and sabotaging of the Maoist movement in the United States, (One has to wonder if he realizes that he is setting himself up the way Lin set up Mao.) there is much to agree with in *Bullets*. Except that MIM analyzes the current situation as a world war, the book's content deserves a 99% rating.

For example, according to Avakian the rape situation in the United States is reason enough to make revolution. Another quote of Avakian's puts pacifism in its place by comparing the violence of the rapist with that of the victim defending herself.

How perfect that the content of Avakian's book will evoke the defense of many revolutionary-minded people. Genuine communists will become attracted to the RCP and their efforts will stand discredited with occasional but outrageous deviations--the attacks on homosexuality, the slogan "Smash busing!" from RU days and now worst of all the personality cult already discredited by Mao himself. MIM must consider the possibility that the RCP is a largely genuine organization led and designed by agents of the state to attract and set up Maoists for discrediting.

Comment on *A Horrible End or an End to the Horror*, by Bob Avakian

First of all, no genuine Marxist-Leninist would even think about "if there's going to be a chance to make revolution." We maintain that either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will bring about revolution. No "ifs," "ands" or "buts."

Second of all--"A Horrible End"?--There's no doubt that a nuclear war would cause the deaths of hundreds of millions of people and the suffering of hundreds of millions more. But--did not the first socialist state in the world emerge during the First World War? Was socialism not established in Europe after WWII? And did not the People's Republic of China emerge after that?

Comrades, I urge everyone to buy Avakian's book and send in criticisms of their wishy-washy, capitulationist, phrasemongering nonsense, and request them to cease calling themselves Marxist-Leninists.

--A reader

Response to comment

This seems a rather harsh assessment of the RCP for the wrong reasons. It seems that Mao's phrase about world war and revolution is no longer completely applicable. The possibility exists for world war that results in the vaporization of the human race. By some assessments, after a nuclear winter (see the work of Stephen Gould and Carl Sagan), the only life that would remain would be that life miles under water in the oceans.

Fearless materialists realize that the human race is not the center of the universe. A nuclear fuck-up on this planet won't mean shit for the universe. Nothing in dialectical materialism says there has to be a human race.

Mao himself believed the human race would end in the long run. "There is nothing in the world that does not arise, develop, and disappear. . . . In the end the whole human race will disappear, it may turn into something else, at that time the earth itself will also cease to exist." (Stuart Schram ed., *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, p. 110)

It is easier than ever for the imperialists to throw away the human race in a single battle. This is a matter of scientific concern, not something that can be refuted by Mao's saying about nuclear war and revolution. Of course, all proletarians wish it were not so that the imperialists could destroy the world in a final battle of World War III, but wishful thinking is not the same as analysis. Just because the stakes are so high, it is all the more imperative that the proletariat use its brains to advance revolution.

The only thing I would offer for certain is that imperialism will die--one way or another.

It is even possible the imperialists and social-imperialists will end World War III, perhaps to clamp down on successful revolutions in Latin America initiated by the Senderos and to prepare for World War IV as press reports indicate they already are. There exists the possibility for the immediate future that the imperialists will muddle through.

In the end, imperialism will die though, either from revolution or nuclear suicide.

Personally, I would offer the probability of 51% that revolution will eventually destroy imperialism after some combination of conventional and nuclear war. The other 49% goes to possibility that the imperialists will go at it full tilt and destroy the human race. In my analysis the two sides have pretty even chances. Perhaps our efforts tip the balance slightly, but not so much as to justify wishful thinking.

Does this mean give up? No, I haven't anyway.

It is true that among a good fraction of the youth there is a line that says the chances of avoiding all-out nuclear war this century are pretty small, maybe 1% or less. With such an analysis, the next step is often to say "live while you still can." These youth justify political apathy and pursuit of yuppie pleasures by saying that they want to live their last few years well.

It is tempting for the wishful proletarian to conclude from the actions of yuppie-pleasure seekers that the 1%-chance-of-life-analysis is wrong, simply morally wrong. This, however, would only be wishful thinking and these youth are not naive enough to be convinced by wishful thinking alone.

Those who say as I do that there is a good chance for revolution need to make concrete analyses that prove it.

MIM's ongoing internal struggle to assess the RCP: What Is the Nature of the RCP? Is It Worth Criticizing?

As I've mentioned, I've never said that the RCP deserves "main blows," but nevertheless my "line" is based on Lenin's conclusions.

To begin with, Lenin called the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks "petty-bourgeois democrats with near-socialist phraseology." Did Lenin spend much time polemicizing against these groups, or did he think that they were not much more than "irrelevant"? The whole point, is that the criticism of revisionism, either from the "left" or from the right is necessary, particularly at this stage of welding a party together. You dwell on your assumption that the rise of the bourgeoisie inside the party has something to do with holding state power. Didn't Mao warn that if the revisionists usurped state power the country would change colors and become a fascist country? Plus, Trotsky did not hold state power--how could he when he formed the "Opposition"? Stalin and the genuine Bolsheviks held state power. The GPCR was a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the questions of who would win out was "not settled," as Mao pointed out. If one holds state power, how can there be an usurpation? Besides the question has nothing to do with holding state power for the simple reason that bourgeois influence and ideology are constantly cropping up in the party. Let us assume a genuine party. How can it be there if a new bourgeoisie is not being generated? I've always maintained that the RCP was a Trotskyist organization.

--A comrade in criticism of an early draft of criticism of the RCP

Response to MIM Theory 5 from a founding member

... We came together because we shared a common viewpoint about how a leftist should carry out both theoretical and practical work. We wanted to achieve immediate political goals even if it meant working with revisionist and opportunist scum, but we also wanted to win over people to fundamental, long term political ideals.

We avoided both the liquidationist error, and the isolated dogmatist error. Effective political organizing requires both achieving concrete aims, and winning people to a political line so they will fight for the right causes in the future.

I think we had the right idea about party-building when we formed RADACADS in 1982/83, and I am convinced that MIM is taking the correct position now in these matters. If one is going to be a Maoist in America, one must follow the MIM line to have any chance for success.

Internal letters of MIM reproduced for discussion
Labor aristocracy, how important in the United States?

On the industrial proletariat--the auto and steel industries, etc. You say "to get to the right strata is difficult." First we have to define it--it is those strata of workers who have the least paying, hardest physically demanding, dirtiest jobs, in industry as a whole, but particularly in large factories in which there are also larger percentages of minority nationality workers. Read Lenin's "Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement," October 1916. In this strata lies the core of the industrial proletariat. Here the link to the national question is obvious. The material conditions of the white workers in this strata undermine the influence of racism, patriotism etc. It is this strata to whom we are supposed to be introducing the ideas of socialism. How you can call sections of the working class middle class is a little beyond me. The size of one's earnings is a factor, but not the decisive factor.

I don't understand your position on Mao's analysis of classes. You say "for one, the proletariat is small and circumscribed here." But not in China, in 1927? What exactly do you mean about the nationalization of the land and factories taking into account "US debts to the oppressed countries"? You may be talking about "unselfish cultural aid," but it is necessary to take into account first the "debts" to the oppressed nations internal to the US borders.

Whether you like it or not, the people who work with their hands in factories are the most advanced class; whether in auto plants or steel plants. There are the bribed upper strata, the "labor aristocracy," which is no small section. If I remember correctly, you mention that you think that the insurrection will be brief and will take place in the armed forces. Again this is where we differ. I don't have any idea what the duration will be, but I do know that a proletarian revolution will be a civil war that will be fought on one side by an army of urban guerrillas who will be for the most part factory workers. Your belittlement of "shop-floor issues" simply shows your impetuosity. What did Lenin write *What Is to Be Done* for? We're supposed to convert economic struggles into political struggles.

--A comrade in criticism of a MIM comrade's line

no. 7 **MIM Theory** 3/22/87

A Response to the Shimo Controversy: Haymarket '86

This issue of MIM Theory consists of an unpublished letter to Popular Reality, which is a so-called marginalist subculture magazine in which anarchists, nihilists and others write. The letter started off commending Popular Reality for its issue number 12 on the debate between the RCP and Shimo Underground on the one hand and some anarchists on the other hand. Some anarchists were upset that a Maoist influence demonstrated itself in organizing for demonstrations to commemorate events in Haymarket, Chicago.

The Shimo Underground is not a Maoist organization, but it shows both Maoist and anarchist influences.

Individual rights: the private property of the political sphere

As a non-RCP and non-Shimo Maoist, I always knew that there were many self-labelled "anarchists," who were soft on the question of private property. In effect, the anarchists are often nothing more than self-glorified civil libertarians. This is the case with those who uphold individual rights, such as the right to private property, the right to hire labor-power, the right to abortion and so on. Ultimately, the position of many anarchists often reduces to the view that individuals have what are in effect a slew of God-given essences.

Instead of explaining why abortion is necessary for the full development of women's role in society and for the end of male control over women's lives, "rights" advocates just claim that individual women have a private essence that should be held inviolable. When the state violates those sanctified individual essences known as rights, many anarchists yell dictatorship and denounce those opposed to "freedom."

For myself, the idea that people have all these rights is not always a bad way of looking at things. After all at least an anarchist by this logic could conclude that the death of Vietnamese or Libyan civilians is significant. Anarchists can be internationalist in valuing the "rights" of all humans equally.

So-called anarchists claim protest property

Still, I knew that anarchists can be soft on the issue of private property. I just didn't realize until I read your issue just how turf oriented so many self-labelled anarchists could be. At least on organizational questions I thought that it would be a very rare anarchist that would be trying to claim a rally such as the Haymarket one as his or her property. Yet, that is what anarchist after anarchist did to exclude Shimo from the organizing process for the Haymarket rallies.

The turfism is especially repugnant because Shimo has publicized the Haymarket event and went out of its way to give credit to various trends without trying to cover up their differences. Shimo published the names and addresses of organizations so that anyone could find out where things are at for themselves. This was truly a blow against turfism. If it were not for Shimo, I would not know about Haymarket or the various groups involved.

Until I read your paper, I thought it was an ultra-Leninist deviation for an organization to claim credit for something that broad social forces have an interest in. Typically, I thought the sneaky tailist party would try to organize a rally or event with broad support and then claim credit for doing all the work. Where there are no parties involved I thought that opportunist careerist organizers would hold a rally and then herd the masses especially as "marshalls" who mediate things with the pigs.

Yet, my trust in self-labelled anarchists on the organizational question seems misplaced. I can hardly wait. Perhaps Haymarket will be an interesting event. Then I will see the Shimo critics claim "We shook up Chicago" just like the Sparts claim "We stopped the KKK" in DC a few years ago when in fact all they did was find the correct rallying spot. What an idiotic thing to try to take credit for—outrage against the KKK. This is especially true when many organizations organized for some time to "stop the KKK." The Shimo critics will try to do the same thing by claiming a monopoly on sentiments surrounding Haymarket. This is truly disgusting.

Those who distribute MIM Theory should send us their votes and counterproposals on this issue. If a majority support the document, it will become official literature of the organization. All comments for publication are welcome.

It does not appear to matter whether a party or individual anarchists are involved: There are those who will try to stake out a turf or create a career out of any movement.

Why democratic centralism is better than everyone for him/herself

Unfortunately, in American society, "leaders" and "organizers" will tend to come from the dominant classes. Unless conscious efforts are made, "leaders" will duplicate the class relations of society in their own organizations or, in the case of some "anarchists," in their anti-organization relationships.

It is only wishful thinking to think that there are any groups in the United States that do not have hierarchy. *Those groups that do not have formal hierarchy have informal hierarchy*, and informal hierarchy is the worse of the two because it simply reinforces existing hierarchies.

In any group, some members work harder, have more money, have more time and more determination than others. When people kid themselves that there is no hierarchy they allow the creation of *informal networks* of power that are not accessible and hence hard to overthrow.

For example, a hard-working anti-authoritarian group may do a lot of work on a project and then have one of two things happen. 1) Someone within the anti-authoritarian group may get more credit for the action than others in the group for any number of reasons independent of the group's internal politics. That person has more friends, photogenic looks or good media contacts. 2) If no one in the group claims leadership for the group, and asserts the group's presence, opportunists outside the group will fill the vacuum and take credit.

A glaring example of what happens all the time on a smaller scale happened in early efforts by RADCADS organizers at Harvard University. These organizers along with others organized a demonstration against U.S. ties to South Africa. By the time the rally came though, a certain hereditary-radical-millionaire-opportunist who is revered by the student paper and who is running for president in the year 2000 showed up with posters for a local union struggle. Some people picked them up and sure enough front page coverage featured a picture of the opportunist speaking to a rally for the local union!

In the case of this opportunist, the true organizers of the event had no recourse because the opportunist did not belong to their groups and could not be disciplined. If a *formal* leader from one of the groups that organized the rally, pulled that shit, s/he would have been kicked out of the group. S/he would have lost the authority delegated to her/him. Precisely because this opportunist was simply a bourgeois politician with *informal* leadership, he was not accountable to anyone.

Like the invisible hand of the market, the invisible hand of anti-authoritarian, individualist politics guarantees the success of opportunism. Given the choice between the hierarchy of the invisible hand of the market/individualism and the visible hand of democratic centralism/collectivism, we'll take what we can fight⁴ and you can't fight what you can't see.

Admittedly, conscious leaders with formal authority delegated from their groups are not necessarily the greatest: for example, Bob Avakian of the Revolutionary Communist Party perhaps generates more controversy in regard to his personality cult and leadership than in regard to the burning issues of the day. However, to the extent that Avakian makes it clear what he is doing all the time, at least members have two recourses—to try to remove him through formal channels or to quit.

On this score at least a vanguard party is open to anyone based on political and ideological line as opposed to unconscious processes in American class society. A truly professional and vanguard party will be able to pay revolutionaries who are young women of oppressed nationalities to organize. That would be real democracy. That would be a way for the truly oppressed to gain a say in things.

Rather than supporting a polity that was every man and woman for himself, the vanguard party would stress democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is true democracy for the oppressed majority because it disallows pluralistic competition which favors individuals and groups with disproportionate power.

Democratic centralism says that one policy of effecting revolution is tried out at a time. That policy is chosen through principled discussion in which attention is paid to issues of class, nationality and gender. That policy is then tried out in practice with minimal interference from contending policy orientations. In this way the vanguard party discovers what policy works and what does not. When an organization pursues several contradictory policies at once, it is impossible to say which policy is responsible for which result.

The fallacy of active leaders and apathetic masses

At any moment there are any number of issues that people would like to do something about—rent control, student governance of the universities, affirmative action demands, environmental demands, women's demands etc. What kills successful mass initiative is one of three things—the international situation, domestic repression or incorrect leadership.

The most common self-fulfilling prophecy is that people do not care about anything and will not do anything. Here it is the leaders of unsuccessful groups that usually blame the broad masses for their own failures. Such leaders are out of touch with the masses.

In reality it is the failure of leadership which causes apathy. The-everyone-for-his/herself situation makes it easy for an individual to feel that s/he is tilting at windmills by working for any social change, never mind revolutionary social change.

Indeed, the cynical individual is right! S/he is tilting at windmills as an *individual*. In bourgeois pluralist society some individuals are vastly more powerful than others; although the rhetoric of free market/individualism/democracy and freedom cloaks this essential fact. The ordinary proletarian, woman or minority person *does not have the means* to make an effective challenge to the status quo.

Usually it is people from the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie who get the idea that they are powerful as individuals and can fight more effectively alone than in disciplined groups. The wish of these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois activists is only that everyone be like themselves.

Thus, it is the role of leadership to provide that information and analysis that shows that there is an opportunity for the change that many individuals already want. It is also the role of leadership to show why it is necessary and fair to use democratic centralism as a means of organizing.

Once people see an effective challenge to entrenched interests, they become more active themselves. They do not become more active when the leaders proclaim their apathy.

That is why Mao always spoke of *unleashing* grassroots initiative. Anybody can see that the people want disarmament, peace more generally and a productive economy. It is the job of leadership and disciplined organizations to unleash efforts towards these and many other goals.

A healthy party that has not been taken over by the bourgeoisie will correct a policy that fails to advance revolution. It is only in that way that the oppressed can hope to institute revolutionary change over the objections of those endowed with capital and other sources of power. If the party proves wrong and even oppressive and reactionary in practice, then Mao advises that the masses can break with the party at any time and rebel.

Freedom rhetoric in the hands of Reagan and anarchists

The criticisms of Stalinoid dictatorship that my elementary school teachers taught me were in the letters such as the one from "a wise individual." Apparently the "standards" "for anarchism or anti-authoritarianism" are pretty "minimal (sic)." Reagan seems to pass them through his denunciation of "state terror" and his opposition to "enemies of freedom."

Here I think that there must be some lack of internationalist outlook. In none of the letters in issue number 12 did I see a discussion of the Cultural Revolution. How can Maoism be denounced as anti-freedom Stalinoidism without an analysis of the Cultural Revolution? What kind of provincial anarchism denounces Maoism in Reagan's terms without referring to the actual experiences of China or other countries that had "Stalinoid" revolutions?

In fact the Shimo critics remind me of Mao's criticism of various ultraleft sects in the Cultural Revolution that tried to establish themselves as the "centers" or "cores" of revolution in individual cities. Mao said they were full of hot air. He did not refer to the revolution as the work of the party or even a coalition of various Cultural Revolution organizations. Revolution in his view is the work of entire classes.

In my own studies and efforts to find real social progress, it is the Cultural Revolution that is the world's most exemplary event in real democracy, real freedom. When Red Guards in Shanghai decided that the party newspaper was full of shit they took it over and engaged the whole city in a massive debate as to whether or not the paper was worth printing or whether there needed to be other alternatives. In this way, everyone gained experience in real political issues and the actual fact that a newspaper is subject to political control. That was an example of real popular control detailed by William Hinton in *Turning Point in China*.

One of the main lessons of the Cultural Revolution was the seizure of power directly through the creation of public opinion and then direct action. Quite frankly, I don't see any anarchist attempts at this kind of genuine participation anywhere with the guts or popular support that the Cultural Revolution had. The only thing that comes close is the attempt at revolution in Spain and even that seems ill-conceived compared with the advanced level of debate of the Cultural Revolution; although, the Cultural Revolution admittedly benefitted from hindsight on many foreign experiences with revolution.

For an anti-authoritarian interpretation of Chinese history, I suggest Jean Chesneux's *China: The PRC 1949 to 1976*. For the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath I suggest *The Political Economy of Counterrevolution in China: 1976-84*, which is available from the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM).

There are many, many serious issues involved in this discussion and it does not help anyone for supposed anarchists to denounce Maoism out of hand. If Maoism really is just Stalinoid dictatorship and oppression, then let's prove it and do a good job of it.

People who want to change the world owe it to themselves to find the most effective means so that they do not repeat the mistakes of others. I don't know any substitute for studying a lot of history. There is an extensive reading list available from MIM on these and related subjects.

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Labor Aristocracy

By MC5

In this special issue of MIM Theory we examine four different lines on the existence, non-existence or size of the proletariat in the United States:

I) *Political line is decisive*, and since Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is a science, there is no need to argue over how to tailor MIM's line to the proletariat of the United States. Particularly in regard to world war, the international proletariat has already said "enough!" No further investigation is needed.

The scientific explanation of World War is in Lenin's book *Imperialism*. This analysis has proved factually well-researched and valid. There is no need to modify the most basic conclusions through an analysis of US conditions.

The advanced are those who respond in action against the current imperialist World War III. These people need to be welded together in a vanguard party to lead revolution.

II) *There is no proletariat in the United States anymore*, only oppressed nationalities such as Afrikans, Mexicanos etc. which have proletarians within their nations. This is the position of J. Sakai, published by Morningstar Press.

A prisoner and another correspondent introduced MC5 to the works of Morningstar Press. MC5 will now bring Sakai's arguments to MIM.

With victory in World War I and World War II, the United States white "settler" population was elevated right out of the working class into the petty-bourgeoisie completely. If there are white working class elements they are scattered, demonstrate no proletarian class consciousness and only hope to gain access to the privileged classes that whites are generally found in.

The bulk of the proletariat in the world is found in the Third World. US imperialism's superexploitation of the Third World and colonies internal to the US has made a frivolous living standard possible for white settlers.

The main problem faced by the US ruling class is how to exploit non-settlers without concentrating them in one place too long where they will become revolutionaries and manage to overthrow the system.

III) *The labor aristocracy, or bourgeoisified working class, has become a majority of the US population*. This is the position of H.W. Edwards in *Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy*. Comrade MC6 upholds this book and MC5 is also quite impressed.

This book is similar to Sakai's in that it uses many indicators to show that there is no proletarian consciousness or culture in the US in order to prove that the proletariat is a lot smaller than usually assumed by the "Left." On the other hand, Edwards implies that there might be a white proletariat; although, he does not discuss any evidence that a white proletariat does exist. Rather, Edwards says the workers are bought into social democracy and/or racism in the West.

This is in contrast with Sakai, who in criticizing the anti-racist movement says that the goal of Afrikans should be national liberation, not integration into the American bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie.

IV) There is the position of the M-L Collective of 1976 that details some of the history of the formation of the labor aristocracy and its pernicious influence. Yet, the M-L Collective position is that *the labor aristocracy is a minority of the United States*. Comrade MC6 introduced this paper to MIM.

In the opinion of comrade MC2 and sometimes MC5, the labor aristocracy is a material basis for social-democracy and general political quiescence. Yet, some *statistics in the most recent years show that increased unemployment, Reagan cutbacks and deindustrialization have started to knock the labor aristocracy down a few pegs*.

This line implies that communists are losing their excuses for not leading a vibrant proletarian movement. It also implies that a forthright struggle may win workers away from social-democratic influence.

TABLE 3.1
Long-Term Earnings Losses of Permanently Displaced Prime-Age Male Workers

Industry	Average Annual Percentage Loss	
	First 2 Years	Subsequent 4 Years
Automobiles	43.4	15.8
Steel	46.6	12.6
Meat-Packing	23.9	18.1
Aerospace	23.6	14.8
Petroleum Refining	12.4	12.5
Women's Clothes	13.3	2.1
Electronic Components	8.3	4.1
Shoes	11.3	1.5
Toys	16.1	-2.7
TV Receivers	0.7	-7.2
Cotton Weaving	7.4	-11.4
Flat Glass	16.3	16.2
Men's Clothing	21.3	8.7
Rubber Footwear	32.2	-9

Source: Louis S. Jacobson, "Earnings Losses of Workers Displaced from Manufacturing Industries," in William C. Dewald, ed. *The Impact of International Trade and Investment on Employment*, A Conference of the U. S. Department of Labor, (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1978), and Louis S. Jacobson, "Earnings Loss Due to Displacement," (Working Paper CRC-185, The Public Research Institute of the Center for Naval Analyses, April 1979).

TABLE 3.2
What Happens to the Earnings of Workers Who Leave the Aircraft Industry (in current dollars)

1972 Industry/Region	Number of Workers	Percentage in Category	1967 Average Earnings	1972 Average Earnings	Percentage change in Average Earnings
Aircraft/inside New England	37,700	64.7	\$9,575	\$11,595	+21.1
Aircraft/outside New England	600	1.0	9,829	11,455	+16.5
Other "Primary" ^a Industries	11,900	20.4	8,733	9,345	+7.0
Other "Secondary" ^b Industries	2,100	3.6	6,054	4,468	-26.2
Not in Jobs Covered by Social Security	3,700	6.3	6,175	0	-
Disabled, Deceased, Unknown	2,300	3.9	-	-	-
Total	58,300	100.0			

Source: Special tabulations of Social Security LEED File prepared by Alan Matthews and Barry Bluestone, Social Welfare Research Institute, Boston College, September 1979.

^a"Primary" Industries include most durable manufacturing, wholesale trade, public utilities, and some services.

^b"Secondary" Industries include most nondurable manufacturing, retail trade, and lower-skill requirement, higher-turnover personal services.

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The Deindustrialization of America

Industry	1961-68	1969-75	Percentage Change
Rubber products	9.1	6.1	-36.2
Glass products	12.0	7.9	-34.2
Steel industry	7.3	4.4	-39.4
Fabricated metal products	8.0	6.4	-20.4
Radio, television equipment	12.2	3.8	-69.2
Machine products	13.9	9.3	-33.4
Farm machinery	8.4	4.1	-51.4
Machine tools	12.9	6.1	-53.1
Electrical equipment (heavy)	13.2	7.7	-49.1
Motor vehicles and parts	16.3	6.7	-64.8
Shipbuilding	5.8	3.1	-47.0
Railroad equipment	7.8	3.4	-56.9
Average for the twelve industries			-46.3

Source: U. S. Department of the Treasury, U. S. Internal Revenue Service, *Sourcebook of Statistics of Income*, Publication 647, (Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office), 1961-75.

Discussion of four positions

In discussions MC2 and MC5 both note the trends of deindustrialization, the growth of the service sector and unemployment and still conclude that *the white worker still expects (and justifiably so based on material conditions) that s/he has more to gain from seeking the privileges of middle class life than from organizing revolution*. Hence, as Sakai points out, even pockets of unemployed miners in the Appalachian region may concentrate their efforts on regaining privilege instead of revolutionary organizing. In any case, such workers are isolated and constitute no material basis for speaking of revolutionary class consciousness.

MC2 and MC5 note Sakai's analysis that the CIO served as the shock troops for FDR's New Deal and that especially since that time, white workers have had a stake in the system. Prior to the 1930s, there were the Wobblies which even Sakai views as evidence of proletarian class consciousness among whites.

The demise of the Wobblies and the Communist Party are important indicators according to Sakai. The problem is not mere false consciousness in a white proletariat. The problem is that there is no white proletariat in fact or consciousness. There is no objective basis for white proletarian class consciousness.

Where MIM has stood, should stand

No one in MIM holds that there is no labor aristocracy in the United States, that its influence is minimal or that the vanguard can just step right into the working class for instantaneous response. MIM has put economism behind itself, at least relative to most "leftists."

Comrade MC5 has held all four lines at one time or another! In practice line 1 has been MC5's and MIM's line. MIM tries to publicize its line as broadly as possible and welcomes all who take it up.

On the other hand, comrades in ORU and occasionally comrade MC6 have criticized MIM for not applying the mass line. According to them, MIM needs an idea of social base.

In practice, it seems to MC5 that line I has some limitations. Line I ends up in pragmatism if only because MIM has limited resources to publicize its existence, events and publications. Line I implies that we discover the best places and periodicals to publicize our existence through practice. For example, identical ads in the Nation, Guardian, In These Times and Progressive, reveal that the Guardian is far and away the best place for MIM to advertise in terms of number of responses. Still, one could argue that without a notion of social base, MIM won't be able to tell which periodical gave us the best *quality* of response.

Problem of MIM's social base

More importantly, if MIM just says its social base is the people who respond to Lenin's line against imperialism and militarism, as it has, then there is still the question of how to most effectively target those people. Will MIM reach them through periodicals such as Aeronautics Review or Psychology Today? Given the choice of distributing limited quantities of leaflets against the bombing of Libya, would we circulate them in Macy's Department Store or in a campus setting? The obvious answer shows that we have some basic sort of notion of who the MIM social base is. Less obvious is the choice between focusing on campus and the proletarian neighborhoods of Detroit.

For now, MC5 would like MIM to distribute both Sakai and Edwards as extremely valuable books. Later as debate within the organization unfolds, MIM should develop its position. The following will focus on positions II and III

Position II, no white proletariat in the United States

“We hold that settlerism is the historic instrument created by the European ruling classes to safeguard their colonial conquests with entire, imported populations of European invaders.” (Settlers: Mythology of the White Proletariat, p. 2)

“In return for special privileges and a small share of the colonial loot these settlers became the loyal, live-in garrison troops of Empire over us. . . So that in South Africa, in Palestine, and right here in the U.S. Empire, the Revolution is objectively locked in battle with the European settler masses.” (p. 2)

“Amerika not only has a capitalist class, but all classes and strata of Euro-Amerikans are bourgeoisified, with a preoccupation for petty privileges and property ownership the normal guiding star of the white masses.” (p. 9)

“Amerika is so decadent that it has no proletariat of its own, but must exist parasitically on the colonial proletariat of oppressed nations and national minorities.” (Settlers: Mythology of the White Proletariat, p. 9)

SETTLERS IS REALLY A BOOK OF U.S. HISTORY, which shows that from the beginning, Amerika was founded on the genocide of the Indian people and the desire of the European masses for their own land.

By 1775, Sakai finds that “70% of the total population of settlers were in the various, propertied middle classes,” which include capitalists, large farmers, small land-owning farmers and various members of the petty-bourgeoisie with their own means of production. Fully 40% of the population consisted of small farmers. White people could migrate to the United States and expect to enter the propertied classes very quickly, and at the expense of the Indians. (p. 10)

80% bourgeois & petit-bourgeois	{	10% - Capitalists: Great Planters, large merchants, etc.
		20% - Large farmers, professionals, tradesmen & other upper-middle elements.
		40% - Small land-owning farmers
		10% - Artisans: blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, shipwrights, etc.
		15% - Temporary workers, usually soon moving upwards into the ranks of the small farmers
		5% - Laborers(26)

This situation caused Marx to comment that “the average wages of the American agricultural laborer amount to more than double that of the English agricultural laborer.” (p. 11)

Significant events in early American history are often tied to European land-grabbing according to Sakai. The Bacon Rebellion of 1676 had many populist overtones, but its real appeal to Europeans was its call to make war on the Indians for their land.

In the American Revolution itself, New York offered 400 acres of land for new enlistments against England. Virginia offered a slave and 100 acres; South Carolina offered slaves from Tory estates. (p. 17)

Even more important class forces were at work in Black enlistment. “65,000 Afrikans joined the British forces—over ten for every one enlisted in the Continental U.S. ranks.” The reason for this was that the British offered Black slaves their freedom in return for freedom. At the end of the war, tens of thousands of Blacks escaped Amerika on British ships. (p. 19)

Throughout U.S. history, there is a cycle of exploitation and dispersal according to Sakai. The settlers exploit internal colonies, especially the Afrikan people, but then as Afrikans become concentrated in urban areas and start to gather revolutionary strength, the settlers insure their dispersal or partial cooptation. At the same time, by allowing white immigration, Amerika made sure that Europeans were never outnumbered anywhere very long.

White masses not uniformly bought off through history

Lest anyone think Sakai is simply arguing that white people are inherently reactionary for some genetic or other pseudo-scientific reason, it is important to note that Sakai sees quite a bit of variation in the white settlers' outlook. According to Sakai, the majority of white people were wage-earners by 1860. Also, many of the newly arrived immigrants had had revolutionary experience in Europe.

At the same time, the white capitalist class solved the problem of its own creation by promising ever greater genocide and spoils for the white working masses. For example, a majority of German and Irish workers voted for mass murderer and perennial advocate of genocide, Andrew Jackson to be president in both 1828 and 1832. (p. 28)

Later in U.S. history, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) developed and Sakai credits this organization of whites as “genuinely proletarian.” (Settlers, p. 66) According to Sakai, the IWW failed both for subjective reasons and objective reasons. Most importantly, the U.S. Empire won WWI and entered a new stage of privileged existence. (p. 75)

In the Depression, white workers would again rise up and show class consciousness, but the New Deal and World War II's successful conclusion put an end to the material basis of this threat also.

Contemporary class structure of U.S.

Sakai presents relevant statistics on the class structure of the United States at various times in history. To bring reader up-to-date, Sakai offers the following statistics: "When we look at the overall distribution of employed Euro-Americans, we see that in 1980 white-collar workers, professionals and managers were 54%—a majority—and service employees an additional 12%. Only 13.5% were ordinary production and transportation workers. . . . By 1982 there were thought to be more Third-World domestic servants in California alone than Euro-American workers in the entire U.S. steel industry." (p. 138, also, see chart p. 147)

1970 Census:

BOURGEOIS & MIDDLE CLASSES — 37%*	
Managers	12.17%
Professionals	15.34%
Salesman, Agents & Brokers	5.20%
Farmowners & Managers	3.11%
Clerical-Admin.	1.15%
CORE OF LABOR ARISTOCRACY — 24%	
Craftsmen	21.82%
Protective security (police, firemen, etc.)	1.90%
WORKERS (INCLUDES MUCH OF LABOR ARISTOCRACY) — 39%	
Factory & Transport,	
Machine Operators	18.31%
Laborers	6.87%
Clerical	6.45%
Retail Sales Clerks	2.31%
General Service	5.30%

(4)

*The actual U.S. bourgeoisie is abnormally large. The wealthiest 1% of the U.S. Empire's population — one out of every 100 adults of all nationalities (primarily Euro-American) — own an average of \$1.32 million each. (5) This is the zone where the upper petit-bourgeoisie and local bourgeoisie meet. Earlier studies indicate that the actual Big Bourgeoisie (DuPonts, Rockefellers, Morgans, etc.) is only a fraction of this number, perhaps as few as 15,000 individuals.

425

Average Hourly and Weekly Earnings

401

HC 875. AVERAGE HOURLY AND WEEKLY EARNINGS IN CURRENT AND CONSTANT (1977) DOLLARS, BY PRIVATE INDUSTRY GROUP, 1970 TO 1985

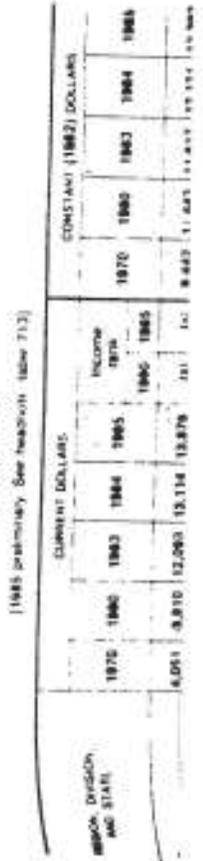
These weekly earnings include overtime. Data are for production and related workers in mining, manufacturing, and construction and non-supervisory employees in other industries. Excludes agriculture. See headnote, table 870. See also Historical Statistics, General Times to 1970, series D 877-892.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY GROUP	CURRENT DOLLARS					CONSTANT (1977) DOLLARS				
	1970	1975	1980	1984	1985	1970	1975	1980	1984	1985
Average hourly earnings										
Manufacturing	3.23	4.53	6.90	8.32	8.57	5.04	6.10	4.39	4.91	4.88
Mining	3.35	4.83	7.27	9.19	9.53	5.23	5.44	5.34	5.42	5.43
Construction	3.85	5.04	8.17	11.63	11.96	6.01	6.70	6.74	6.96	6.83
Transportation, public utilities	5.24	7.31	8.94	12.12	12.31	8.17	8.23	7.30	7.18	7.01
Wholesale trade	3.61	5.88	8.87	8.96	8.85	6.01	6.62	6.52	6.36	6.50
Retail trade	3.44	4.73	6.96	8.85	8.16	5.37	5.35	5.11	5.24	5.22
Finance, insurance, real estate	2.44	3.36	4.66	5.85	5.94	3.81	3.78	3.59	3.45	3.38
Services	3.07	4.06	5.79	7.63	7.94	4.79	4.57	4.25	4.50	4.52
Services	2.81	4.02	5.65	7.56	7.89	4.36	4.53	4.36	4.48	4.50
Average weekly earnings										
Manufacturing	126	184	256	293	296	187	184	173	173	176
Mining	134	191	289	374	386	205	215	212	221	220
Construction	164	249	397	504	520	256	290	290	297	296
Transportation, public utilities	195	266	368	459	464	304	300	270	271	264
Wholesale trade	146	233	351	438	450	243	262	258	256	257
Retail trade	137	183	267	342	352	214	206	187	193	190
Finance, insurance, real estate	87	106	147	174	175	128	123	126	123	120
Services	112	148	210	279	289	176	187	154	164	165
Services	97	135	191	247	256	151	152	140	146	148

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, monthly.

Personal Income

714. PERSONAL INCOME PER CAPITA IN CURRENT AND CONSTANT (1982) DOLLARS—STATES: 1970 TO 1985



(1985 preliminary. See headnote, table 713.)

197

As for poor whites as in the Appalachian region, Sakai has this to say: "Approximately 10% of the Euro-American population has been living in poverty by government statistics. This minority is not a cohesive, proletarian stratum, but a miscellaneous fringe of the unlucky and the outcast. . . . They are scattered and socially diffused." (p. 153)

Thus, Sakai is not surprised to find failure in revolutionary organizing efforts among miners for instance. "The Euro-American coal miners are just concentrating on 'getting theirs' while it lasts. . . . They have no class goals or even community goals, just private goals involving private income and private consumerism." (p. 153)

"Despite the 60 years of repeated radical organizing drives there has been, in fact, zero revolutionary progress among the mining communities." (p. 153)

Conclusion

Quite simply, this is the best book on U.S. history that I have ever read. More than any other book it says something about the internal basis for revolution in the United States. For revolutionaries in the United States, *Settlers* has to rank among the handful of most important books to read. For revolutionaries abroad, *Settlers* is the book to read to understand the United States.

Both theoretically coherent and incredibly historically detailed, this book alone can take a reader a long way towards an appreciation of Marxism-Leninism. In this respect it is worth special distribution efforts even more than a good book such as Howard Zinn's *Peoples History of the United States*. MIM has attempted to buy copies of *Settlers* from the publisher in order to distribute them, but with no luck. Is there anyone out there who can help with this?

Although I have been reading Marx for ten years, I still find this book shocking in a revolutionary sense. I am unable to do justice to the kinds of details that Sakai presents to expose the history of the U.S. Empire.

Perhaps more importantly, and as the book sinks in more and more, I am now able to say that there is no white proletariat in the United States.

MIM Theory is an irregular publication of theory and analysis of the Maoist Internationalist Movement. Each issue is unofficial until and unless a majority of the membership ratifies it after publication.

Editor-in-chief: MC5

Contributors in this issue: MC2, MC6, MC7

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Line III, majority of US population bourgeoisified

WHILE J. SAKAI uses primarily historical evidence to prove that there is no white proletariat in the United States, H.W. Edwards focuses mostly on statistical evidence to prove that the US working class is bourgeoisified. His book is appropriately titled *Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base of Social Democracy*.

H.W. Edwards brings back the debates on the labor aristocracy since World War I. Just as some are now saying that Reagan is wiping out the labor aristocracy, some social democrats and communists seemed to have found the labor aristocracy out of steam before. For example, Dimitroff thought the Depression had "thoroughly shaken the position ...[of the] labour aristocracy." (p. 51) In 1935, Palme Dutt also saw hope: "Many new developments have taken place, among the most important of which are the new processes taking place in the Social Democratic parties, offering hopes of a healing of the split in the working class and of the passing over of the majority of the workers to the revolutionary cause." (p. 46)

Of course, where genuine communists failed to prove Dimitroff and others wrong, FDR did: the labor aristocracy was far from dead, but soon to go in on WWII with the bourgeoisie.

"Unfortunately, Dimitroff had relied not just on the crisis, but on a crisis to which he envisaged only one solution: namely, revolution. It proved a serious and costly underestimation of imperialist parasitism." (p. 51)

In contrast, H.W. Edwards cites Lenin, who said that certain social democratic misleaders of the proletariat may return to the proletariat: "but the TREND can neither disappear nor 'return' to the revolutionary proletariat..."

"We have not the slightest grounds for thinking that these (Social Democratic) parties can disappear BEFORE the social revolution. On the contrary, the nearer the revolution approaches, the stronger it flares up..the greater will be the role in the labour movement of the struggle between the revolutionary mass stream and the opportunist-philistine stream." (p. 52) One should notice how this implies that various divisions within the "Left" cannot be overcome by mere polemics. There exists a material basis for the existence of "the opportunist-philistine stream."

[While we are on the topic, MIM Theory reviews the work of social-democratic and revisionist groups, not because we believe we can achieve unity with these groups, or because we believe we can destroy these groups through the incredible strength of our analysis. The question is only one of degree, especially among those who are just sorting out the differences among various groups for the first time. As Kostas Mavrakis says, we do not want to lose any genuine communists to Trotskyism or a loud-sounding variant of revisionism just because of the confusion out there or the lack of "hygiene" (careful work) on the part of Maoists. We might be able to win over a few people who mistakenly pick another trend, but we can not eradicate the material basis for revisionism and opportunism.]

"Revolutions have never been made out of wishes. . . .I consider it a hindrance to basic change that a decisive section of the world proletariat can allow itself to enjoy, and will defend to the death, privileges which (a) hide its own exploitation and (b) derive from

the blood, sweat and tears of proletarian brothers and sisters in the Third World." (p. xiv)

Scandinavia

In the case of social-democratic Scandinavia, H.W. Edwards finds that the population is mostly labor aristocracy. The mechanisms of extracting super-profits are well-hidden and there is no major direct racial/national question as in the United States. That is why these countries mistakenly appear as paradise to the labor aristocracy and some genuinely confused people.

In a chapter that communists need to expand upon, H.W. Edwards says, "the success of Sweden's mass Social Democratic party is the result, not the cause of Swedish labour's well-being, despite the absence of territorial colonies, but based in large part on foreign economic activities." (p. 60)

Myths of small super-profits

H.W. Edwards reviews various legal reasons overseas profits are underreported by US corporations. He also finds that US exports and investments abroad are much larger than usually thought.

Edwards refutes various social-democratic myths regarding imperialism and militarism. He refutes the notion that militarism is too costly to imperialism and the myth that foreign business operations are too small to create the super-profits sufficient to bribe the labor aristocracy.

As for the argument that the sectors of better-paid workers are declining, H.W. Edwards is quite willing to admit the shift toward the service industries. Edwards points out that the United States is able to go to a service economy because other exploited economies do the work that is of productive value. That the United States does not produce steel, bicycles, electronic equipment etc. only proves that it lives a parasitic existence.

Blacks bribed also

One of the few issues that Sakai glosses over is that of the exact connection between land and nation. Are Blacks exploiters just because they live on the land that was once the Indians'? The logic of *Settlers* would say that Blacks are an occupational force too.

According to H.W. Edwards there is really a two-tier labor aristocracy because while Afro-Americans suffer exploitation through racism, they also benefit from the US's plunder of the Third World. (p. 140) Edwards calls the exploitation of Blacks the existence of a "quasi-colony" (p. 251) in the US.

"On the one hand, it forms a super-exploited internal quasi-colony living among its own super-exploiters and the resulting labor aristocracy. This is illustrated by its wages, standing at 55.4% of those for whites.

At the same time, relative to the world hinterland, the Afro-American community belongs to the U.S. labor aristocracy as a whole — the wages of even its lowest categories are considerably better than the average wage in Black Africa; and, for what it is worth, its average family income is close to the British one." (p. 258)

H.W. Edwards would never support the idea that the exploitation of the working class in the Third World is the same as the one in the imperialist countries.

Explaining American life

Edwards quotes Lenin to explain US political life: "Now the 'BOURGEOIS LABOR PARTY' IS INEVITABLE and typical for ALL imperialist countries." (p. 151) Lenin noted this while he noted the expansion of imperialist bribery of working classes in imperialist countries. Lenin pointed out that in Engels' time, only England could afford to bribe its working class. Since then, Lenin found that all imperialist countries started to bribe their working classes.

In any case, Edwards explains several trends as resulting from or indicating the expansion of the labor aristocracy in the United States—rising participation (%-wise) of the US electorate in the two-party elections for president, decreasing union membership, increasing membership in sports clubs including yachting and golfing, increasing church attendance, increasing family affluence,

increasing meat consumption, increased purchasing on credit, increased appliance ownership, decreasing (low) political dissension rates and decreasing (low) strike rates. (pp. 154-182)

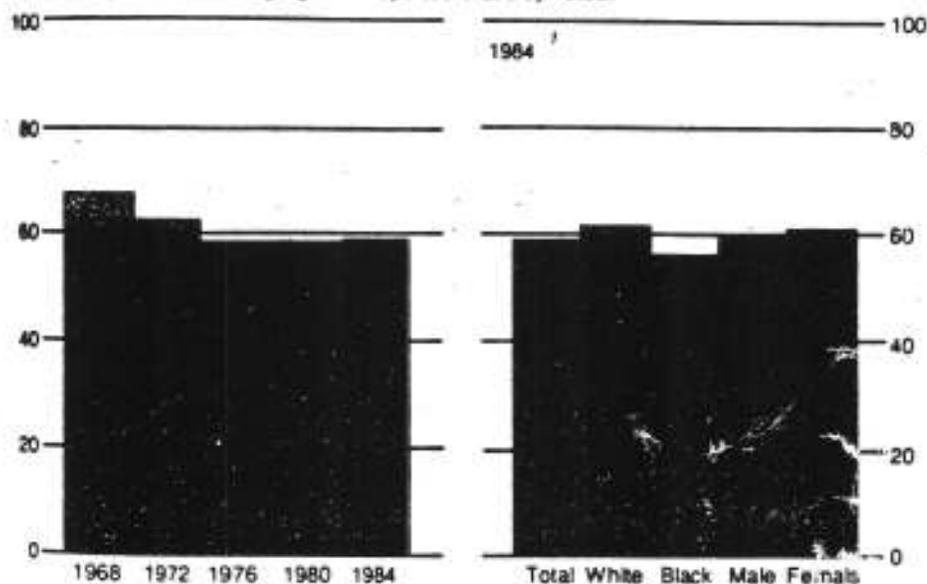
These trends while interesting and persuasive point out the only important weakness of Edwards' book. While the book came out in 1978, parts of it appear to be written in 1968, and some of its statistics only reach as far as 1960. While this book is still of considerable historical and theoretical value, it cannot be the last word on the current situation without some statistical extension.

For example, participation in presidential elections did indeed increase as Edwards noted until 1960. Since then, however, that trend has reversed. Using Edwards' theory, this implies that the labor aristocracy must be shrinking in the United States. (SEE US STATISTICAL ABSTRACT)

Figure 8.2

Voter Participation in Presidential Elections: 1968 to 1984

Percent of persons of voting age who reported that they voted.



Source: Chart prepared by U.S. Bureau of the Census. For data, see table 420.

NO. 420. VOTING-AGE POPULATION, AND PERCENT REPORTING REGISTERED AND VOTED: 1972 TO 1984

[As of November. Covers civilian noninstitutional population 18 years old and over. Includes aliens. Figures are based on Current Population Survey (see text, section 1, and Appendix II) and differ from those in tables 418 and 419 based on population estimates and official vote counts.]

CHARACTERISTIC	VOTING-AGE POPULATION (mil.)								PERCENT REPORTING THEY REGISTERED						PERCENT REPORTING THEY VOTED						
	Presidential election years				Congressional election years				Presidential election years				Congressional election years		Presidential election years				Congressional election years		
	1972	1976	1980	1984	1974	1978	1982	1972	1976	1980	1984	1974	1978	1982	1972	1976	1980	1984	1974	1978	1982
Total	136.3	148.8	167.1	170.0	141.3	151.6	166.5	72.3	66.7	66.9	66.3	62.2	62.6	64.1	63.0	66.2	66.2	68.9	44.7	45.8	48.5
White	121.2	129.3	137.7	146.8	125.1	133.4	143.6	73.4	68.3	68.4	68.5	63.5	63.8	65.6	64.5	69.9	69.9	71.4	48.3	47.3	49.9
Black	13.5	14.9	16.4	16.4	14.2	15.8	17.8	85.5	58.5	60.0	66.3	54.9	57.1	58.1	52.1	48.7	50.5	55.8	33.8	37.2	43.0
Spanish origin ¹	5.6	6.8	8.2	9.5	8.1	8.8	8.8	44.4	37.8	36.3	40.1	34.9	32.9	35.3	37.4	31.8	29.9	32.6	22.9	23.5	25.3
Male	63.8	69.0	74.1	80.3	66.4	71.5	78.0	73.1	67.1	66.6	67.3	62.8	62.8	63.7	64.1	59.8	59.1	59.0	46.2	46.6	48.7
Female	72.4	77.8	83.0	89.8	74.9	80.2	87.4	71.6	66.4	67.1	68.3	62.8	62.5	64.4	62.0	58.8	58.4	60.8	43.4	45.3	48.4
Region ²																					
Northatl.	(NA)	33.9	35.5	38.9	33.3	35.1	38.4	(NA)	65.9	64.8	66.6	62.2	62.3	62.5	(NA)	59.5	58.5	59.7	49.7	49.1	49.8
Midwest	(NA)	39.2	41.5	42.1	38.1	40.3	41.9	(NA)	72.3	73.8	74.6	66.6	68.2	71.1	(NA)	65.1	65.8	65.7	49.3	50.5	54.7
South	(NA)	42.8	47.1	50.6	57.8	48.8	55.4	(NA)	64.8	64.8	66.9	58.8	60.1	61.7	(NA)	54.9	55.6	56.8	36.0	39.8	41.8
West	(NA)	26.2	29.5	33.4	25.0	27.5	31.9	(NA)	63.2	63.3	64.7	59.8	59.1	60.6	(NA)	57.5	57.2	58.5	48.1	47.5	50.7
18-20 years old	11.0	12.1	12.3	11.2	11.8	12.2	12.1	56.1	47.1	44.7	47.0	36.4	34.7	35.0	48.3	38.0	35.7	36.7	20.8	20.1	19.8
21-24 years old	13.6	14.8	15.9	16.7	14.1	15.5	16.7	59.5	54.8	52.7	54.3	45.3	45.1	47.8	59.7	45.8	43.1	43.5	25.4	26.2	26.4
25-34 years old	26.9	31.7	35.7	40.3	29.3	33.4	36.8	66.4	62.3	62.0	63.3	54.7	55.5	57.1	59.7	53.4	54.6	54.5	37.0	38.0	40.4
35-44 years old	22.2	22.8	25.8	30.7	22.4	24.2	28.1	74.8	69.8	70.8	70.9	66.7	66.7	67.5	66.3	63.3	64.4	63.5	49.1	50.1	52.2
45-64 years old	42.3	43.3	43.8	44.3	43.0	43.4	44.2	79.7	75.5	75.8	76.6	73.6	74.3	75.8	70.8	68.7	69.2	69.8	56.9	58.5	62.2
65 years old and over	20.1	22.0	24.1	28.7	21.0	23.0	25.8	75.6	71.4	74.6	76.9	70.2	72.8	75.2	63.5	62.2	65.1	67.7	51.4	55.9	59.9
Employed	80.2	86.0	95.0	104.2	83.1	93.2	97.2	74.3	66.8	66.7	69.4	63.6	62.0	65.5	66.0	62.0	61.8	61.8	48.8	46.7	50.0
Unemployed	3.7	8.4	8.9	7.4	5.0	4.9	10.8	58.7	52.1	50.3	54.3	44.4	44.1	49.8	49.9	43.7	41.2	44.0	28.8	27.4	34.1
Not in labor force	52.3	54.1	55.2	58.4	53.2	53.5	57.5	70.3	65.2	65.8	66.1	61.3	63.4	64.3	58.3	56.5	57.0	58.9	43.0	46.2	48.7
School years completed																					
8 yrs. or less	28.1	24.9	22.7	20.6	24.4	23.6	22.4	61.5	54.4	53.0	53.4	54.1	53.2	52.3	47.4	44.1	42.8	42.9	34.4	34.8	35.7
High school	22.9	22.2	22.5	22.1	21.7	22.3	22.3	63.0	55.8	54.8	54.9	54.3	52.8	52.3	52.0	47.2	45.8	44.4	35.9	35.1	37.7
4 years	50.7	55.7	61.2	67.6	51.7	58.4	66.2	74.0	68.9	66.4	67.3	61.9	62.0	62.2	65.4	59.4	58.9	56.7	44.7	45.3	47.1
College																					
1-3 years	19.3	23.8	26.7	30.0	23.7	25.1	28.8	61.7	75.2	74.4	75.7	66.9	68.7	70.0	74.9	68.1	67.2	67.5	49.6	51.5	53.3
4 years or more	15.9	20.2	24.0	28.8	19.8	22.2	26.9	67.8	63.7	64.3	63.8	78.0	78.9	79.4	83.8	79.8	79.9	79.1	61.3	63.9	66.5

NA, Not available. ¹ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race. ² For composition of regions, see fig. 1, inside front cover. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, series P-20, No. 405 and earlier reports.

NO. 895. WORK STOPPAGES, 1960 TO 1985

Excludes work stoppages involving fewer than 1,000 workers and lasting less than 1 day. Information is based on reports of labor leaders appearing in daily newspapers, trade journals, and other public sources. The parties to the disputes are contacted by telephone, when necessary, to clarify details of the stoppages.

YEAR	Number of work stoppages ¹	Workers involved ² (1,000)	DAYS OUT		YEAR	Number of work stoppages ¹	Workers involved ² (1,000)	DAYS OUT	
			Number (1,000)	Percent of total working time ³				Number (1,000)	Percent of total working time ³
1960	222	898	13,280	09	1976	231	1,519	23,362	12
1961	268	999	15,140	10	1977	298	1,212	21,258	13
1962	381	2,192	31,320	18	1978	219	1,008	23,774	11
1963	392	1,855	35,587	20	1979	235	1,021	20,409	10
1964	412	1,578	29,387	16	1980	187	795	20,844	10
1965	381	2,458	52,781	28	1981	145	729	16,908	07
1966	398	2,578	35,528	19	1982	98	658	9,081	04
1967	250	2,275	18,784	09	1983	81	909	17,461	08
1968	317	1,400	18,280	08	1984	62	378	8,499	04
1969	424	1,798	31,828	18	1985	54	324	7,079	03
1970	275	985	17,583	09					

¹ Beginning in year indicated. ² Workers counted more than once if involved in more than 1 stoppage during the year. ³ Agricultural and government employees are included in the total working time; private household, forestry and fishery employees are excluded.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Wage Developments, monthly.

“All talk of the present ‘revolutionary’ nature of the world’s industrial proletariat has the objective effect, willy-nilly, of preventing such real political development in metropolises, whether the talkers are conscious of this or not.” (p. 214)

Racism as replacement for social democracy

Where there is the opportunity to coopt class struggle through racism, racism may replace social democracy as the leading ideology of the labor aristocracy. This is how Edwards explains the failure of social democracy in both South Africa and the United States.

“Whenever colonial people live directly in the midst of their own super-exploiters — Social Democracy is replaced by open chauvinism which, in THIS situation, becomes the FORM of class collaboration ensuring the continuous influx of super-profits to the metropolis.” (p. 259)

“On Saturday, April 20, 1968, a British Tory named Enoch Powell startled not only his parliamentary colleagues but a good portion of the world when he voiced the existing virulent racialism of his own society.

“On Tuesday, April 23, 1968, at least a thousand British dockers staged England’s first political strike in a long while — supporting Enoch Powell.” (p. 7)

Combating wishful thinking

As a Marxist-Leninist, Edwards explicitly treats various positions within the international communist movement and shows how social-democracy is a tool of imperialism. He seems to indicate general sympathy for Mao and Lin Biao with some criticisms of Mao for seeing the United States as a fatally weakened imperialist power (at about the time of the passing of the Lin Biao era.)

Along with the book by Sakai, this book can serve to directly answer the line of the Progressive Labor Party and various Trotskyist groups that says the industrial working class is the mass base for communism in the United States. Like Sakai, instead of glorifying every little political noise or wage struggle from the industrial working class in the United States, Edwards remains true to Marx by explaining why the industrial working class does not support revolution as a class (despite the stances of various individuals) and why the revolutionary proletariat is now found in the Third World.

Throughout the book, Edwards showed in a myriad of ways that the advanced and industrialized working class of the imperialist countries was not about to rise up and overthrow imperialism. These workers had become bourgeoisified. To target these workers for special revolutionary work only prolongs the bloody life of imperialism.

The real proletariat, the proletariat as in Marx's sense of revolutionary class is in the Third World.

"Colonial workers! You are the world's overwhelming majority! The metropolises cannot exist without you. BUT YOU CAN EXIST WITHOUT THEM! TAKE YOUR DESTINY INTO YOUR OWN HANDS! DO NOT EXPECT HELP WHERE NONE MAY BE EXPECTED! INSCRIBE ON YOUR BANNERS THE SOBER, COSTLY BUT EFFECTIVE WATCHWORD: Self-Reliance!!!

"This — and this alone — will eventually bring unity to the world working class, thus enabling world revolution at last to succeed! Meantime, the rest of us must find ways effectively to support colonial liberation struggles!" (p. 370)

Back issue MIM Notes #23, 4/28/86 on the bombing of Libya 60 cents!

In this special joint MIM Notes #23/MIM Theory #4 MIM exposes the bombing of Libya and goes on to connect that bombing with various theories of social change: Where were the Democrats? Where were the Soviets? What did the so-called Second World do? Find out the facts in MIM Notes.

Appropriately, MIM Theory #4 officially delivered a conclusion, shall we say heresy, that MIM comrades had had for some time—that the world war had already started. Unlike all other parties out there, MIM boldly rips away at the social-chauvinist thinking that World War III isn't here until the white boys go to war.

For those who realize that the bombing of Libya, the invasion of Grenada, the aggression in Lebanon and now the maneuvers in the Gulf mean that the international proletariat has precious little time to stop the current World War III before it intensifies militarily, this back issue is a must.

The United States bombs Libya, gets bombed by Iran and Iraq, mines harbors in Nicaragua and invades Grenada.

Meanwhile, the Soviets invade Afghanistan, shell and napalm Eritrea and offer Kuwait to fly Soviet flags on their ships.

For their part US proxies such as Israel and Soviet proxies such as Cuba slug it out across the globe for their imperialist and social-imperialist masters.

Millions of Third World people already know that conditions are no better than during World War I or World War II. So why don't we call it World War III?

Confidentially, officials in the State Dept., the Pentagon and the National Security Council say they are fighting World War III by proxy already.

With military officials like Ollie North running the real government in a war against the Soviet bloc, why don't we conflict?

World War III is on!

Don't wait for "our boys" and the boys of Europe to join the fray as in World War I and World War II. The nukes may drop before that ever happens.

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US Domination of Mexico: The Super-Exploitation of the Mexican Working Class

By MC6

THE UNITED STATES dominates the Mexican economy and U.S. monopoly capitalists severely exploit the Mexican workers on both sides of the border. And, because of this, in Mexico there has been a steady rise in unemployment, poverty, disease and malnutrition—all of which now affect the majority of the population. Mexico is one of the top food producers in the world and one of the richest Third World countries; yet, it is heading for total economic collapse under US domination.

In San Quintin, 200 miles south of the US-Mexican border on the Baja peninsula, wealthy Mexican growers "employ," at least forty thousand Mixtec Indians to harvest tomatos. The Mixtecs earn \$3-\$4 a day, live in metal shacks 15' by 20', which of course, are generously provided by the growers. In these "squatter villages" there is no electricity or running water. Infant mortality is high, the main killer of children under seven years old being dysentery, an easily curable disease, if there is clean water. The growers have made special deals in two areas: first, to rent the land from ejidos, which are family and communal farms set up under the land reform of 1917, an act which is technically illegal; and secondly, with US agribusiness, specifically Castle and Cooke, doing business under the Dole label. Besides tomatos, cucumbers and bell peppers are shipped to California; and since 1981, these exports have increased eightfold. (Los Angeles Times, June 29, 1986)

The Guardian, on March 26, 1986, in a special report, describes the super-exploitation of the Mixtecs even further: Efforts to unionize have been met with repression from the growers' security guards. Insecticides are dropped from planes, the poisons falling on children and pregnant workers. The workers are normally required to pick thirty barrels of tomatos a day, yet the foremen force them to pick two to three times that amount for the same pay.

There should be no doubt that Castle and Cooke wholeheartedly approves of the savage treatment of the Mixtec Indians, and actually demands it as part of its special arrangement with the Mexican growers. Nor should it be surprising that Castle and Cooke does not confine its activities to Mexico but rather is quite influential in another area of the world of special importance to US monopoly capitalists, namely Central America. There the subsidiary of Castle and Cooke, Standard Fruit, has allied itself with military governments to crush unionization and worker organizing. Standard Fruit president Don Kirchoff is quoted to have urged corporate leaders to "take the offensive" in a "guerilla war against opponents of business." (Dollars and Dictators, The Resource Center, 1983)

A more civilized approach taken by US monopoly capitalists in its exploitation of Mexican workers is that of the "twin-plant" or maquiladora program. Maquiladoras are factories owned by Americans, usually operating along the US-Mexican border, which manufacture products, particularly electronic components, which are then shipped duty-free to the United States "sister" plant for incorporation in to the final manufacturing process. Workers in maquiladoras receive the Mexican minimum wage, which is no more than four dollars a day, and the vast majority of these workers are women. Actually there were less than 500 maquiladoras in Mexico, employing 70,000 people. In 1985-86, the numbers increased to 1000 and 250,000 respectively. And, up until the fall of 1986, Americans could not own more than 49% of a maquiladora, at which time it was conveniently changed

to allow Americans to own 100% of the plant. Most of the plants in Mexico are new and therefore modern, so that they could not be described as "sweat shops." Yet, since they are involved in the manufacture of electronics for the most part, various kinds of fumes are emitted causing severe damage to the workers, particularly pregnant women who have a high rate of miscarriage. It should not come as a surprise that attempts to organize have been met with brutality. In 1984, women workers, protesting on the steps of Tijuana's city hall for the right to form a union were attacked and beaten by the police. (from Maryknoll Publications, March 1985 and other sources)

The super-exploitation of Mexican immigrant laborers has been lost sight of in the hysteria created around the "invasion of illegal aliens," which has led to passage of the reactionary "English Only" law in California and the Simpson-Rodino immigration law. Most "illegal aliens" work for less than the minimum wage which is \$3.35 an hour. Very often, construction workers are paid as little as \$2.50 an hour for heavy and dangerous work. These workers have no democratic rights whatsoever; yet, they perform a much needed service to US capitalists, especially in agriculture.

Even within the boundaries of the United States, Mexican workers are treated with nearly the same disdain as they would be in Mexico. An example of such treatment can be found in the murder of Juan Casillas on August 5, 1986. Juan had "contracted" to work for Fred Hatashita, who owns 100 acres twenty-five miles east of San Diego. Two hours after Monitor 4, one of the most toxic of all pesticides, was sprayed on the fields, Juan was sent to work on the advice of a "specialist" who said it was safe. Juan collapsed and died in the field, and his body was taken back to Tijuana by Mr. Hatashita, who panicked at the prospect of being caught with a dead worker in his field. Nevertheless, the incident was discovered, and Mr. Hatashita faced criminal charges of... violation of the pesticide warning law, a misdemeanor. The law, it seems, stipulates that 24 hours must elapse before workers can be sent into fields sprayed with Monitor 4 type pesticides. And, since the pesticide inspector was unaware of this, the case could only be considered an accident. As if by magic, no trace of chemical was found in Juan Casillas' body, which was conveniently embalmed after a second autopsy.

300,000 farm workers are poisoned annually by pesticides, rising on the average of 14% per year since 1973. Yet, on August 20th, 1986, the California legislature refused to pass a law that would have forced growers to post warning signs in the fields after spraying. Considering the fact that these lawmakers are reluctant even to pass a law requiring latrines and drinking water in the fields, such behavior is understandable. Farmworkers, from San Quintin to San Diego, deserve only to be treated as animals according to agribusiness.

US monopoly capitalists consider Mexican workers a source of cheap labor. And, since one's labor is also identified with one's life, we can conclude, and facts prove, that the lives of Mexican workers are considered cheap by the capitalists. What makes it more disgusting is the naked hypocrisy with which the US government is using the "invasion of illegal aliens" as a pretext to exploit workers as a whole even more. This has led to outright vigilante attacks against Mexican workers in the US. The Los Angeles Times, on November 22, 1986, had the following headline in its San Diego County section: "3 Teens Held in Sniper Attack on Aliens." Three white teen-age boys, dressed in camouflage, inspired by the movie, "Rambo," no doubt, and acting in the wake of anti-Latino propaganda, these white youths simply acted out what they considered their responsibility in stemming the tide of the foreign invasion.



....China summer of 1987

Errors of the US supporters of Deng Xiaoping



....China builds first-class hotels



....cosmetic sales have boomed in counterrevolutionary China

By MC6

The article, "Big Changes," FM, Aug.-Sept. '86, contains a number of errors from the theoretical point of view which need to be examined in order to understand the crisis affecting the world capitalist economy, dominated by the United States.

First, the article maintains that there "has come a revolution in the forces of production"...which is defined as the area of "communications" and "information processing." However, the classic definition of the forces of production includes not only the instruments of production, but also, and more importantly, the people who operate the instruments of production. To equate technological development with a "revolution in the productive forces" is totally un-Marxian.

From this error, the article makes another error, stating that "the classical Marxist view" is that "advanced monopoly capitalism crushes creative development in technology." The only classical Marxist view on this subject comes from Lenin's *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in which it is stated: "Certainly, monopoly capitalism can never completely, and for a very long period of time, eliminate competition in the world market (and this, by the by, is one of the reasons why the theory of ultra-imperialism is so absurd). Certainly, the possibility of reducing cost of production and increasing profits by introducing technical improvements operates in the direction of change. But the tendency to stagnation and decay, which is characteristic of monopoly, continues to operate, and in certain branches of industry, in certain countries, for certain periods of time, it gains the upper hand." (VIII. The Parasitism and Decay of Capitalism)

Lenin also points out: "At the same time the extremely rapid rate of technical progress gives rise to increasing elements of disparity between the various spheres of national economy, to anarchy and crises. Liefmann is obliged to admit that: "In all probability mankind will see further important technical revolutions in the near future which will also affect the organization of the economic system." (1. Concentration of Production and Monopolies)

Therefore, the classical Marxist view is that monopoly capitalism creates conditions of stagnation and decay which likewise include technical revolutions at certain times. However, we can also state that other conditions lead to the "crushing" of "creative development in technology," namely conditions of war, which destroy the productive forces, particularly people.

Another error is contained in the statement that: "the center of gravity of the US economy is shifting irreversibly from manufacturing toward service and finance. This may sound un-Marxist, but the shift is happening..." There is no quarrel with the fact that the shift is happening, but, again, Lenin pointed out that: "The percentage of the productively employed population (in England) to the total population is declining." (VIII, above) And he shows how imperialism lead to a decrease in manufacturing in general.

Actually, Marx showed that the increase in the "service sector" was a feature of developing capitalism: "the extraordinary productiveness of modern industry, accompanied as it is by both a more extensive and a more intense exploitation of labour-power in all other spheres of production, allows of the unproductive employment of a larger and larger part of the working-class, and the consequent reproduction, on a constantly expanding scale, of the ancient domestic slaves under the name of a servant class, including men-servants, women-servants, lackeys, &c." (*Capital*, part IV, Chapter XV, section 6)

The main problem with the "Big Changes" article is the equation of the economic base of the United States with manufacturing. Lenin shows that: "The export of capital, one of the most essential economic bases of imperialism, still more completely isolates the rentiers from production and sets the seal of parasitism on the whole country that lives by exploiting the labour of several overseas countries and colonies." (VIII, Imperialism)

As can be seen by the charts, bank profits from foreign operations have increased from 22% to 60% from 1970 to 1982. And, it can be guaranteed that the percentage is higher than 60% in 1987. Furthermore, for the first time in postwar history, Third World countries have become "net capital exporters" (sources of profits) to the usurers, increasing by a factor of ten in the past four years. And, it is primarily the enormous increase in the super-exploitation of the Third World that accounts for all the economic and political changes taking place within the US. Competition

from other imperialist countries, like the Soviet Union, Japan and Germany, serves as "fuel for the fire."

In order to protect these super-profits, there has been an accompanying, dramatic increase in the growth of the US military and military related industries. The "Big Changes" article fails to mention this phenomenon as part of the "shift." The Guardian reported in its Sept. 4, 1985 edition that employment in defense products industries increased 14% from 1983, compared with 5% in manufacturing; and, while there was a 12% slump in profits in manufacturing, there was an increase of 26% in profits for corporations involved in military production.

It must be stressed that the "changes in the world division of labor" which the "Big Changes" article describes came about as a result of violence against the mass of people in the Third World. The massive increase in the shipment of arms to Central America and other countries has bolstered and kept in power military dictatorships which could not last a day without US aid. There should be no doubt that direct US military intervention, particularly in Nicaragua, is inevitable.

The United States became an imperialist country at the turn of the century, and was actually the dominant power after World War I. And, US imperialism has contained all the features which Lenin described in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. The chief feature of the US economy is the subjugation of the Third World, which has led to an enormous increase in super-profits in the past ten years, a fact which explains the recent rise in the Stock Market. But, while the monopoly capitalists and the coupon clippers are getting richer, tens of thousands of workers are being laid off in the wake of runaway shops, small farmers are being driven out of business, social services are being cutback to increase government revenues and pay for wars of aggression, and thousands of workers are becoming homeless. In short, the US economy displays nearly all the features of a genuine crisis similar to the Great Depression. And, because there is fierce competition from other imperialist powers, the rise of the Right and the election of Reagan can be understood as necessary for the "protection of American interests."

Furthermore, to achieve its aims, US imperialism must institute fascism at "home." We have seen the growth of the basic structure of fascism during the past several years, beginning with events as seemingly innocuous as the "anti-drunk-driving campaign" and leading up to the rise of the KKK and neo-nazis who brazenly murder Black people in New York and attack Black activists in Georgia. In addition, there has been a systematic increase of attacks on women, Latinos, and the Gay community. The Iran/Contra deal is nothing but the extension of lawlessness to the executive branch of the government.

The editors of FM have called upon its readers to deepen the analysis of the changes taking place within the US and world economies, including "study of Marxist theory, more investigation of current trends, and discussion on its correctness and applicability in particular areas where we're doing political work." It is hoped that this short paper will add to those efforts.

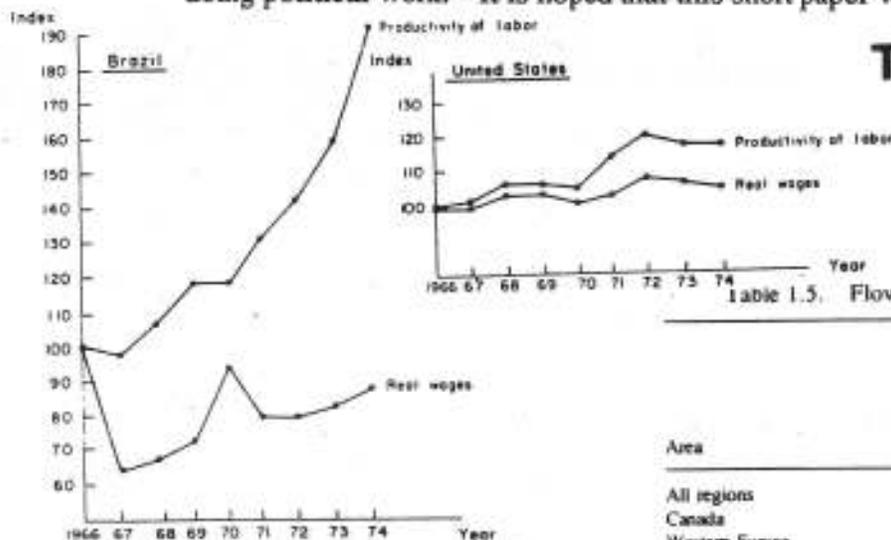


Figure 1.4. Productivity of Labor and Real Wages in Manufacturing, United States and Brazil, 1966-74

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND REFORMISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Alain ^Dde Janvry

Table 1.5. Flow of Funds Related to Direct U.S. Investment, 1960-72

Area	Million U.S.\$		
	Net capital account inflows	Repatriated dividend income	Inflows less repatriation ^a
All regions	38,533	59,408	-20,875
Canada	7,058	9,195	-2,137
Western Europe	16,954	11,709	5,245
Latin America	4,188	14,343	-9,155
Other	10,333	28,161	-17,828

Source: Richard Newfarmer and Willard Mueller, "Multinational Corporations in Brazil and Mexico" (Report to the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 11.

^a A negative sign indicates that income returned to the United States was greater than the flow from the United States to the recipient areas.

“Maoists” to our right: FRSO’s “Principles of Unity, 1985”

By MC6

A. Page 2, the crisis of Marxism

The text states “we recognize a crisis in Marxist ideology and practice of historical dimensions...”

And, there have been three approaches to this crisis, the second of which is: “simply to ask ‘What crisis?’ to see the whole problem as just something in the minds of a few thousand petty-bourgeois crybabies, and to point to their own organizations as evidence of all that’s right with the world of revolutionary Marxism.”

Comment:

We do think they are a bunch of petty bourgeois crybabies.

Point number 16 of the text states: “As at other times in the history of Marxist movements, the crisis of Marxism today raises serious challenges to the work of Lenin and the traditions that claim his work.” And, “our task is to develop that science (i.e. M-L) or to rediscover its foundation stones if need be.”

Comment:

Nowhere is there any evidence presented as to precisely what is meant by challenges to Lenin’s work, etc. That there has been a crisis in the application of Marxism there is no doubt. But that is not what the FRSO is saying.

The only reference to the theory of Marxism is the following: “We must build and support a wide variety of cultural resistance, recognizing what Marx called a ‘reform of consciousness,’” and, there is no footnote to this ‘famous’ quote by Marx. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx called for a “radical rupture with traditional ideas.” If Marxism is to be reduced to reforming people’s consciousness, then there is no need to worry too much about what is to be done.

Lenin said:

“Further, the authors of Credo also have an entirely wrong conception of the present state of the West-European working-class movement and of the theory of Marxism, under the banner of which that movement is marching. To talk about a ‘crisis of Marxism’ is merely to repeat the nonsense of the bourgeois hacks who are doing all they can to exacerbate every disagreement among the socialists and turn it into a split in the socialist parties. The notorious Bernsteinism—in the sense in which it is commonly understood by the general public—is an attempt to narrow the theory of Marxism, to convert the revolutionary workers’ party into a reformist party.” (A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats, 1899).

We agree with Lenin.

B. In general, the document does not have a program that is specific. For example, the document reiterates again and again the need to struggle against “white-supremacist national oppression.” But how? There are no appropriate demands. Because national minorities earn an average of 60% of what white people earn, which is what women earn compared with men, you would think that a program to raise wages for women and national minorities would be mentioned. And, because the FRSO is intent on working within the Rainbow Coalition, you would think that such a program would be presented to the RC.

C. Finally rules for membership and the conduct of the organization’s business are confusing and smack of bureaucracy. If you wish to join and do some meaningful work, you are liable to become very frustrated. For example, FRSO calls upon people to study Marxism, but there does not appear to be any regular study classes. If there were, there should be a syllabus which FRSO would be eager to share.

Comments on Forward Motion, published by FRSO, January-February 1987 edition:

A. In the editorial it is stated:

It is time to cheer up. Through the Beirut bombing, the elimination of the family farm, the continuing destruction of heavy Northern industry, the multiplication of the hungry and the homeless, the ballooning deficit, the

exploding deficit, the exploding space shuttle, the shambles and failures of the South African drama, and the invasion of Grenada and bombing of Libya—through all this, under the deadening blanket of right-wing consolidation, those famous objective forces and contradictions which make history so much fun for Marxists were accumulating. What looked static was breaking up...it is finally fun to read the newspapers again."

Comment:

This is a bizarre attitude and sounds like "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The starvation of tens of millions of people in the world, and the slaughter of millions in addition to what is mentioned in the editorial, should make us alarmed. The content of the editorial is disgusting.

B. "Old Visions, New Visions" is an article on the tasks of the left in the trade-unions, etc. In a section on the history of the trade union movement in the fifties, not one word is mentioned about the McCarthy period, which was an attack on the working-class. More should be said, but that in itself is bizarre enough.

C. In an article on rock music, the author maintains that the stars and lyrics are "by and large not overtly reactionary," and then shows how the main theme in this music, sex, is "uh, a little sexist." Is sexism not reactionary? Most of the music the author would have us praise glorifies the brutal subjugation of women and should be attacked.

D. Finally, a little on what the magazine does not say. According to its editorial policy, this magazine wants to challenge "the historical pattern of white supremacy and national oppression in the capitalist domination of this country." Yet, there is nothing in the magazine concerning the recent passage of the "English only" law, the Simpson-Rodino bill, and the over-all increase in the attacks on national minorities. A bit hypocritical, wouldn't you think?

[Editor's note:

I agree on the crisis "crybabies" and the need for specifics in the battle against "white supremacism." As for "hypocrisy," although MIM comrades in the Southwest and Ann Arbor are engaged in struggles regarding immigration, MIM publications themselves are noticeably weak. The literature list has no specific item on Puerto Rico. Excluding our mass movement work, are we much better in our publications than the FRSO?

It's also too easy to get carried away by the liberal breast-beating in the Iran-Contra stuff. For a while, the whole "scandal" gave communists breathing room, but then North himself turned public opinion around and Reagan's desperation may be showing in the Gulf right now.

I too would like to see more stuff done criticizing rock lyrics. Many people are surprised when I tell them what the actual lyrics of Rolling Stones or Who songs are.]



....."Learning from the West"

Book Review:

Sooner or Later: Questions & Answers on War, Peace & the United Front: New Outlook Press, 120 pp., 1980.

Cuban intervention in Angola in 1975 and in Eritrea in 1978 and years following marked a turning point in the post-Vietnam era. In 1978, Vietnam invaded Kampuchea. With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the international situation gave rise to yet another new political trend in the United States, or did it?

Sooner or Later claimed to uphold a Maoist approach.

Now, however, its political trend is dead. Although there were several MIM comrades on hand working in Cambridge from 1980 on, they never encountered *Sooner or Later*. The Revolutionary Communist Party issued polemics against the book in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

The book upheld China and Deng Xiaoping as socialist; however, it went beyond the official Chinese line in condemning the Soviet Union. (p. 44)

Was the book a CIA project abandoned when its objectives were completed? Perhaps MIM Theory readers know the nature of this trend. It would be useful knowledge in order to expose its descendants if any.

In any case, *Sooner or Later* argues that sooner or later fighting "fascist social-imperialism" will be the top priority of all communists and progressive people.

In any case, the analysis that the Soviet Union is on the verge of taking over the world leads to several tactical decisions that include support for US military bases in Puerto Rico and the Philippines (p. 57), support for European deployment of Pershing II (p. 65), an adequate "civil defense against nuclear attack," (p. 73) support for the draft (p. 81) and labor action against Soviet ships and Iran. (p. 100)

While many will dismiss *Sooner or Later* for the above programme alone, it would be an empiricist error in method to do so.

Also, although the book supports the Deng Xiaoping revisionist regime in China, it would not matter too much to the analysis if China were a capitalist Third World country. Built on the Three Worlds theory, the analysis sees the Third World as the main force against Soviet hegemonism. According to *Sooner or Later*, communists in the US would demonstrate their independence in the united front against the Soviets by supporting the Third World against US aggression.

Hence, one can start a proper attack on *Sooner or Later*? with a criticism of the Three Worlds theory. Others have already done this.

To really nail this argument to the wall, however, it is necessary to do one of four things: 1) Show that the Soviet Union is not really a military threat to the imperialists of Europe and America. If the risk of the USSR's overrunning the world is small, one can argue that the international proletariat has other more urgent tasks which are already known. This is to refute the empirical analysis of *Sooner or Later* in order to leave existing Marxist-Leninist theories tact. 2) Argue strategically, that it would be better in terms of the position of the international proletariat to let the Soviet Union overrun Europe and/or the US before starting a military and propaganda offensive against Soviet hegemonism. This is akin to saying "let them invade Afghanistan; they'll suffer the hatred of peoples there and everywhere." 3) Argue theoretically that the USSR is not fascist and not driven to attempt to direct control of other nations. 4) Argue Mao and especially Stalin were wrong about the united front.

On different occasions the RCP has argued all four, especially 2-4. The author would tend to go with 2 and 3 and study 4 much more deeply.

Thoughts on 2-4 may sharpen in one's mind if one imagined a successful Soviet replication of Hitler's conquering of continental Europe. What would a communist do then?

The question in one is the bread and butter of MIM Notes. More needs to be done on how the poles of pacifist wishful thinking on Soviet militarism as in the Price of Defense and chauvinist militarism feed into each other!

This book is not for mass distribution. Those interested in the splintering of the international communist movement, what happened to the descendants of SDS, what happened with anti-revisionism and anti-dogmatism in the US will want this as background research material. It's also a good exercise in demarcation of political lines. Once again, this book is not urgent reading as events in Grenada, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Lebanon and Libya wiped out any genuine force that this trend might have and Reagan withdraw any state resources to even bigger items in the Pentagon agenda.

How to know if you're Maoist

Imagine yourself debating Ronald Reagan on television. As a well-read communist, maybe you would win.

As someone with political experience arguing with liberals, maybe you could beat Mondale in a TV game show.

What about Gorbachev? Would you depend on exposing Afghanistan and Eritrea? Would that be enough?

What about Deng Xiaoping? Have you got anything on him to say to the US public?

The politics of China are not of popular concern in the US. Sometimes Time Magazine will do a cover story like the Cultural Revolution "When China Went Mad."

It is important to expose both the racist arrogance of imperialism and the capitalist ideological essence of such mass media propaganda.

On the other hand, bringing home to the reader what is socialist and what is not is not the only purpose of agitation against state capitalism.

Perhaps more important is the party-building and political hygiene aspect of exposing Deng Xiaoping's revisionism.

Support or opposition to the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) separates Maoists and non-Maoists. Although the nature of the Soviet Union is also a major question, which happens to be thrust on the political agenda because of the current World War III, those who support the Cultural Revolution will also come down against the Soviets. Only opportunist Trots like Workers World tried to give lip-service to the Cultural Revolution while defending the Soviet Union.

Conversely, there are a few key arguments made against the Cultural Revolution by the imperialists, social-imperialists and Dengists.

If one can see what is wrong with their arguments, one is likely on the path to communism. For this reason, it is interesting to note that the Deng Xiaoping regime has finally published its evaluation of the Cultural Revolution.

For some years, the Dengists have held back on a full analysis of the question so as not to embroil the party and nation in ideological struggles.

Now though, China in Focus by Beijing Review has a collection of articles called "Rethinking the Cultural Revolution."

It is the most thorough, definitive and factually honest statement of the Deng regime known to the author yet.

The collection of articles includes many realistic interviews with people in China and a statement by the party.

Instead of reviewing the document in detail now, MIM will distribute the revisionist pamphlet free to readers at MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576. The only price will be that all who receive the articles will have to write letters to MIM on their opinions. Please, supporters of the Deng regime, obtain the pamphlet from your own sources. While Deng campaigns to overturn the Cultural Revolution, we call on readers to write criticizing the latest work of the Deng regime.

Future issues will publish letters of criticism.



....youth play in video parlor in China

On the Role of Leadership in Revolutionary Movements

By MC2

There are two erroneous approaches concerning leadership. The first is to keep the roles of each individual completely anonymous. In such a situation there is no accountability for mistakes or controversial policy decisions. An entrenched bureaucracy may develop that cares more for its own well-being than the social good and promotion of socialism. If the proletariat cannot hold faceless bureaucrats responsible for political and economic decisions then the conditions are ripe for the restoration of state monopoly capitalism. To some extent, Khrushchev and his successors were able to restore state capitalist relations of production because state bureaucrats were largely immune from popular criticism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was designed in part to permit the masses to attack party officials whose decisions had been made without popular knowledge. Since 1976 Deng has extolled the use of anonymous experts whose judgments are made in such a way that most people can never challenge them or know which individuals were responsible for particular policies. Anonymous political leadership can facilitate the growth of a bureaucratic elite whose goals are apart from the majority.

Anonymous leadership contains another danger. I have known some well meaning people who prefer to remain anonymous so that personalities do not obscure political issues. Such an approach can lead to the results they seek to avoid. Time after time I have seen dedicated people put enormous effort into a cause only to see some outside person claim credit for the work, and attempt to use that work to advance himself and goals the majority of anonymous hard workers strongly disagreed with. A recent issue of MIM Theory discussed the issues of formal versus informal leadership. ("A Response to the Shimo Controversy: Haymarket '86") Where there is no formal hierarchy within a political organization an informal one is likely to arise. This informal hierarchy is often selfish and opportunistic since it is elected by no one and accountable to no one. Anarchy sounds fine and equalitarian until an opportunistic informal hierarchy arises that is often worse than an existing formal hierarchy. If honest comrades choose to be anonymous and do not create a formal political hierarchy then an informal hierarchy of media superstars is likely to take away a movement from those who worked hard to build it.

A well functioning revolutionary party avoids the dangers of anonymous leadership. There is a formal hierarchy of leadership so the masses can identify which individuals formulated and carried out a particular policy decision. The popular masses can then criticize those leaders who fail them, and support leadership that contributes to the development of a better social order.

Obviously, there is the other extreme. A personality cult can arise in which the talents of a single individual are praised in a manner that depreciates the contributions of the majority. Even worse a leader may claim that he alone is infallible, and has access to revolutionary truth unavailable to others. A mere man or woman is treated as a super-person or demi-god. A cult develops about the extraordinary powers of that individual. Such quasi-religious sanctification of a single individual is completely at odds with equalitarian socialist principles. Lin Biao glorified the role of exceptional individuals. He sought to create a hideous personality cult about Mao Zedong in order to discredit Mao while at the same time promoting his own personality cult to justify his plan to overthrow Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. His crude efforts were exposed by Mao, who criticized those people seeking to place his leadership above the people. Mao did not attempt to conduct an anonymous leadership concealed from the people, nor did he claim he was infallible and exempt from popular criticism, although some of his followers for

various reasons did to a degree attempt to establish a cult of personality.

Correct revolutionary leadership requires policies designed to avoid the errors of both anonymous leadership and personality cults. Each of these incorrect approaches suffers from the same defect—political leaders are insulated from popular criticism whether they rely on the cloak of anonymity, utilize informal hierarchy to undermine and distort anonymous work by honest individuals, or establish a cult of personality. Positive leadership depends on the ability of the popular masses to recognize which leaders are taking revolutionary or counter-revolutionary positions, and to effectively attack incorrect leadership.

MIM has sought to avoid the error of creating a personality cult, but in doing so has sometimes fallen into the opposite error of anonymous leadership. Many people in MIM have attacked Bob Avakian for establishing a personality cult in the RCP. To avoid Avakian's example, MIM Notes does not name the individuals involved in its organization. While MIM activists have had good subjective intentions in following this policy, they have prevented people from knowing which leaders support which positions so the members can pick those leaders they believe are taking the best line. MIM is a good organization today. If its leadership remains anonymous, however, there is a danger that opportunists may attempt to establish an informal hierarchy and take control of the organization in a secret coup that most MIM subscribers might never find out about. It is time for the organizers of MIM Notes to reveal themselves so the members of the popular masses can choose who should lead in the future.

Response:

By MC5

The points in this essay are well-taken. I would like to immediately concede that the organization had been overly anonymous. From hereon in, MIM publications will at least use different code names to identify various authors.

There is only one point that the author, now named MC2, left out from my point of view. The point of anonymity or secrecy is not just good intentions; although, I admit given the example of Avakian and MIM's roots in mass movements anonymity was almost an automatic decision.

Secrecy is also valuable in raising some costs of state disruption. While it is true that secret organizations may have coups from within, open organizations are subject to decapitations from the outside. Currently, if the editor-in-chief of MIM Notes were removed from political action, the rest of the organization would not operate as before but it would not be wiped out either. Work would proceed in different forms. And as long as people have that literature list, they will be able to start the distribution of revolutionary literature again. The movement will not have to start from scratch.

As for state repression, it is a subject that MIM has debated before. Just how great is the problem? Some comrades are prepared to call the United States fascist right now. If this is the case, we should prefer secrecy. If conditions in the United States are democratic, albeit at the expense of Third World peoples, then we should take advantage of the situation to do open work.

For my part I have received New Right mail trying to sway me from the path of communism, personally addressed to me. This is not to mention South African memos, police harassment and other enemy activities that MIM is aware of.

Of course, none of this is to say that MIM has suffered any serious repression yet, only that caution is in order.

Basically what seems to be a question of organizational line is closely related to our line on domestic political conditions. This is something that MIM has not really worked out officially.

Thus there needs to be further debate on this subject. For my two cents, I would

not call the United States "fascist;" although, there is a real need to combat the New Right's various proto-fascists such as the Moral Majority, Moonies etc. In this regard, I feel we lag behind groups such as PL, which stress the lessons of the '30s in Germany.

In the future, MC5 will make greater efforts to identify the types of organizing that is going on out there in the field and give credit where credit is due.

Comrades, please write and review for us the activities you have done for MIM, no matter how seemingly small. MC5 will do what is necessary to conceal your identities in the MIM publications.

Remember, your actions are not only significant in themselves but also, they may give other people ideas, food-for-thought and encouragement. But only if you tell us about them.

Book Reviews:

India Development and Deprivation: Neocolonial Transformation of the Economy in a Historical Perspective: By T.G. Jacob. 213pp. 1985.

MIM Theory must start by apologizing for not reviewing this book earlier.

The Mass Line Press of India is connected with one of the largest Maoist movements in the world. Its newspaper Mass Line is widely read.

Thus it is with disappointment that the reviewer recommends India only for those doing substantial research on the political economy of India. Neither in terms of exposure nor theoretical contributions is India worth efforts of mass distribution.

Typical is the first chapter which has a bibliography that sports Andre Gunde Frank, Samir Amin and Arrighi Emmanuel. Ah, finally the subject of unequal exchange and underdevelopment will receive systematic treatment by an author of the international communist movement, right? Wrong.

Jacob regurgitates the Marxist critique of theories of unequal exchange in a dogmatic and shallow fashion. He correctly points out the distinction between comprador and national bourgeoisie, but fails to develop its implications. Yet the reader is told "from this elementary error which the dependency school theorists committed, many others followed." (p. 17)

The reader is also able to gather that Jacob sees the dependency school as falling into the trap of external determinism. By now anybody who has read the debates on dependency theory should know that the first line of attack is to say that dependency theory ignores internal class structures and histories of individual countries or regions and places too much emphasis on the actions of the imperialists.

Yet, this criticism of theories of unequal exchange and underdevelopment underestimates both sides of the argument. For example, Frank could easily say, "yes I asked Mao about this and the imperialists did ally themselves with the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie in China. After his analysis of the internal class structure of China, I achieve the same results with my theory." While simplistic this counterthrust parries an equally simplistic attack by Jacob and others.

Communists should also note how easily the anti-dependency critique grades into empiricism. Empiricism—with the call to study the histories of each country—leaves Frank et. al. untouched! One can refute a theory with a fact, but one can never replace a theory with a fact. If theories were to be destroyed with facts, Marxism would've been dead 100 years ago.

The debate over unequal exchange deserves serious attention. If only because these theorists argue that there are mechanisms of imperialist exploitation other than repatriation of profits from direct investments, Marxists must pay heed. When one reads Emmanuel or Amin one gets the sense of a surplus extraction so huge as to be previously unimaginable in Marxist-Leninism. According to Amin, the 3rd World surrenders 15% of its production to imperialism.

The question of the quantitative and qualitative nature of the surplus extracted by imperialism is very important to a proper understanding of the class structure of the imperialist countries. If Emmanuel is correct, the labor aristocracy—the bourgeoisified workers—could easily be the majority. If Jacob and others are correct, the lack of proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries must be explained by other means.

To return to Jacob's book, the reader will find a detailed explanation of the historical development of India's political economy. The book contains much information for example, to refute the notion that India's economy has stagnated since 1947.

According to Jacob, neo-colonialism is a new stage of development. In this stage, imperialists do not use direct force as under colonialism, nor do they hold back economic development. (p. 65)

An interesting thesis of Jacob's is that the success of revolutions such as China's has caused the imperialists to wise up on the land question. (p. 131) This too provided an impetus to the change in the nature of imperialism. The imperialists sought to avoid Chinese style revolutions "by developing the productive forces and integrating the sector with the world imperialist market system on a higher and more complex level." (p. 134)

At the same time, Jacob shows that the absolute deprivation of the masses of people has increased. He cites the eventuality of IMF riots in India. (p. 202)

Packed with historical analysis and statistical information India is for those doing in depth research on these issues.

Available for the first time from MIM!

Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base of Social Democracy

In his great classic, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin described the labor aristocracy of that time as a "tiny minority of the working class." Ever since, without relating current statistics to Lenin's guidelines, the world Left, especially in the West, has continued mouthing: "The labour aristocracy is a tiny minority of the working class."

This book undertakes to apply official U.S. and other data to the criteria for a labor aristocracy which Lenin set forth in his "Preface to the German and French editions" of the cited source. Supported by a resulting 43 statistical tables, it proves that, today, the entire working class of the West constitutes a labor aristocracy on a world scale; that its former "crumbs" from the capitalists' table have, due to the escalation of imperialism's parasitism, augmented greatly; that the labor aristocracy's acceptance of this kickback, which Lenin called "imperialist bribery," has created for them in the West a "Way of Life" such that a serious internal contradiction now exists within the international proletariat: the one between workers in the West and those of the "Third World;" that Social Democracy is and always has been the political mouthpiece of the labor aristocracy; and that the Least Common Denominator of Social Democracy is racism.

The author contends that, if not seriously studied and fought against, this internal contradiction can and will harden, if it hasn't already, into an antagonistic one within the international working class, in a world of which the imperialist section is now ruled by transnational corporations rather than by nations, as in Lenin's day. If such a political sclerosis is allowed to set, it can only postpone further the arrival of the necessary "final conflict." (from the back cover)

H.W. Edwards, Stockholm, Sweden, 1978, 430 pp.
\$8 cash, postal money order or write to make arrangements.

Sectarian review: (take that any way you like)!

Prensa Proletaria: Por La Unidad de la Clase Obrera en la Lucha por el Socialismo

Organo Central del Partido Marxista Leninista de Nicaragua
(MAP-ML) Número 22.

Correspondencia: Apartado 611, Managua, Nicaragua.

What are Hoxhaites?

This is the publication of the Hoxhaite party in Nicaragua. The Hoxhaites support Albania as a beacon of socialism and are named after the now dead leader of Albania's Communist Party that led the struggle against fascist occupation.

It appears that MAP-ML is not an official franchise of the Albanian Communist Party, just a more critical ideological descendant. MAP-ML sprinkles pictures of MLP-USA and US anti-contra demonstrations in its publication to prove that Nicaragua should "continue combat, Nicaragua is not alone." Declarations in the periodical support Lenin and Stalin but do not mention Albania or Mao, so the author guesses that MAP-ML has some criticisms of Hoxha, like MLP USA.

In the United States, the Albania franchise is operated by US Marxist-Leninist Organization. It continues to print speeches from Albania's post-Hoxha leaders. MLP USA and MAP-ML may be neo-Hoxhaites, but this reviewer is not qualified to say which group is the "true" Hoxhaite group.

Those who have received "What's Your Line?" from MIM should note that comrade MC5 mistakenly listed USMLO and MLP USA together. MLP operates out of Chicago, USMLO out of Boston.

Hoxhaite stands in Nicaragua

MAP-ML criticizes the Sandinistas for insisting on the possibilities of negotiations with the contras and the United States. It also criticizes the Sandinistas for not preparing the people for the subject of these negotiations.

MAP-ML wants unity of the working classes in Nicaragua against internal enemies and imperialism at the same time. It also criticizes the Sandinistas for calling for national unity instead of unity of the people or working classes.

MAP-ML further calls for struggles against government officials guilty of anti-working class politics, bureaucratic inefficiencies, corruption or opportunism.

MAP-ML opposes the Contadora initiatives because the member countries are representatives of US imperialism.

MAP-ML criticizes the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Nicaragua for its bowing to domestic reaction in its theory of stages for Nicaragua to go through. In particular it does not support "democracy" for reactionaries to attack the people.

For the most part, the publication sounds pretty good, and the author is not really able to offer a critique without a more thorough understanding of Nicaragua. Those who want a copy of the 8 page August, 1986 issue in Spanish should send .40 to MIM.

Workers' Truth No. 7

Bulletin of the Organization for a Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party, March 1987

"Special Issue on International Seminar"

**Workers' Truth Publications, Boxholder, PO Box 5830,
Chicago, IL 60680. \$1.**

This publication is by a trend that MIM has not addressed previously. The

Organization for a Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party (OMLWP) claims to uphold Marx and Lenin, but not Trotsky, Stalin, Mao or anyone else.

According to OMLWP, Marxism-Leninism "succumbed in the 1920s and 30s to the pressures of state capitalism." (p. 1) Only now does Marxism-Leninism reappear after decades of counterrevolution argues OMLWP. "During this more than half a century that has passed, the domination of Russian revisionism and the non-proletarian character of their challenging and critical communist currents...impeded the revival...of a workers' communism...But now a world economic crisis that has made the monility of the working class greatly more than before, the dead-end and the crisis of reformism and syndicalism (especially in the metropolitan and European countries), and the dead-end and the crisis of the traditional leadership of national and democratic movements...have furnished the objective grounds for the appearance of a genuine worker-communism." (p. 17)

Although OMLWP appears most fluent in Trotskyist discourse, its stands are not characteristically Trotskyist. OMLWP refers to Trotskyism as centrist and Maoism as reactionary because of the Three Worlds Theory. (p. 17) In particular, OMLWP upholds the democratic stage in revolution in "dominated/controlled nations." (p.2) In addition, this pamphlet supports national rights to self-determination (p. 7) and recognizes that super-exploitation of dominated nations contributes to the creation of "a higher standard of living and relatively greater political freedoms for the masses in the imperialist countries." (p. 6) On these questions, the OMLWP resembles the RCP, which MIM has considered in previous issues of MIM Theory.

MIM may have some additional criticisms of various OMLWP lines. For one, there is the following economist formulation: "An upward spiral in the standard of living of the working class can only be achieved through revolutionary class struggle." (p. 10) This implies that successful wage struggles are objectively revolutionary when in fact in imperialist countries especially they may only represent the success of the labor aristocracy in sharing the spoils of the superexploitation of Third World labor.

Practically, MIM also disagrees with the line that "world imperialism, especially the U.S. A. and U.S.S.R., are stepping up their preparations for a global showdown in imperialist WWII. MIM sees it as a mistake to consider the bombing of Libya "preparations" for World War. It is an act of world war.

More generally, this issue of Workers' Truth is devoted to "several of the most significant issues facing revolutionary Marxist-Leninists today," but it dismisses Mao for the Three Worlds theory. This is a combination of two mistakes. First, it is an empiricist mistake to throw out Maoism because of one bad theory — the Three Worlds Theory. Secondly, it is objectively chauvinist to dismiss Mao while according Trotsky so much attention given their relative importance to revolutionary history.

Forward Motion: A Socialist Magazine, July-August 1987. PO Box 1884, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130. \$3.

It is difficult to criticize this magazine because its theory is even less explicit than the theory informing our newsletter MIM Notes.

For example, from a one page article criticizing presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, one gathers that the magazine does not see much hope in the Democrats, or at least this particular liberal. The article is well-done but the thrust is not theoretical.

The interview with radical populist Mel King perhaps indicates that Forward Motion does not intend any hard-line. Among other gems concerning his congressional campaign in Cambridge Massachusetts, Mel King tells us that "I will say that I pushed for the red, white and blue because I firmly believe that we need to make the flag and those colors stand for what we believe is the ideal of America. We should not hand those symbols over to the moral majority folks and militarists." (pp. 5-6)

Implicitly, Mel King also offers a theory in regard to a Black nation proposed in

part of Boston called Mandela. The referendum lost "two to one in the predominantly Black wards," but King contends that further educational work could result in the creation of Mandela in the future.

Mel King also supports the Jesse Jackson campaign.

An obvious question in the minds of MIM folks is what did Mel King leave his partisans with after losses in the Boston mayoral race and the Cambridge congressional race. The answer that King has is to admit that the movement died down after these losses, but that he continues to try to build ongoing political organizations.

Also in this issue of the magazine is an interview with Don Rojas the former Minister of Culture in Grenada before the US invasion. Here again, Forward Motion uncritically promotes reformist and revisionist politics. Of course any information from the former government before the US invasion is useful, but Forward Motion does not really take us forward on Grenada. Rather we are left standing on the sidelines cheering.

The publication of a poem by the New People's Army of the Philippines in 1980 is likewise romantic, but rather uncritical.

Forward Motion gets to be like the Guardian, or worse, an SWP speaker, cheering for any political motion out there at all. The reader is left to his/herself to figure out that the movements s/he cheers for actually disagree with each other. Forward Motion cheers for Mel King, the New Jewel Movement, the New People's Army and the IRA without mentioning any contradictions.

Without stating the "connections" between these movements, Forward Motion leaves the reader with a big dose of wishful thinking and only some hard-probing analysis.

International Correspondence, April-May 1985, no. 7. N.I.D., PO Box 471, Ansonia Station, NY, NY 10023, \$1.50.

This issue includes a critique of the perhaps now defunct Bolshevik League, which used to distribute this magazine. Indeed, there appears to have been a coup d'etat in this group which upholds Stalinism and fraternal parties in Mali, Senegal and Canada.

The magazine reveals that the Bolshevik League formed out of the Revolutionary Wing and the U.S. Leninist Core and Demarcation. These groups were somewhat connected with Maoism in the '70s. The Revolutionary Wing was considered a "left" influence in a group that eventually merged into the Dengist LRS.

The mark of the Bolshevik League was a unique stance with various books backing their view with the appropriate citations from Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The Bolshevik League revealed little relationship to any mass movement. Between the rocks of "dogmatism" and "empiricism," the Bolshevik League steered a firm course for dogmatism.

Among its interesting stances was the line that Maoism and Trotskyism were convergent deviations from genuine communism.

The group in charge of the internal coup d'etat against the BL maintains its interesting positions though. According to the new line, it appears that communists should work in the Jesse Jackson campaign because the success of Jesse Jackson would destroy the Democratic Party. The white capitalists that finance the Democrats would flee the party. Then a real workers party at least as good as the Labor Party in England could form. Perhaps a revolutionary party would form. This is not a straight reformist line. According to this Stalinist analysis, reformist tactics can achieve revolutionary goals. It is not a simple matter to refute this approach from a revolutionary point of view.

MIM Theory no. 12,13

Focus on focoism

From Peru to Amerikan prisons: focoism or Maoism?

By MCS

MIM READERS consistently ask about various proponents of focoism, a political line which MIM has yet to address. There is one good reason to review this question at this time. According to a newspaper in Mexico City there was recently a splinter expelled from the Sendero Luminoso for Castroite deviations from Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Certain supporters of the Shining Path were supposedly expelled for indiscriminately distributing weapons. Furthermore, according to the bourgeois press, and there is no confirmation from the Senderos, the Maoists have used armed struggle against the pro-Cuban Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement. (Monte Hayes, AP, Ann Arbor News, 1/17/88, p. b1) In any case, there are two distinct armed struggles going on in Peru right now. One is led by Maoists, the other by Castroites/focoists.

It appears that so far the Maoist struggle is more successful, but it would be difficult to say that therefore Maoism is better than focoism, especially since no one has brought the Peruvian revolution to complete victory yet. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie seems to villify both movements in the mass media. As for the Amerikan "left," one might expect that it will converge in support of the Castroites if possible. The Guardian has already run an article sympathetic to the Castroites and critical of the Maoists.

If it is true that the Senderos expelled Castroites from its party, it is not necessarily true that the Senderos were guilty of liberalism, as Hoxhaites might contend. As every ideological stripe of reformism and revisionism in the world is involved in parliamentary cretinism in Peru, the social base in favor of armed struggle appears to have backed up the Senderos. It is perhaps inevitable in Latin America that part of that social base finds itself attracted to focoism.

What is perhaps more worthy of serious analysis is the influence of focoism on the Sendero line, if any. In a previous issue, MIM comrades discussed the Sendero line in favor of "militarization of the party."

The Senderos appear to claim that this is part of their original summation of Chinese experience including the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, readers of Régis Debray and other focoists would notice his stress on military action as the highest form of propaganda. (Debray, p. 56) Debray is also explicit on the relationship of the army to the party: "To subordi-

nate the guerrilla group strategically and tactically to a party that has not radically changed its peacetime organization, or to treat it as one more ramification of party activity brings in its wake a series of fatal military errors." (pp. 67-8) For this reason, Debray opposes the Maoist conception that the party should command the army because he believes that military action is at the center and should not be separated from political experience. (pp. 88-91) In Cuba, it was the army that created the party. (p. 108) Likewise, the Senderos' call for "militarization of the party" implies that the party is not already militarized, and is not already directing the revolutionary armed forces.

Furthermore, spectacular acts of urban sabotage performed by the Senderos if stressed at the expense of rural base-building also seem to indicate a focoist influence. Nonetheless, MIM currently has no definitive information or analyses of possible focoist influences on the Senderos.

The debate in the United States today

In the United States, the line between focoism and Maoism is more blurred. This is not surprising given the fact that after Khrushchev denounced armed struggle as the path to revolution, revolutionary-minded people in the United States lumped together all Third World revolutionaries in order to discredit the reformist Communist Party. (See review below of Julius Lester.)

This kind of thinking has its place. It is still worthwhile to ponder the failure of Trotskyism and reformism in the Third World.

On the other hand, there are concrete differences in how Maoists and focoists organize in the United States.

George and Jonathan Jackson and the Black Panther Party often mentioned Ché and Mao in the same breath. The Weatherman and other descendants of the Revolutionary Youth Movement did the same. For example, in the present, people such as J. Sakai, author of the history of the United States from a proletarian perspective, and E. Tani and K. Sera cite Mao to support focoism.

These Castroites are different than the mere servants of Soviet revisionism in that they see success in Cuba, but do not necessarily uphold the Communist Party in the USA or USSR.

George and Jonathan Jackson summed up the focoist position in the United States well by saying that "we cannot raise consciousness another millimeter" without armed struggle. (George Jackson, *Blood in My Eye*, Bantam Books, 1971, p. 10) Focoists believe that small cells of armed revolutionaries can create the conditions of revolution through their actions. Good examples set by foco units will be copied by the masses.

Ultimately, the focoist is scornful of analysis of concrete conditions except those of military struggle. "Conditions will never be altogether right for a broadly based revolutionary war unless the fascists are stricken by an uncharacteristic fit of total madness. . . . Should we wait for something that is not likely to occur at least for decades? The conditions that are not present must be manufactured." (Ibid., p. 14)

George Jackson gives the example of the 1930s as a case where conditions for revolution were present in America, but "the vanguard elements betrayed the people of the nation and the world as a result of their failure to seize the time. The consequences were a catastrophic war and a new round of imperialist expansion." (Ibid.) Therefore, the CP of the 1930s bears responsibility for the enormous crimes of US imperialism committed since the 1930s according to Jackson.

There are two levels at which revolutionaries must deal with this argument. First, is it factually correct that revolutionary conditions will not appear for decades to come unless the bourgeoisie makes an uncharacteristic mistake? According to MIM's founding documents, especially on the international situation, this is not the case. Even according to the Weatherman in 1969, this was not the case: "Winning state power in the US will occur as a result of the military forces of the US overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal; struggle within the US will be a vital part of this process, but when the revolution triumphs in the US it will have been made by the people of the whole world." ("You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," *Weatherman*, Harold Jacobs, ed., p. 53) The pressures of Third World liberation struggles are supplemented by US-Soviet contention, which has become more of a factor since the time that the Weatherman spoke of the principal contradiction, which was undoubtedly between US imperialism and the Third World at the time.

Secondly, George Jackson, RYM I and J. Sakai all point to the alliance between the bourgeoisified workers and the imperialists as one of the main reasons for the failure of revolution in the United States. Thus, there is a scientific analysis of why the masses in the United States will not support revolu-

tion, but no scientific rationale for the course of action supported by Jackson, Sakai, E. Tani, Kaé Sera et. al. They explain why there are no conditions for mass armed struggle, but then proceed to engage in armed struggle.

The focoists have two replies to this argument. One is an argument with suspiciously Judeo-Christian overtones. Basically, it says the masses of the United States are part of the enemy. They will never support revolution or at least not until the revolutionaries force the state to bring down repression on everybody. All that revolutionaries in the United States can do is serve as an isolated detachment of the Vietnamese, Filipino, Salvadoran etc. proletarian revolutions. Individual revolutionaries will fail in the United States but they will take some of the repressive forces/enemy with them and thus make some contribution to the success of revolutions elsewhere.

This argument smacks of Judeo-Christian ethics because it basically says do what is morally pure even if the real world impact is slight. This is a particularly vicious disease (Judeo-Christian individual conscience-salving, guilt-tripping and existentialism) in the United States where the relatively free market economy provides a material basis for individualistic thinking as opposed to class consciousness.

Additional evidence that Judeo-Christian ideology is at work in the focoist line in the United States comes from Tani and Sera. While Tani and Sera claim to uphold Mao faithfully, along with Ché, Ho etc., they are quite blunt about Maoist movements in the United States: "We are not going to discuss the 'M-L Party-Building' tendency, since it was always a rightward trend of Bourgeois Marxism imitating the old CPUSA. To us the development of revolutionary forces within the U.S. oppressor nation rested with the efforts and decisions of the overall Anti-imperialist tendency." (Tani and Sera, p. 133) Sakai, Tani and Sera carefully document their argument against lame pro-Soviet revisionism, reformism and the "Left" generally, but when it comes to what they admit was the largest trend in SDS, they snicker and guffaw without explanation.

The lack of explanation of why armed struggle tactics are appropriate now in the US, contrary to what Mao and Lin Biao said, is itself powerful evidence that there is no explanation, only ideological presupposition. These people initiate armed struggle, not because they think that armed struggle offers the best chance of success now, but because they as individuals can feel morally correct for making the greatest sacrifices to fight imperialism now. Such people remind one of the Catholic activists who advised all the workers at a factory to quit their jobs because their production was

military-related. These people are not much different than those who leave the US to demonstrate moral distaste for US policies or to join Third World revolutionary movements which they can make no contribution to. People like these who do not employ the *science* of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought in order to win state power for the international proletariat actually endanger the revolution for their own selfish, moralistic ends.

erwise favor armed struggle when conditions are conducive. That is to say premature armed struggle sets back the onset of successful armed struggle. At this stage in history, even setting back the armed struggle a few days may result in a nuclear catastrophe for humanity.

Therefore, Maoists do not regard focoism with a liberal eye.

“Premature armed struggle sets back the onset of successful armed struggle.”

The other rejoinder that focoists have is that subjective conditions create the material conditions for revolution. First, the mere example of seeing one bullet down a helicopter will shatter the invincibility of the enemy. Those who believe that it is impossible to defeat the technologically advanced US military will see otherwise in practice: “How would they have felt (the pigs and the people) if the nameless, faceless, lightning-swift soldier of the people could have reached up, twisted the tail of their \$200,000 death bird, and hurled it into the streets, broken, ablaze!! I think that sort of thing has more to do with consciousness than anything else I can think of.” (Jonathan Jackson in George Jackson, *Ibid.*, p. 19)

Secondly, the focoists say that the bourgeoisie will necessarily wreak repression on the masses in order to attack the revolutionaries.

The Maoist reply to these two arguments is two-fold. First, by ignoring material conditions, the focoists will not demonstrate the weakness of the imperialist state, but instead make themselves Christian martyrs who are useful to the imperialists in search of public proof of their invincibility. That is to say the focoists will unintentionally convince the masses more than ever before of the myth that the imperialists cannot be defeated—by losing decisively to the imperialists.

Secondly, the imperialists will not have to impose heavy repression to oppose a failed revolution of martyrs/superheroes/media stars. Where it does impose repression, the ruling class may gain the popular support of the bourgeoisified workers in favor of “law and order.”

Thus, the crux of the issue is this: Do conditions exist for successful armed struggle in Amerika? If not, starting the armed struggle too soon will only taint armed struggle in the minds of those who would oth-

Lin Biao, second-in-command to Mao at the time, put it this way in 1965:

If they are to defeat a formidable enemy, revolutionary armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution. (“Long Live the Victory of People's War!” in Mao Tse-tung and Lin Biao: Post Revolutionary Writings, ed., K. Fan, p. 383)

A favorite Mao quote of George Jackson is “When revolution fails. . . it is the fault of the vanguard party.” (p. 27) However, this quote can be interpreted to mean that revolution may fail if the vanguard party starts armed struggle too soon or too late. But the real Mao quote that focoists need to come to terms with is as follows:

Internally, capitalist countries practise bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist nor at war; in their external relations, they are not opposed by, but themselves oppress other nations. Because of these characteristics. . . In these countries, the question is one of long legal struggle. . . and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military) . . . the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries if such wars occur, the policy of these countries is to bring about the defeat of reactionary governments of their own countries. The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing. But this . . . should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless.

Mao continued to uphold this basic line 30 years later, as evidenced in the Lin Biao article of 1965:

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world." Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. ("Long Live the Victory of People's War!" Fan, op. cit., p. 396)

Grounds of unity: the RYM I line on the Euro-American masses

Although Maoists need to demarcate from the focoists' military line, the focoists' class analysis of the United States is often right on target. There is nothing in the RYM I class analysis that corresponds to its military line. Rather, the Weatherman's class analysis of 1969 (and Sakai's class analysis today) demonstrate why armed struggle is out of the question at the moment:

As a whole, the long-range interests of the non-colonial sections of the working class lie with overthrowing imperialism. . . . However, virtually all of the white working class also has short-range privileges from imperialism, which are not false privileges but very real ones which give them an edge of vested interest and tie them to a certain extent to the imperialists, especially when the latter are in a relatively prosperous phase. ("You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," Jacobs, ed., p. 65)

Since the RYM class analysis does not correspond to its military tactics, it is possible for MIM to adopt the RYM class analysis wholesale.

How clearly Jackson formulates the question of the middle classes in the United States compared with Bob Avakian's statement in "Charting..." While Avakian claims to break new ground by re-emphasizing Lenin's formulations on economism, Jackson's explanations were short and easy to understand already by 1971: "A new pig-oriented class has been created at the bottom of our society from which the ruling class will be always able to draw some support." (p. 49) Jackson adds that with victory in World War II, the bourgeoisie was able to offer Euro-American workers "the flea market that muted the workers' more genuine demands. . . . The controlling elites have co-opted large portions of the lowly working class." (p. 102)

There is a difference between someone like Avakian, who tries to form the most revolutionary pole to divert workers' movements and someone like Sakai,

who sees white workers allied with the imperialists. Avakian focuses on the history of "economism" in communist efforts in the US and implies that a correct approach to workers would produce better results. Avakian thus shares with PL the conviction that incorrect organizing has damaged revolutionary movements among American workers. On the other hand, RYM I types including Sakai focus on the "alliance" of white workers that "tie them to a certain extent to the imperialists." (Despite the difference of emphasis in "economism" vs. "alliance," neither school of thought necessarily holds that there has been a revolutionary opportunity in the United States since 1929.)

MIM should wish Avakian well with the RCP's effort to fight "economism" in efforts to organize the working class. Of the groups that do not see the white working class allied with imperialism in the short run, the RCP is the best. It emphasizes the decisiveness of the Black masses as of Avakian's most recent interview in Revolution magazine. The RCP also emphasizes the other oppressed nationalities and immigrants in the US while falling short of saying that there is no Euro-American working class.

Nonetheless, MIM has been moving toward an acceptance of RYM I/Weatherman class analysis of the United States. (See MIM Theory issues 9-11.)

Other questions and pro-RYM arguments

There is another possible reason to support RYM military tactics. Perhaps they work, but the public does not know it. When the bourgeoisie wins, as in the Brinks case, everyone hears about it. Yet, the people who are part of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF) are very capable people, often millionaires in their own right.

This is not to put them down for being capable and resourceful people. In particular the common scorn for the Weatherman as a bunch of rich white kids is incorrect. If they are doing the best thing for the revolution of the international proletariat, then it does not matter who they are.

The question is whether covert gains of the RATF outweigh its public losses. Are there covert gains that the various focoists of the RATF and BLA have won worth the public losses to the revolution?

Undoubtedly there are some successes that the public does not hear about. On the other hand, the Weatherman typically released communiques to publicize its victories.

If the BLA, RATF etc. cannot publicize their gains, then that in itself is reason to oppose their military tactics. The operation of Mao's mass line depends on the summation of information of the whole movements' successes and failures. Both in terms of propa-

ganda and internal organizational life, communication is necessary.

It is the author's impression that there are cells in the operation of the focoists in the US. These cells stay separate for security reasons.

On the other hand, on behalf of the focoists, there is perhaps no reason for the labor aristocracy, which is most of the white people in the United States, to hear about victories in armed struggle. Propagandizing among the oppressed masses would be good enough. Between the opportunist strategy of grabbing bourgeois media time and the anarchist approach of influencing only those one meets in day-to-day life, there is a lot of room. However, it has always been a hallmark of focoism to seize the greatest amount of publicity possible and thus spark the prairie fire. It seems unlikely that there are tremendous secret focoist successes.

Tani and Sera describe the Anti-imperialists this way: "In late 1969 SDS, the mass national organization of student radicalism and protest, split into two political tendencies. The first was the Anti-imperialist tendency, most visibly led by the Weather Underground Organization. . . . The second, opposing school of thought was the 'Marxist-Leninist party-building' tendency, initially led by the Progressive Labor Party's 'Worker-Student Alliance' and the Revolutionary Youth Movement 2 student bloc (whose elements became the October League, Revolutionary Communist Party, etc.). This tendency viewed the struggle as a classic, European-style worker vs. capitalist workplace conflict, and advocated using trade union reform campaigns to build a party like the 1930s Old Left. China was seen as the only world vanguard by them."

Ultimately, for Régis Debray and Tani and Sera, the failure of a reputedly revolutionary organization to take up armed struggle immediately defines that organization as bourgeois. For this reason, Tani and Sera skip over any polemic with Maoism in the US. No where in the book by Tani and Sera is there any argument why failure to take up armed struggle is bourgeois. Hence, the argument must be gleaned from Jackson and Debray and others.

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Book Review:

Revolutionary Notes by Julius Lester
NY: Grove Press, 1969

Julius Lester was a Black revolutionary poet and folksinger who had a column in the Guardian in 1968. The author is unaware if Lester is still alive or not, and if he is alive whether or not he sold out.

This book is an example of the type of literature that claims to uphold both China and Cuba while having doubts about the Soviet Union. (p. 162) Despite its varied influences, there are a number of good points that the book makes.

For example, Lester criticized the War Crimes Tribunal held in Stockholm that found the United States guilty of crimes against humanity. Lester complained that "if the only aim of the Tribunal was to salve the consciences of a few European radicals, I'm certain they're sleeping well these nights." (p. 18) He continued to rail against Sartre for making the issue of one of "commitment" because both LBJ and Sartre were "committed." (p. 19) Instead of viewing the Vietnam War as a problem of conscience or the legal system, Lester held that the fundamental issue was the oppression of nation and class.

In a similar vein, Lester criticized the flower children for posing no danger to the imperialists, legalist and pacifist illusions, liberal guilt trips by white radicals, Martin Luther King, personality cults and individualism.

The only serious problem in the book is a few pages that attribute too much leftist potential to the white masses. At one point, Lester counsels students to stop paying so much attention to Czechoslovakia and start paying more attention to doctor bills and the rising price of milk. (pp. 170-71) This kind of economism would be difficult to justify even if food, clothing and shelter were fundamental issues for the Euro-American masses. From the Sakai/Edwards point of view put forward in the last two issues of MIM Theory, this is an openly counterrevolutionary position.

For the most part, however, Lester's book stands on the side of the international proletariat. In the years that have passed since 1969, it has become easier to separate focoism and Maoism. Undoubtedly people stuck in the focoist/Maoist confusion have great revolutionary potential where a conscious effort is made.

Economic downturn in the USSR

Gorbachev admits virtual recession in Soviet Union

By MC5

ONE OF THE main questions that comes up in discussions of the Soviet Union is the fact that it seems to have no recessions or unemployment. This being the case, how can a Maoist or anyone else call the Soviet Union capitalist? In Marxist theory capitalist social relations cause recessions and depressions. Either Marxist theory is wrong or the Soviet Union is not capitalist according to Western defenders of the Soviet economy.

Given this choice, one would have to say that it would not be desirable to revise Marxism to say that capitalism does not cause business cycles. So it seems that if there are no recessions or depressions in the Soviet Union, the Western defenders of the Soviet system are right and Maoists are wrong.

In the article by Henry Park reviewed below there are some Maoist answers to this question: 1. Capitalism has not existed that long in the Soviet Union, so give it some time to produce a business decline. 2. Soviet satellites have had recessions; perhaps the Soviet Union enjoys an economic heyday dependent on social-imperialist privilege.

It turns out that evidence for 1 is already accumulating. Economic growth of recent years in the Soviet Union has ranged from 0% to 4.2% in the robust year 1986. "Stagnation" is the common word used to refer to the economic situation.

In addition, Gorbachev has promised that by the early 1990s, government controlled pricing will not exist and neither will central planning. One official said that the state will only run 25 to 30% of manufacturing.

Gorbachev also predicted that employment would become more "rational"—in other words, hiring would be done with a view toward profit and with more "frictional unemployment." He has already put forward the view that profits, enterprise autonomy, enterprise profit and loss responsibility and bankruptcy will play an increasing role in the Soviet economy. And not surprisingly, he believes Marxist theory needs revision. (New York Times, 6/26/87, 6/27/87, 1/13/88)

To advance all these goals in the face of opposition from other factions of the Soviet state capitalist class, Gorbachev has tarred his predecessors with responsibility for recession! By doing some calculations of his own, Gorbachev found that the Soviet economy declined in the early 1980s. (Gorbachev only came to power in 1985.)

His motive for doing this is apparently to blame predecessors for the sorry state of the Soviet economy and offer his own so-called reforms as the solution.

Buried in a New York Times article is the following astonishing fact: "Emphasizing the need for economic change, Mr. Gorbachev said the economy actually began to decline in size, rather than experience a slower rate of growth, in the early 1980's. He said this conclusion was based on calculations of economic growth that discounted revenue from the sale of oil abroad and the sale of alcoholic beverages in the Soviet Union." (New York Times, 2/19/88)

Thus, Gorbachev himself has removed one of the final objections of Western apologists for the Soviet Union to the argument that the Soviet Union is capitalist. The Soviet Union proper is already experiencing recession.

If it were not for the growing alienation of the Soviet working class expressed as alcoholism and the plunder of Soviet natural resources, the Soviet economy would show a negative growth rate! What a condemnation of the Soviet economy! The pivotal sectors of the economy are alcohol and oil exports!

It seems unlikely that even a die-hard apologist would try to argue that the growth of alcohol production is a good thing. Gorbachev and his predecessors have made it known that there is a growing alcohol problem in the Soviet Union.

What about discounting oil exports? This is economic genius on Gorbachev's part too; although, he may not realize it. Oil exports are dependent on the rate at which the Soviet Union wants to exhaust its natural resources. In good years, the Soviet Union can afford to hold on to its oil. In bad years it needs to sell more oil to finance imports. Obviously, the longer the Soviets hold on to their oil and the more the Soviet economy develops, the more likely their own economy will have need for the oil the same way Western developed economies do now. The point is that the Soviets can choose when to have their oil, but growth in oil exports is necessarily a one-shot deal. When the oil is gone, there is no more growth in that sector.

By selling oil now, the USSR subjects Soviet oil to the whims of the capitalist countries' demands for oil. (The one point a Soviet apologist could make is that some Soviet oil goes to other East Bloc countries. Still, the apologist would have to make the case that that export trade is not conducted on a capitalist basis.)

So why is it that the Soviets allow growth in oil exports? First, as stated, other East Bloc countries are in trouble and need the oil. Secondly, the USSR uses hard currency from oil sales to buy consumer goods from the West. Why buy consumer goods from the West? The reason is that those goods are considered the best incentives for Soviet workers to work. After all, if one earns a lot of Soviet money, but can't buy anything of interest with it, the point of working for material gain is lost.

When trade with the West grows, it goes along with the Soviet capitalist attempt to get Soviet workers

to work hard with incentives in the form of consumer goods. This is a vicious cycle. The more capitalist the economy becomes, the more alienated workers become. The more alienated the workers are the more alcohol they drink and the less they work. The less they work the more the Soviet leaders look for material incentives to boost so-called productivity—worker efforts. The more they want Western consumer goods, the more oil they have to sell for hard currency. The more oil they have to sell, the more they have to participate in the Western capitalist economy. This along with the use of consumer good incentives causes the Soviet economy to become more capitalist.

As if answering the above criticism (by admitting it by one possible interpretation), Gorbachev said the following: "We see that there is confusion in the minds of some people: Are we not retreating from the positions of Socialism, especially when we introduce new, unaccustomed forms of economic management and social life? Are we not revising the Marxist-Leninist teaching itself?"

"No wonder that there have emerged "defenders" of Marxism-Leninism and mourners for Socialism who believe that both are under threat." (New York Times, 2/19/88)

"Mr. Gorbachev said the economy actually began to decline in size, rather than experience a slower rate of growth, in the early 1980's. He said this conclusion was based on calculations of economic growth that discounted revenue from the sale of oil abroad and the sale of alcoholic beverages in the Soviet Union." (New York Times, 2/19/88)

Given this situation, Gorbachev has found it necessary to renew attacks on Marxist theory. He does this because he cannot politically afford to say that the Soviet Union is capitalist and has experienced recession and other negative social phenomena. So instead he says that Marxist theory is wrong. All these things that are happening in the Soviet Union are part of socialism, not capitalism.

If there comes to be a serious unemployment problem at some point, Gorbachev will not say that the Soviet Union is suffering the ills of capitalism. Instead, he will redefine Marxism to say that unemployment is necessary at some stage of socialism.

Now that workers are alienated and he needs more and more Western consumer goods and profit incentives to get enterprises going, Gorbachev does not say they are adopting capitalism. He says that this is part of socialist pluralism etc.

In this vein, it is not surprising that Gorbachev has recently reversed verdicts on Bukharin, who Stalin executed and left in disgrace. The reason for this is that Bukharin was the foremost defender of the New Economic Policy of the 1920s. Gorbachev wants to say that the NEP was not a set of capitalist policies, but something good for socialism generally. Bukharin told the peasants to "get rich" using the free market of the NEP. Gorbachev wants to tell Soviet workers to live the good life by working hard and buying Western consumer goods.

Gorbachev on national oppression

Referring to recent rebellions of different nationalities in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev seemed to take a Trotskyist line if one interprets "Soviet patriotism" as loyalty to the Soviet form of government and not a particular people.

"Soviet patriotism is the greatest of our values. . . Any manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism are incompatible with it." (New York Times, 2/19/88)

The other possible interpretation is that Gorbachev values all Russian nationalism to the point of being a Russian chauvinist against the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

Book Review:

An update on progress in scientific understanding of Soviet capitalism:

"Secondary Literature on the Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union"

Henry Park

Research in Political Economy

JAI Press, Greenwich, CT, 1987

Socialism in the Soviet Union
Jonathan Aurthur
Communist Labor Party
Workers Press, Chicago, 1977

Socialism in the Soviet Union is an excellent book for a revisionist one. This review certainly occurs 10 years too late, but MIM only found *Socialism in the Soviet Union* in 1988! It just goes to show that the confusion in the international communist movement because of events in 1956 and 1976 has yet to clear entirely. There remains much summation of those events to be done.

In this book, the Communist Labor Party distinguishes itself from Mao Zedong Thought through an apparent return to Stalin.

Throughout the book, the CLP pits Stalin against Mao. What is good about the book is that the differences are not distorted or ignored as in other books or revisionist apologies for the Soviet Union. The book is also fair in citing evidence and arguments from the Maoist point of view before refuting them.

Indeed, the CLP upholds Stalin and criticizes Khrushchev, Hua and Deng for revisionism. As the now-defunct Communist Workers Party was to do years later, the CLP argued as early as 1977 that revisionists in power cannot restore capitalism where socialism has been established. Perhaps more importantly, this was at least at one point the position of the Eritrean comrades of the EPLF. It still might be the EPLF position.

The CLP holds that despite the revisionism of the Soviet CP, the Soviet people do not allow the revisionists to return to capitalism. Indeed, there is an interesting quote from Stalin that the CLP uses: "The government may make mistakes, it may make blunders that may involve the danger of the temporary collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat; but that would not mean that the proletarian dictatorship as the principle of the structure of the state in the transition period is wrong or mistaken. It would only mean that the leadership is bad, that the policy of the leadership, the policy of the government, does not correspond with the dictatorship of the proletariat, that that policy must be changed to correspond with the demands of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (p. 130) Aurthur also quotes Stalin that the party is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, the implication is that the party may be incorrect but the dictatorship of the proletariat may stand.

According to Aurthur, there has never been a retrogression in world history from a more advanced mode of production to a more backward one without a war. History spirals only upward. Hence, to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revisionists would have to blunder in such a way as to bring war on their people.

But how can a spiral only go up? Is it like an outstretched slinky? Well, then it is like climbing a

mountain on a path that circles around. The problem with such a view is that it is metaphysical. Aurthur admits the possibility of retrogression through war, so where is the straight march upward? Aurthur's criticism of Mao's dialectics does echo Stalin's and Enver Hoxha's for that matter. Mao's critique of Stalin is found in *A Critique of Soviet Economics*. Hoxha's metaphysics have been successfully criticized by other groups including the RCP and PL.

Another point that Aurthur makes, which has more validity, is that while Soviet laws and policies may indicate capitalism, they are not the same as reality. "Reforms" such as the Kosygin "reforms" never gathered any steam according to Aurthur. "Objective laws of political economy cannot be changed, radically changed, abolished or negated by decrees, resolutions, maneuvers, schemes, 'economic levers,' bargaining, or the changing of a political 'line' in a factory, farm or mine." (p. 53)

Aurthur out-of-date

To reply to Aurthur on this point it is a matter of having the correct factual information and not just the frustrations of Western observers wishing for the day that the Soviet bloc becomes a capitalist dependency of the United States. In order to get this information, one could read H. Park's "Secondary Literature on the Question of the Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union" now available from MIM for the first time.

Kosygin reforms are a failure only in Western eyes

Aurthur numbers the main points of the Kosygin "reforms" (pp. 43-4) of Soviet economic organization and then parrots hired pens of the US government to prove that the reform was never implemented, only decreed. (pp. 45-46) Without reading Bland (1980) or Park (1987), one might have difficulty refuting this claim. Some of the facts that have come to light since Aurthur wrote his book are as follows:

- Firms retained 40% of their profits in 1969.
- In 1978, half of all investment came from profits at the enterprise level.
- In 1969-1970, state grants covered only 18.8% of investment. (Park, p. 45)
- In 1976, credit issued by the state to firms "financed 60% of circulating capital." (Park, p. 46)

According to Aurthur, who could not have had the above information, not even 20% of investment came from decentralized sources. (pp. 50-1) This is quite simply outdated information.

Also according to Aurthur, less than one percent of trade in wholesale producer goods was in the means of production in 1969, so the Kosygin reform does not amount to much. (p. 51) Qualitatively, this is a weak point to begin with because Aurthur does not tell the reader how fast the means of production have to change hands before he becomes convinced of the existence of capitalism. How many times must the means

of production switch hands in a year in a capitalist society?

In any case, by 1971 "two-thirds of trade turnover in 1971 was in the means of production." (Park, p. 44)

Aurthur's understanding of the Kosygin reforms is out-of-date. What is more, one can see from the nature of the discussion why it is that bourgeois academics do not keep tabs on the progress of the Kosygin "reforms." Many of the issues involved occur in Marxist discourse and the changes that occur are simply not fast enough to be of interest to academics financed by the corporations. Corporations and the Pentagon want to know if detente will be profitable. Will foreign investment be allowed? Will there be a free market so that foreign goods can compete in a meaningful way? Will the Soviets allow repatriation of profits? Can foreigners hire Soviet workers on their terms? Short of "yes" answers to these questions about

ism in the Soviet Union. He gives the following quote from Marx: "Surplus-population becomes, conversely, the lever of capitalistic accumulation, nay a *condition* [emphasis added] of the existence of the capitalist mode of production." (p. 81)

A response to this arguments exists on two levels—one factual, and a second theoretical.

First, as admitted by Brezhnev at the 26th Congress, there is unemployment in the Soviet Union. According to some independent calculations it is comparable to that found in Scandinavia. (Park, p. 54)

Secondly, given the Soviet bloc's economic trade, one must consider the possibility that the Soviet government takes advantage of unemployment in other countries when bargaining with its own workers. Recessions and worse have occurred in Hungary, Poland, Ethiopia etc.

Thirdly, it may be just a matter of time before classic recessions and greater unemployment occur in

"The Soviet economy grew at a rate of only one-half of 1 percent last year, as the Soviet Union cut back its imports from the West and failed to increase standards of living for its consumers, despite the economic reforms of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, according to an analysis by two U.S. intelligence agencies." (New York Times, Business Digest, 4/25/88, p. 25)

change in the Soviet economy, the bourgeois academics cannot sustain much interest.

What is more, Aurthur's underestimating of the success of the Kosygin reforms points to another problem, the problem of seeing revisionists in power for over 30 years without seeing capitalist restoration. If the revisionists have made decrees and failed reforms for 30 years, and economic growth is decelerating (to the point where it's been basically zero), then why don't the workers get rid of the revisionists if they are in control and not repressed?

Labor-power as commodity

Money still is the form of payment in the Soviet Union and piece-rate payments do introduce competition between workers. 56.6% of workers were paid by piece-rates in 1969. (Park, p. 44) This is contrary to Aurthur's presentation. (p. 76)

Unemployment

Aurthur contends that since there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union, there can be no capital-

ism in the Soviet Union. Capitalism hasn't been around that long in the Soviet Union. The historical boom may be coming to an end. The early expansion of settler America certainly saw long periods of labor shortage that required the importation of slaves. Does that mean that the white people lived under socialism? Of course not. Also, by Aurthur's criteria there is a contradiction for his Stalin-derived theory that has developed since 1977: massive unemployment exists in state capitalist China.

On a theoretical level, Aurthur is quite insistent on equating zero unemployment with no market for labor-power: "(Without the reserve army of unemployed there cannot be competition for jobs and therefore no possibility of setting a price [wage] for a labor power that is not yet expended.)" (p. 76) Even on the surface, this is absurd. There will always be competition for cushy jobs. Given one hundred white-collar jobs and one hundred jobs flipping hamburgers and two hun-

dred workers, there will still be competition amongst workers.

Unemployment can not be the only mechanism in capitalism that serves as a "lever" to get work out of workers. If a company guarantees a worker a job for life, does that suddenly mean that company is socialist or that the worker has no reason to produce surplus value? Jobs for life are a widespread phenomena in Japan. Is Japan socialist? IBM and many industrial companies give workers jobs for life. Are they socialists? In war-time in the United States, fascist Germany, Italy etc. unemployment was low or non-existent. When competing with other capitalists for world domination, capitalists do not want any of their workers idle. Does that mean these countries in war-time were socialist? It seems that in some historical situations, Marxists must admit that unemployment does not even serve as the capitalist class's main bargaining chip against the working class. It certainly cannot be the only one.

It is not clear that Marx's quote applies to the situation in the Soviet Union. Marx was talking about wage-labor in its most common form. However, as discussed, the Soviets use a particular capitalist tactic known as piece-rates. Piece-rates and pay based on bonuses introduce "competition between the laborers." Piece-rates serve to get work out of workers, not through the stick but by the carrot.

Having a job in the Soviet Union does not mean that one receives a standard wage except by doing a certain amount of work, the standards of which are set up in these competitive piece-rate conditions. Having a secure job does not mean that a worker does not feel compelled by conditions (high or low pay/piece rates) to work more or less than in his/her class interests.

International relations

Aurthur's book came out before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Vietnam's attack on Kampuchea. The CLP believes that the people of the USSR have kept the USSR on a socialist path despite its revisionist leaders. Why then do the Soviet people allow thousands of their children to die in Afghanistan in support of a military-feudal clique? By giving the people of the USSR the credit for socialism in the USSR, the CLP also gives the people the blame for Afghanistan. What kind of stance on the national question is that?

How did the people let their leaders hoodwink them into fighting each other across the Sino-Soviet border in several battles, if both countries were socialist? (p. 144)

Why did the Soviet people allow "history's greatest revolutionary betrayal" (p. 153) in the Congo? Don't they know that the success of their revolution is bound up with the success of communism internationally?

How can China's war with Vietnam and Vietnam's war with Kampuchea be explained if the peoples

of these countries have kept all three of these countries on socialist courses? Don't the peoples of these countries know that it is not in the interests of proletarians anywhere to fight each other, never mind the interests of socialist countries? Who is saying the masses are asses, the Maoists or the CLP?

Maoists have an explanation for why the masses have not been able to stop Soviet acts of imperialism—the repression of the masses by the Soviet leadership. The struggle between Stalin's followers and Khrushchev included struggle over control of the military.

Many successful arguments in the book

Despite the fact that Aurthur's book is incorrect overall, hopefully Maoists who read it will recognize the refutation of arguments that Maoists might be tempted to make but should not make.

Pronouncements of political line that have no impact on economic reality mean nothing. (p. 17) Maoists should not say that the mere pronouncement of line equals capitalism, only that it may signal counter-revolution in the superstructure which will work its way into the relations of production as do all revolutions—e.g. French, Russian, Chinese. The superstructure undergoes revolution first, then the relations of production.

It is suspiciously Christian to oppose material incentives, simply because they are material incentives (and not because of their real world detrimental impact). (p. 22)

Capitalism is not owning a dacha. (p. 25) Wealth is not the issue, the organization of production is.

Private plots always existed in the Soviet Union. (p. 54)

Working at one machine in a factory or on one plot of ground in the countryside is not equivalent to owning those means of production. (p. 60)

Considering the difficult conditions in which the Soviet Revolution succeeded, one can not blame the Soviet people for a "siege" mentality. (p. 139)

All of the above points by Aurthur are correct.

Some simple errors in the book

There are some simple political errors in the book. For example, Aurthur attributes the following to the ruling class in the Soviet Union: "They have arisen under socialism, and the privileges they have gained were gained under, and in a certain sense because of socialism. The elite like socialism because it means they can have their privileges and a working class whose standard of living is constantly rising, who are not likely to go on strike, riot, or overthrow the government—as long, that is, as the leadership guarantees their well-being." (p. 36) The problem here is that the material well-being of the masses can improve under capitalism too. There is no reason the leaders cannot adopt capitalism and improve the well-being of the masses. In the case of US imperialism, tremendous

gains in the living standards of the white masses have been made at the expense of Third World peoples. The white working class largely allies itself with the imperialists as a result. Economic growth is unfortunately the call of both communist and capitalist leaders and in some circumstances both communists and capitalists can deliver on the promise.

Another error has to do with Aurthur's treatment of bourgeois authorities in the US who comment on the USSR. He prefers their statements on the conditions in the Soviet Union to those of Soviet officials themselves because according to Aurthur the Soviet officials are revisionists who wish they could restore capitalism but cannot succeed. Hence their statements are wishful, whereas the statements of bourgeois academic authorities in the West are not, relatively-speaking according to Aurthur: "a well-informed reactionary is often much more reliable than an ignorant 'revolutionary.'" (p. vii) Furthermore, "American Kremlinologists, whose reputations and salaries rest on their ability to describe what the situation is in the Soviet Union, have remarked repeatedly on the failure of the 1965 reform, and the reasons for the failure." (p. 45)

Yes, the military, CIA and corporations fund Soviet studies for their interests, but does that mean that the descriptions of Kremlinologists are useful to the international proletariat? The hired pens of the bourgeoisie are paid to describe Soviet reality as it compares with the US bourgeoisie's desire for a free market Soviet capitalism dependent on the United States. In this light, it is true that the Soviets' state capitalism does not go nearly far enough for Western tastes. Hell, Chinese dependent state capitalism is not going fast enough for capitalism according to these hired representatives of the bourgeoisie. Aurthur implicitly recognizes the truth of this by not citing any Western academic authorities to describe the realities of the Soviet military or the roles of Soviet trade unions. If he had, he would have come to much different conclusions than he did.

A similar mistake is made when Aurthur argues that interest rates of 2.5% on loans to foreign countries prove that those loans are not capitalist. Aurthur says the Soviets should deposit the money with Chase Manhattan to really make a profit since Chase would offer higher rates.

This sort of ignorant argument is not common in Aurthur's book, so it will be worth refuting. First of all, the Soviets cannot just deposit money with Chase. Social-imperialism's competition with US imperialism entails keeping currencies relatively separate. It is difficult for the US imperialists to find things they want to buy from the Soviets, so they may not have much use for rubles. Secondly, there is an element of national competition. The loans to other countries in rubles can only be used to buy products from the Soviet Union. Thirdly, hasn't Aurthur ever heard of capitalist competition? So the new imperialist on the bloc(k) undercuts the prices of its competitors. What

else is new? With such rates, the Soviets should be able to cut out all its competitors on the international market. (Of course, the Western practice of "dumping" might arise in which case the imperialists will temporarily pay countries to borrow their money. This in effect is what is happening when Western imperialist banks write off their loans to Latin American countries.)

In another poor argument, Aurthur says that it is not conceivable that Soviet revisionists would allow small entrepreneurs to exist in the countryside. He points out how large multinational corporations in the West crush their smaller competitors. He fails to recognize that there may be a political value that the revisionists see in allying with petty capitalists in the countryside. (pp. 53-54) Certainly this is what Deng Xiaoping is doing. Secondly, the industrial state capitalists may consider themselves better served by smaller enterprises in the countryside. In any case, no capitalist society is monolithic and plenty of mom-and-pop stores are allowed to exist in the United States despite the existence of national chain stores.

Turning an even debate into a blowout

In 1977, the state of anti-revisionist knowledge and theory of the Soviet Union and China was weak at a movement level. The leading proponents of Maoism were in confusion. The October League/CPML fell for Hua Guofeng. The RCP was in turmoil and continued to call China socialist in public. Only an isolated study group published anything against the state capitalist counterrevolution in China and that book was necessarily thin on the facts of China's new economic organization. It is actually remarkable that Aurthur responded to the Maoist arguments on the Soviet Union as early as 1977. Many arguments that Aurthur refutes were probably incorrect and weak formulations common among the thousands of Maoists of that time.

Today, in 1988, it is still only 12 years since the overthrow of Mao's followers. It is also only 12 years since the theories of Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan accounted for the material basis of the new bourgeoisie that arises under socialism. It has been only 12 years that the international communist movement has had to understand its most advanced experience to date—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In 1988, the first comprehensive academic book on capitalism in China has been in print from a publisher in Hong Kong less than two years. MIM has distributed a definitive book on the political economy of China for only four years, and only to a very limited audience.

It is unfortunate but true that Aurthur's book was undoubtedly used victoriously by some of its partisans in struggles against many Maoists and would-be Maoists. To defeat Aurthur, one would have to have read W. B. Bland's book published in 1980 or at least a lengthy review of it and other books that came out in 1987.

Now, however, as works like these come out, the facts in China and the Soviet Union are speaking louder and louder. Supporters of Mao and the Gang of Four can have no doubts about what is happening in China if they study the issue closely. It is perhaps possible that smoldering in the ruins of socialism in China and the ebb of the international communist movement is the *science* of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. It is possible that this science will once again win over the borderline comrades of the CLP/CWP past. As counterrevolution in China, the Soviet Union and Vietnam becomes more and more manifest, the science of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought will gain more adherents and once again become a more unified material force in the United States.

Fascism spills over from US satellites

The mayor of Los Angeles Thomas Bradley asked the City Council to post a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for death squad murders and abductions in LA.

Death squad activists from El Salvador are killing opponents of the Salvadoran military dictatorship in the US. (LA Times, 7/23/87, p. 6)

Call to do research on Vietnam:

Like the USSR and especially China, Vietnam turned capitalist

Vietnam has been enacting dramatic economic so-called reforms. "Foreign investors are now welcome to set up wholly-owned enterprises in all regions of Vietnam, with the right to place foreign personnel in key management positions. . . . The new code additionally guarantees foreign investors the right to repatriate profits as well as principal. And the government pledges that it will not nationalize any enterprise in which foreigners have an investment." (Guardian: Radical Newsweekly, 1/20/88, p. 1)

On the domestic side, the new codes call for worker incentives, wages according to productivity, shareholding and cost accounting." (Ibid., p. 13)

The Communist Party head, Nguyen Van Linh and State Planning Commission and Vice Premier Vo Van Kiet have a history of setting up private cooperative enterprises even in defiance of the party. Now they are the leaders of the party and that in itself is an indication of capitalist social revolution going on in Vietnam.

China, the Soviet Union and Vietnam have enacted sweeping "reforms," which are so clear in their capitalist nature that they cannot be called "reforms." They are part of capitalist revolutions going on in those countries.

The changes in Vietnam are a blunt challenge to

Available for the first time!

"Secondary Literature on the Restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union" from *Research in Political Economy*

By H. Park

This article reviews arguments within self-described Marxist-Leninist circles. In the process, the review establishes the existence of state capitalism in the Soviet Union. It is the best article length piece on the subject.

\$2.50 cash or \$2.50 money order or check with name section blank.

MIM, PO Box 3576, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-3576.

the ideology of focoists and various cheerleaders of Third World struggles in the United States including the Guardian. Recent Guardian articles are perhaps a belated recognition by the Guardian that Vietnam is capitalist. On the other hand, the Guardian seems swept up in the spirit of rhetoric of *glasnost* and "pragmatic communism" sweeping the world, which just goes to prove that there will always be a market for cheerleaders.

In addition, descendants of the Revolutionary Youth Movement I, such as the Weatherman, are now going to have to account for their uncritical support for capitalist revolution in Vietnam. Are Sakai, Tani and Sera and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee still claiming to be socialists or communists?

The case of Vietnam indicates the limitations of RYM I type revolutionary nationalism. In fact, the new attempts to make Vietnam another dependent country demonstrate that revolutionary nationalists are "false" in their nationalism.

In future issues of MIM Notes and MIM Theory, MIM will summarize the concrete changes that have been going on in the Vietnamese relations of production. Those wishing to contribute to this should write in now.

Sectarian Review:

**Forward Motion: A Socialist Magazine,
November-December 1987
\$3 PO Box 1884, Jamaica Plain, MA
02130.**

In this issue, the Freedom Road Socialist Organization sets forth its most recent position in favor of the Jackson campaign for president. It starts from the premise that "the major conflict in U.S. politics today remains that between the Reagan coalition and the diffuse forces aligned against it." (p. 1)

The FRSO sees some hope in Paul Simon and saw hope in the candidacy of Pat Schroeder. Basically though, the FRSO is committed to the Jackson campaign.

MIM Notes readers will notice that the FRSO says, "There is only Jackson the peace candidate" in the very issue that the FRSO should have condemned the U.S. bombing of Iran and Jesse Jackson's support of that bombing; although, in fairness Forward Motion generally does not deal with current events. (Send \$1.50 for MIM Notes no. 33)

Aside from the FRSO's goal of doing everything to get out the popular vote for Jesse Jackson, there is also the FRSO's idea of using Jesse Jackson to build up AFL-CIO union memberships in the South and Southwest. This is perhaps a typical example of how militants become social democrats in the United States. The FRSO has discovered that there is no major social base in the United States proper for radical or revolutionary social change, so FRSO moderates the revolutionary goals of Marxism while still claiming to be Marxist.

The main part of this magazine is dedicated to interviews with various Chicano and Mexicano activists. It's a sampling of opinion that is fairly interesting.

Another article focuses on the merger of various "Left" groups in Mexico to form a Mexican Socialist Party. The new group includes members of group that supposedly traces its roots to Mao and the Cultural Revolution. The new grouping includes revisionist parties such as the pro-Soviet Communist Party.

Typical of this group and the FRSO itself is the following statement: "It is in practical, day-to-day work that we must define our politics, and not only in old theories." (pp. 33-34) Clearly, the FRSO favors this kind of unity on a low common denominator.

The PMS in Mexico is said to have 100,000 to 125,000 members.

Finally, this issue contains an article on the contradictions in the meatcutting industry. As one would expect from a "Left" magazine, there is no explanation how meatpacking workers making \$9 and

\$10 an hour link themselves to issues other than bread-and-butter-and-VCRs. Will these workers work for revolution or even social reform or accept \$1.25 wage cuts if strikes fail?

The alliance of these workers with the US imperialists leaves little hope for an explosion of anti-imperialist political activity among these workers, but Forward Motion does not bother with this problem.

Forward Motion, January-February, 1988 "Organizing in the Changing South"

In this issue, the FRSO and allied organizations argue that organizing the South is key in revolutionary work and that the key to that is organizing a Black belt nation.

The first article is about efforts to establish Black majority governments in cities such as Keyville, Georgia.

The next article by the Amilcar Cabral/Paul Robeson Collective states many common theses:

*"Black nation in the U.S. South had its origins in the period when the plantation slave economy prevailed."

*"Monopoly capitalism will not permit the development of an independent national bourgeoisie among Black people."

*"In all these areas of social and cultural life, the white U.S. ruling class dominates the African-American people." (p. 6)

The FRSO makes its assertion that the United States is a social formation characterized by the contradiction "between white supremacist national oppression, on the one hand, and the forces led by the oppressed nationalities against that oppression on the other." (p. 9) Along these lines FRSO recommends a struggle for land, unionization and Black political power.

Another article reviews the trend in Black ownership which is that by the year 2000 there will be no Black farms at the current rate. (p. 18) Gary Grant makes some convincing analysis as to why: "A 1986 congressional study of FmHA [Farmers Home Administration — ed.] practices in Holmes County, Mississippi, found that it took the FmHA nearly four weeks longer to process Black farmers' loan applications than for white applicants. Furthermore, they rejected more than twice as many Blacks' requests for loans as whites." (p. 19) As a solution Grant calls for a political movement to unite small farmers and save Black land.

Other articles included a discussion of Black theology, organizing against the Klan, jazz and a eulogy to the late Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago.

Overall, the author was not persuaded that this issue led anyone forward on the question of national supremacy. With some exceptions — the article on Black land ownership — the articles seemed to make assertions of theory and politics for the sake of putting them out there and keeping them out there. That of course is important — so is keeping people in touch with the activities of the Klan, recent trends in the Black church etc. Ultimately though, this issue of Forward Motion does little to persuade or weld people into the conscious political leadership needed today.

Forward Motion, March-April 1988, "Ireland Today and the Fight for Freedom"

This issue contains interviews concerning the struggle for Irish self-determination against the British. It contains no analysis by the FRSO.

The interviews are well selected to emphasize the internationalism and anti-racism of the IRA and the Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein is a political party in support of the armed struggle for Irish republicanism.

Although this issue does not contain in-depth analysis of any sort, it contains some basic arguments on behalf of Irish self-determination.

"We have never asked people outside Ireland to support the armed struggle. It would be far better if they did, but that isn't the business we're about. We ask people to support the right of the Irish people to self-determination, to support a strategy of de-colonialization. The principle of national self-determination is an internationalist and socialist one," says Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein. (p. 11)

Furthermore, Adams proves quite aware of the problem of public opinion in the United States: "The struggle then is to bring about national self-determination through a strategy of de-colonialization. If one doesn't base one's judgement on that and gets tied into all the side things then one becomes absolutely and utterly confused. It'd be, 'Catholics fighting Protestants.' It'd be 'IRA terrorists.' It'd be the British being benign peacekeepers with their 'white man's burden' being carried out by British soldiers in the streets of West Belfast!" (p. 15)

Adams is also quite good on the issue of Black to Irish relations in the US: "I wouldn't wish to have support from someone who on the one hand professes our right as a people for national self-determination, and on the other hand was denying human beings their rights on the basis of color or creed." (p. 14)

A final point of interest is that while Sinn Fein credits certain individual politicians in the British Labor Party, it clearly faults the British Labor Party socialists for lacking internationalism: "British socialists, have persistently been guilty of the most heinous crimes against the Irish people when they get in government. They helped preside over the H-Blocks of Long Kesh

Prison. British Labor ministers planted the roots of a policy which led to the hunger-strikes here. The British Labor Party got itself involved in a most undignified and unprincipled alliance with the Unionist Party in order to prolong its stay in government. And there are numerous other examples that could be cited." (p. 9)

MC5 found this issue enlightening. It should go on the MIM literature list until MIM can find something better to situate the Irish-British conflict. In the future MIM should do agitation on this issue, especially because the Irish republicans are not allowed into the United States themselves.

New Unionist, "Stock Market Crash Signal Depression Near," December, 1987 \$30, New Union Party, 621 W. Lake St., Suite 210, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 823-2593

This four page tabloid reminds MC5 of the International Workers of the World (IWW). It is not clear what the New Union Party's differences are with the IWW or any other leftist group for that matter from this single issue.

The New Union Party advocates the formation of "one rank-and-file controlled union" and a political party to gain majority electoral support and set up "an elected Congress of delegates from each industry." (p. 2)

This issue of the paper is devoted to the stock crash and it is boring. Mostly it consists of a dry lesson in economics without much originality.

Labyrinth: The Philadelphia Women's Newspaper, Vol. 4 Number 6 PO Box 42614 Philadelphia, PA 19101-2614

The lead article is about a convention of 500 women from 40 states in Philadelphia in November 1987. The theme was "The Unfinished Agenda: Women's Future Under the Constitution."

Another article talks about the civil disobedience in October of over 800 lesbians and gay men at the Supreme Court. They were protesting the Supreme Court's decision outlawing sodomy and the government's "feeble response to the AIDS crisis."

Overall, this is a liberal/radical tabloid. For instance, one major theme is that women should vote themselves some power. One article featuring Bella Abzug is the epitome of this line of thinking. Yet, there is no dogmatic assumption that lesser evils is the way to go for women. A full page ad calls on women to "help find candidates you can believe in."

This progressive publication appears to depend on the advertising of the Philadelphia community, particularly women. It is evident that the tabloid is at

least partially in touch with the community of Philadelphia.

CROW, #25, July 1988, \$4.00 — checks payable to AFTA, PO Box A, Wharton, NJ 07885. 130 pp. glossy covered magazine

CROW is a review of "video, film, television, music, books, essays" as its cover suggests. It is not put out by a Marxist-Leninist group. In fact its authors and editor might be happy to be called liberals from what the reviewer can tell in this issue.

Right from the beginning, the MIM comrade reviewing this magazine — MC5 — would have to admit that s/he is unqualified to review CROW. CROW largely focuses on "video, film and television," which is not an area of MC5's expertise.

Still, it is easy to tell that CROW is written from a knowledgeable and strong point of view worth tangling with. While CROW is not explicitly Marxist, it does recognize militarism, classism, racism, sexism and heterosexism when it sees it. In the cultural field, this in itself is enough to recommend it.

The cutting edge of CROW is its support of gay liberation. Several of the movie reviews focus on the influence of AIDS hysteria in what is coming out of Hollywood. CROW excels in making subtle connections and interpretations in and of movie texts. Readers learn to look for indirect and even unconscious messages from film producers by reading CROW. For example, The movie "Fatal Attractions" is only one of many films that moralizes about how unrestrained sexuality brings about horrible consequences.

Other clues to the line in CROW is its unabashed praise for the SubGenius Foundation, PO Box 140306, Dallas, TX 75214. Its directory of fanzines informs readers that CROW is hooked into the so-called marginals network of punks, anarchists, nihilists etc.

It is also very tempting to call the cultural critique offered in CROW radical, neo-Freudian. As Wilhelm Reich, CROW would seem to favor sexual revolution in a way that is not often heard in the 1980s. Indeed, some of the reviews point out how the sexual revolution has petered out since the 1960s. CROW's critique of the watered down feminism of the 1980s is indicative. For example, CROW offers a scathing criticism of feminists working to ban pornography. (p. 119)

In addition to relating the "isms" to contemporary culture, CROW has a strong and consistent point of view because of its uncompromising championing of the libido. This includes the destructive side of the libido in that CROW seems to find well-done horror movies to be socially redeeming.

According to CROW, some horror movies that are done realistically leave the audience happy to be alive (p. 8) and more appreciative of the evils of

violence. Too often, according to CROW, violence is portrayed as something that characters recover from immediately (p. 7) — getting a chair broken on one's head (John Wayne movies) or similarly a piano dropped on one's head (as in Tom & Jerry cartoons). Apparently some producers consciously struggle against this by making violence realistic.

CROW fills a niche that nothing MIM distributes does. MIM promotes very little by way of a critique of contemporary culture. CROW magazine covers very important areas — visual media — that MIM has left largely untouched.

CROW also offers strong analyses and opinions from a gay liberation point of view. Therefore, while CROW is not the revolutionary communist magazine on contemporary culture that MIM would put together if it had the people, it is the best that MC5 is aware of in this niche. People who oppose putting this magazine on the MIM literature list should write, explain why and offer a better periodical that critiques contemporary culture.

Revolution, Spring 1988, Revolutionary Communist Party "On the Question of Homosexuality and the Emancipation of Women"

In discussions and written exchanges with MIM comrades and countless others, the RCP has discovered that its line on homosexuality in its program frequently provokes outrage. The RCP calls for the "elimination" of the ideology of homosexuality once capitalism is overthrown.

That is not to say the murder of gays and lesbians. In fact, the RCP has said that it opposes all forms of discrimination against homosexuals. Indeed, anti-homosexual pogromists are part of resurgent Amerikan Ramboism according to the RCP.

This RCP article is an attempt to rebut the RCP's critics. Unfortunately, it's really an example of a theological exercise. At the foundations of this elaborate construction of Marxist verbiage are out-and-out bourgeois assumptions. The bibliography of this wide-ranging and assertive article contains only three non-party sources, which themselves are referred to very sparingly. This lack of research by itself assures that the RCP's analysis consciously or unconsciously leans on the dominant ideologies of this time.

In very fancy Marxist phraseology, the RCP says that homosexuality's current function is ideological and symptomatic of the patriarchy and decaying capitalism. Gays and lesbians are not breaking with the patriarchy, only serving as blatantly reactionary or reformist expressions of it at best.

"All forms of human sexuality — including homosexuality — are manifestations of underlying social relations." (pp. 40-1) Indeed, the RCP treats homosexuality as an ideology. Most of the article compares homosexuality with communism and finds homosexuality lacking as a revolutionary vision! "Narrow," "selfish," and "narcissistic" are the words used to compare homosexuality with communism.

In the one place where the RCP compares homosexuality with heterosexuality — a footnote — the RCP only asserts the facts of why heterosexual behavior will continue to dominate for a very long time: "Long-standing worldwide significance in the reproduction of people and production relations, coupled with the millennia of stubborn traditions." (p. 45) This is not an ideological line, unless by it the RCP means that it is futile and therefore bad to challenge heterosexual relations.

This is an especially embarrassing statement by the RCP because the RCP admits that "heterosexuality has never again been free of that stamp of oppression [of the patriarchy — ed.]" (p. 43-4) The RCP admits it would be "tempting" to toss heterosexuality out the window for this reason. So what is happening here — an inability to think past the status quo or an opportunist silence which takes advantage of the prejudices of the status quo concerning sexual orientation?

The RCP has yet to deal with some key relevant facts. As one of the two main reasons that the RCP cites for the dominance of heterosexuality, reproduction of the human race is raised. That is astonishing. Does the RCP not realize that artificial insemination is a long-standing practice that requires no sexual relationship? This is not to mention test-tube babies coming in the future. Sexual intercourse is not necessary for reproduction and the RCP's ignoring of this fact is again opportunist silence playing into the hands of bourgeois ideology.

As for the fact that the patriarchy of heterosexist relations is based on property lineages — the importance of being able to pass down property through the generations — this only proves that heterosexism is a product of class society, not homosexuality. In fact, by the RCP's line of reasoning, if it were factually true that homosexuality appeared with the decay of capitalism (which it is not), homosexuality would have to represent the stirrings of a new proletarian order *since it can serve no use in the transferral of property!* Just as the proletariat has no interest in creating new property relations, only an interest in abolishing them, homosexuality is a practice with no possibilities of being tainted by inheritance considerations! If the RCP has discovered anything by its analysis of the dominance of heterosexism in society, it is the exact opposite of what it intended.

In addition, the inheritance practice could be imitated by gays too. There is no reason they could not adopt children or use artificial insemination.

Filled with unbacked factual assertions such as that gay men are mostly middle class, that the bourgeoisie promotes and practices homosexuality, that lesbian relations have all the same problems as heterosexist relations (but to the same degree with the same statistical frequency one might ask) (pp. 47, 48, 50), this RCP article asks a lot of people's factual knowledge. That is tantamount to opportunism on this issue because the education system clearly prevent

people from having extensive factual information about homosexuality.

The research just isn't there for the RCP to be making all these reactionary assertions.

In any case, there is perhaps one sense in which it is correct to compare homosexuality with communism. If heterosexual communists spend less time thinking about their sexuality and more time working on stopping World War III than do homosexual communists, then there is a problem with homosexuality. However, how could we call someone a communist in the first place if his/her first concern is his/her own sexual needs? On the other hand, one might expect a gay or lesbian to concern his/herself disproportionately (not necessarily mainly) with discrimination against gays and lesbians in general. Or looking at it from another angle, would one expect a South African proletarian to distribute his/her political time to various issues the same way a proletarian in the US would? Of course not.

So on the surface, one might think that maybe homosexuals do spend more time involved with their sexualities than do heterosexuals. If this is true, however, it does not show as far as MIM has learned in practice. It is this comrade's experience that the homosexual population is better than the heterosexual population on average in its political outlook. This is especially true now with the material conditions created by AIDS, something that the RCP seems aware of. (p. 47) In any case, to prove the opposite contention the RCP would have to offer some evidence.

Thus, this comrade would like to agree with the RCP that sexuality should not be a dividing line question. When the international proletariat has yet to protect itself from war and feed and shelter itself, sexual needs will have to take the backseat.

The RCP may be right that fighting discrimination against gays and lesbians may be all that is required to unleash their revolutionary energies. In the same sense there is a duty to fight sexism to unleash the struggle against imperialism and war. People who do not see these duties to fight heterosexist and sexist oppression are not communists.

On the other hand, the RCP's poor presentation of this issue has convinced this comrade that either severe ignorance brought about by decades of Marxist-Leninist neglect of the sexual revolution or opportunist capitulation to dominant bourgeois ideologies or both underlie the RCP's stance. And, opportunism is a dividing line question. The RCP does confront some of its critics' points head on in this article. For the most part the RCP argument collapses, but at least the RCP tried on some issues it hasn't before. Unfortunately, MIM is also aware that the RCP has not tried on all the issues the RCP has been made aware of. The RCP is content to let bourgeois ideology fill in the gaps.

PERSONALITY CULTS: INDIVIDUALIST IDEOLOGY ROOTED IN
CLASS SOCIETY

There is great confusion among Marxist-Leninists and those claiming to be Marxist-Leninists concerning the nature of personality cults. The Revolutionary Communist Party rivals only the Moonie cult in posting meaningless photographs of their leader. Huge pictures of Bob Avakian are often accompanied by as little as a slogan in small letters "Revolution in the 80s, Go For It!"

Ever since the first ruling class formed, there have been those who set themselves up as exploiters in society based on magic and other forms of mysticism, especially divinity. Magic, witchcraft and religion are all equivalent philosophically speaking. They all involve idealism.

Whoever makes claims to a role in history does not need a photograph plastered all over to do so. Mao Zedong's role in history is no less despite his saying as early as 1970 that "the talk about 'establishing in a big way' and 'establishing in a special way' is also improper. Authority and prestige can be established only naturally through struggle and practice. They can not be established artificially. Prestige established artificially will inevitably collapse." (Committee for a Proletarian Party now DRU, "Cultural Revolution in China," 121) One can not help thinking of Avakian's

pictures and Raymond Lotta's book billed by the RCP as the first significant deepening of Lenin's theory of imperialism.

(Revolution, Spring 1984, 52)

The reason for the RCP's marketing hype for its literature and photographs is the old ruling class ideology that denies that the masses are the makers of history. Unfortunately, the RCP flim-flam denies the role of Mao, the Chinese CP and the Chinese masses in the deepening of Lenin's theory of imperialism.

Worst of all, these idealists try to claim a legacy in Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. For the record, Mao himself did admit to Edgar Snow that a little personality cult was necessary for the Cultural Revolutionaries to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, he changed his tune radically after he was able (and forced) to do without the support of Lin Biao--the second in command to Mao during the Cultural Revolution and a subsequent traitor to that revolution.

In a famous letter to Jiang Qing in 1966 that was circulated after the death of Lin Biao, Mao explained that he had for the first time in his life to make an alliance against his will. Among other things Mao said, "I would never have thought that the few books I have written could have such magic powers. Now he [Lin Biao] has sung the praises of my works, the whole country will follow his example. . . . My friend and his colleagues have presented me with a fait accompli. It looks as if

there is no other course left open to me than to give my approval." (Organization for Revolutionary Unity, *The Cultural Revolution in China*, 121) Lin Biao had been the most powerful military commander in the country at a time after the Great Leap when Mao no longer directly held a major government role. In 1972, Lin died after a coup attempt. Subsequently, Mao said in discussions that he only wanted to be remembered as a teacher, not a "Great Helmsman" and certainly not the object of deification.

Mao himself explained the problem with personality cults. "The way in which absolute authority is presented is improper. There has never been any single absolute authority. All authorities are relative. All absolute things exist in relative things, just as absolute truth is the total of innumerable relative truths, and absolute truth exists only in relative truths." (Ibid., 121) To justify a personality cult by that fact that there are differing levels of truth and understanding is to evade what Mao has already addressed.

Nor does Mao ever approve of his being made into a genius. "To be a genius is to be a bit more intelligent. But genius does not depend on one person or a few people. It depends on a party, the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat. Genius is dependent on the mass line, on collective wisdom." (Ibid., 122) Furthermore, "I am no genius. I read Confucian books for six years and capitalist books for seven. I did not read

Marxist-Leninist books until 1918, so how can I be a genius?"

(Stuart Schram ed., Chairman Mao Talks to the People, 293)

Proletarian ideology dictates that the masses be given credit for making history even when priests, intellectuals and the bourgeoisie try to claim that God, the Id, Walter Mondale or Bob Avakian are making history. The task of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing less than the conscious expropriation of the class that has taken credit for the initiative and labor of the working classes.

If ever there were a "genius" or key fighter for class consciousness, Karl Marx would have to be one. He made his proletarian stance clear on this issue. "Neither of us [Marx himself and Engels] cares a straw for popularity. A proof of this is, for example, that, because of aversion to any personality cult, I have never permitted the numerous expressions of appreciation from various countries with which I was pestered during the existence of the International to reach the realm of publicity, and have never answered them except occasionally by a rebuke. When Engels and I first joined the secret Communist Society we made it a condition that everything tending to encourage superstitious belief in authority was to be removed from the statutes." (Karl Marx in Robert Tucker The Marx-Engels Reader 2nd ed., 521)

SPARTACIST LEAGUE WORKING FOR TWO BOURGEOISIES

The Spartacist League (SL) claims that it is "Marxist," but in reality it is merely a louder, more youthful version of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA). Both parties defend the Soviet Union and both take up the Soviets' reformism. In confusing youth, the Spartacist League renders services to the US bourgeoisie that the aging and ailing CPUSA never could.

SL'S SUBJECTIVE ROLE: MILITANT DEFENSE OF SOVIET REFORMISM

Who says there's no such thing as a two-fisted liberal? When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the SL sloganeered "Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan!" To this day, the SL defends the invasion as raising the literacy rate of the Afghani people. If one shows an SL member an interview with an Afghani woman who was raped by the "Red" Army, SL says the invasion is justified because the Soviet workers' state is against the veil. This kind of shit passes for social revolution in the SL's book because like all Trotskyists they do not know what social revolution is having never led one anywhere in the world. Sorry SL, or not sorry, we will not apologize for what you think is a "Red" Army. Red Armies fight for social revolution, not militarized semi-feudalism.

SL's defense of "reform" in Afghanistan is equalled by the SL's defense of "detente." Of course, the SL would deny that it defends the Soviet Union's form of detente, but this is not because SL has fundamental disagreements with detente--only the

current version officially expressed by the USSR. The proof is the SL's reaction to the showing of "The Day After"--the watered down movie about nuclear war that about 100 million Americans saw. The headline of the SL's newspaper article was "Soviet Nukes Deter Imperialist Holocaust: Nuclear Soap Scares Hell out of America." (Workers Vanguard, 12/2/83, p. 3) Like Kautsky, who saw imperialism as a policy and not a system or the highest stage of capitalism, the SL believes that imperialists merely have to be convinced to stop their behaviour. Moreover, SL distorts Karl Marx "'material force must be overthrown by material force.' And the material force which prevents the Pentagon from unleashing megadeath is, first of all, fear of a Soviet second strike." (Ibid., p. 8) Talk about commodity fetishism! "Love the bomb" and the "bomb keeps the peace" says Reagan and the SL. Marx and Lenin said that only armed revolution could overthrow colonialism, imperialism and imperialist war. They never said that inanimate objects could.

Khrushchev and later Soviet revisionists did say that the bomb could keep the peace with the West so they argued for the disarmament of liberation struggles primarily in the Third World. The revisionists claimed that the liberation struggles were a threat to world peace so that they could get various liberation struggles to lay down their arms; sell out and cut a deal with US imperialism--a deal that the Soviets would broker. Of course, the just struggles of revolutionaries in the Third World were termed dangerous by the Soviets, but it was OK for the Soviets to arm parallel to the US; invade Afghanistan;

blackmail Poland and bomb the Eritreans on the Horn of Africa, who are fighting for self-determination against both US and Soviet imperialism. To this day, the Soviet CP, the CPUSA and the SL argue that Soviet nukes make "peaceful coexistence" with US imperialism possible. It was left to Mao to defend Leninism and the need for revolutionary war against imperialist war.

It is not surprising that with this revisionist understanding of imperialism, war and peace, the SL goes on to leach off the Democratic Party's charges against Reagan. "Reagan is War Crazy" screams the front page of the SL paper. (Workers Vanguard, 1/6/84) No, SL, Reagan is not crazy. He is doing precisely what the capitalist class needs. He is preparing for an imperialist war to redivide the world with the Soviet bloc at the cost of holocaust if necessary. Reagan is working in his class interest--something the SL fails to see with its emphasis on imperialism as a policy.

SL like all Trotskyists, pisses on the struggle of oppressed nations for self-determination. Afghanistan is one case, but Trotskyist chauvinism and racism are best epitomized in SL's slogan during the American invasion of Grenada--"Grenada for the Cubans!" When thousands of internationalists took up the urgent cause of exposing the US invasion of Grenada, all SL could do was think of ways to divert the movement into the hands of Soviet social-imperialism or to discredit the movement altogether.

The same is true of the struggle of the people in Central America. While the official pro-Soviet Communist Party of El

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Salvador is calling for a "negotiated settlement" and the laying down of arms, SL has been sloganeering about "military victory to the leftist insurgents!" who SL never names. Even worse than this attempt to leach off an armed struggle, the SL promotes the slogan that the Salvadoran leftists need Soviet MIGS. Like Trotsky, who called guerrilla warfare "Stalinist adventure," SL has no understanding that the guerrillas' weapons mainly come from the oppressor itself. The guerrillas take the weapons of those imperialist-backed forces they defeat. So SL asks supporters of guerrilla warfare, "what are they going to use, sticks?" Like all revisionists, SL sees things--not people and politics--as decisive. They see Soviet nukes and MIGS as decisive, but then they wonder why the Soviet Union does not give Salvadoran guerrillas MIGS.

SL likes to say what the USSR's policy should be to defend its own workers' state or dictatorship of the proletariat. SL likes to say what the USSR should do to help world revolution. SL is like the liberal-radical who berates the Democratic Party out of the illusion that the Democratic Party will serve the people it claims to. The Kremlin has different ideas. It calls its rule the "dictatorship of the whole people." It does not even call itself the "dictatorship of the proletariat," a "workers' state" or a "deformed workers' state," as SL does. (Question: what is a deformed worker?) All SL can do is whimper about what the USSR should be doing.

Subjectively, SL and SYL (youth group of SL) like to think of themselves as militant hard-liners opposed to the US. They think

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they know how to defend the Soviet Union better than the current leadership of the Soviet Union, so they put out pro-Soviet slogans that even the Kremlin would denounce--"Grenada for the Cubans" for example. Another example is the romanticism of the SL's "Yuri Andropov Brigade" that went to an anti-Klan rally. (Workers Vanguard, 2/17/84, p. 2) Not even the CPUSA would name a brigade after Yuri Andropov and the CPUSA is the official US counterpart to the Soviet Communist Party! Many people mistake out-Sovieting the Soviets as ultraleftism, but the truth is that even subjectively, the SL is only militantly defending reform in Afghanistan, deterrence and illusions about the Soviet Union's support of liberation struggles.

OBJECTIVE ROLE OF THE SL: FBI

Objectively, the SL serves much more sinister purposes. As such loud defenders of the Soviet Union, SL discredits all the events it attends. No one benefits from such an outlandish defense of the Soviet Union except the FBI.

The daily practices of the SL are also well-known. SL finds it quite appropriate to heckle Noam Chomsky as he links the US, Israel and the Salvadoran regime. On the other hand, SL does not heckle or even protest an appearance by Jerry Fallwell.

In their love of slogans and demonstrations, the SL takes pictures of each demonstration and placard-holder. Any serious "Marxist" knows that the FBI and police infiltrate left organizations. The co-chair of one Trotskyist group was proved to

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be FBI. So why does SL take pictures--to let the FBI have them when the FBI can't take the pictures openly themselves? Worse, why does SL publish pictures of people who are not even in their group?

People who do political work have surely been interrupted by SL members. Why does SL harass people who are passing out literature on the streets? Since when do genuine Marxists fear the political activity of the masses? Then why does SL so often tell so many different people "to get out of politics?" Are people not allowed to learn through practice or are all non-SL people supposed to learn politics from SL's briefcase of literature?

The answer is the same as to the question of why SL members threatened one person who had just stopped attending SL meetings. Two SL members said that it's OK that he left the meetings because of disagreements, but the day he called Trotsky a "counterrevolutionary," he would "get a two-by-four over the head." SL violence at demonstrations is well known. Objectively speaking, SL's attacks on the masses and particularly new activists is to serve the US bourgeoisie. SL "Marxism" is service to US imperialism under a subjective cover of support of Soviet revisionism.

Related questions:

See Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky

War and Peace

People's Daily, "Leninism or Social-Imperialism?" People's China
eds. David Milton, Nancy Milton, and Franz Schurmann

Kostas Mavrakis, On Trotskyism.

"Review of On Trotskyism."

The Political Economy of Counterrevolution in China: 1976-84, a
look at the state capitalist economy that the SL defends.

All of the above and more on Soviet revisionism are available from
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ON TROTSKYISM: PROBLEMS OF THEORY AND HISTORY

THE SPARTICIST LEAGUE, SOCIALIST WORKER'S PARTY AND OTHER GROUPS INCLUDING YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS AND VARIOUS FRONT GROUPS THAT HAVE DESCENDED FROM THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ALL OPENLY UPHOLD TROTSKY, KOSTAS MAVRAKIS, WHO TEACHES PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS VIII, EXPOSES TROTSKY, TROTSKYISM AND TROTSKYISTS IN ON TROTSKYISM FOR

- OPPOSING GUERRILLA WARFARE & A MAJOR ROLE FOR PEASANTS IN REVOLUTION
- FALSELY CLAIMING TO BE LENINIST
- SPEWING OUT ANTI-COMMUNIST AND ANTI-SOVIET LITERATURE
- SLOGANEERING WITHOUT A FIRM UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIALISM
- NEVER ACCOMPLISHING REVOLUTION ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD

Trotsky's most well-known defense of himself is that he and other true Leninists are the victim of Stalin and his followers. However, without evaluating Leninism or Mavrakis' Maoism in this leaflet, one can easily see that Trotsky is not only not an innocent Leninist, but also that he was often outright counter-revolutionary and anti-Lenin; even though, Trotsky had the power and administrative skills to have a large role in the Soviet revolution. In fact, Lenin criticized Trotsky for "the sin of excessive confidence and an exaggerated infatuation with the purely administrative side of things." (p. 56)

Trotsky, on his side said the following of Lenin before the revolution: "All Leninism at this moment is based on lies and falsifications and bears within the germ of its own decomposition." (p. 8) Also, Lenin according to Trotsky was "the leader of the reactionary wing of our Party" and "a hideous caricature of a malevolent and morally repugnant Robespierre." (p. 55) Later, Trotsky is condemned at the 13th Party Congress just before Lenin's death. Despite high-level movements to expell Trotsky from the Communist Party (CP), Stalin opposes the purge of Trotsky.

Then, two years later, Trotsky forms an opposition faction in the governing CP. In his "Clemenceau declaration," Trotsky promised to do his utmost to overthrow the Soviet government in time of war. In fact, he flip flops on whether the Soviet government should be overthrown because it is bourgeois or for a different reason, but at one time he said the Soviet people should "deal with the Stalinist bureaucracy as in their day they dealt with the Tsarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie." (p. 80) After Trotsky's "Clemenceau declaration" of July 1926, Trotsky lost most of his posts until he was finally expelled from the CP November 15, 1926. (p. 12)

Yet, Trotsky was not done with his undermining the fledgling revolutionary state. Trotsky (who is quoted by people such as Milton Friedman's mentor, author of The Road to Serfdom, Hayek) commented to the St. Louis Post Dispatch that "The political regime of the USSR is not a new society but the worst caricature of the old." (p. 78) Calling the USSR "the totalitarian abomination," Trotsky noted that fascist states and the USSR were "symmetrical phenomena" which "show a deadly similarity in many of their features." (pp. 78-9) Furthermore, "Soviet forms of property (italics mine) on a basis of the most modern achievement of (over) (Written by Henry Park, QUINCY B-12)

American technique transplanted into all branches of economic life-- that indeed would be the first stage of socialism." (p. 75)

Trotsky's idea of socialism seems far from any standard notion and it certainly is not Leninist. Lenin noted that proletarian state power and cooperative production relations are necessary to socialism. He does not include international revolution as one of the things "necessary to build a complete socialist society" as Trotskyists do. (p. 27) Moreover, legal "property forms" and planning are not the keys to socialism just as Hitler Germany, Nasser Egypt and current South Africa are or were not socialist. Even further, "politics must have precedence over economics" according to Lenin. Meanwhile, Trotsky believed forced labor "would reach its highest degree of intensity during the transition from capitalism to socialism" and militarized labor "is the basis of socialism." (p. 44)

Self-reliance does not occur to Trotsky as a major option for single revolutionary states as he admits: "But, in elaborating the theoretical prognosis of the October Revolution, I did not at all believe that, by conquering state power, the Russian proletariat would exclude the former Tsarist empire from the orbit of the world economy." (p. 30) In addition, "capitalism has converted the whole world into a single economic and political organism." (p. 179)

According to Trotsky, "the living historical process always makes leaps over isolated "stages" which derive from the theoretical breakdown into its component parts of the process of development in its entirety." (p. 178) Therefore, an economically backward country must wait for the advanced countries to lead on. Socialism in the non-Western countries is an absurd notion because "the example of a backward country, which in the course of several Five-Year Plans was able to construct a mighty socialist society with its own forces, would mean a death blow to world capitalism, and would reduce to a minimum, if not zero, the costs of the world proletarian revolution." (p. 30)

Indeed, any peasant dominated country would have to wait because "the town is the hegemon of modern society and only the town is capable of assuming the role of hegemon in the bourgeois revolution." Trotsky goes out of his way to include "the East, China, India, etc." (p. 134) Furthermore,

"Many sections of the working masses, particularly in the countryside will be drawn into the revolution and become politically organised only after the advance-guard of the revolution, the urban proletariat, stands at the helm of the state. Revolutionary agitation and organisation will then be conducted with the help of state resources." (later in same book)

"In such a situation, created by the transference of power to the proletariat, nothing remains for the peasantry to do but to rally to the regime of the workers' democracy. It will not matter much even if the peasantry does this with a degree of consciousness no larger than that with which it usually rallies to the bourgeois regime." (p. 24)

In contrast, Lenin wrote that the revolution was accomplished first "with the whole of the peasants against the monarchy" and only later did the revolution move on, with the peasants, to build socialism. (p. 22)

Since energy must be focussed in the West, guerrilla war is condemned by Trotsky: "It must be said openly: calculations based on guerilla adventure correspond entirely to the general nature of Stalinist policy." (p. 146) Finally, Trotsky, who died in 1940 before most Third World liberations took place wrote "the revolutionary centre of gravity has shifted definitely to the West." (p. 181)

--"The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." (Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach")

THIRD DRAFT OF CRITICISM OF THE RCP

(MIM)'s formation represents a challenge to the RCP USA. MIM is setting out to build a vanguard party based on Mao Zedong Thought. Eventually, everyone who supports the RCP will come into contact with MIM.

In the past, the RCP, the Black Panthers, the Progressive Labor Party and other groupings have served the role of the most advanced party in the US at one time or another. It is disappointing to see the RCP tend to follow other groupings in dropping the banners of the Gang of Four, Mao and Stalin.

Problems in the RCP go beyond the ebb in the International Communist Movement (ICM). The RCP has adopted some incorrect tendencies in its view of party-building. Pictures of Bob Avakian, the chairman, are plastered all over much in the way Mao's profile was deified by Lin Biao. The entire political content of such posters, which may have as little as the slogan "Revolution in the 80s, Go For It!" on them, is that heroes are THE ANSWER, especially for the vacillating petty-bourgeoisie which finds itself in need of an anchor. For Marx's and Mao's criticism of personality cults, see "On Personality Cults."

Of course, the RCP doggedly defends its pretty photographs with the line that the RCP is merely recognizing the role of leadership, the conscious element and the vanguard party. In reality this amounts to Liu Shaoqi's formalistic line that anyone who attacked him or his allies was "anti-party." The photograph game is a mockery of Mao's line on personality cults and his view of political line as opposed to party organization for its own sake as decisive. The reduction of politics to mass adulation for a fetish is an insult to both politically backwards and advanced people.

However, if the mindless cult around Avakian were the only problem with the RCP, then all advanced people would have to struggle within the RCP to erase a minor blemish on a party that is obviously deeply involved in making revolution. The real problem is that the cult is a symptom of a division of labor within the RCP which is ultimately rooted in a "left" economist line.

The RCP does not hold state power; therefore, it is not generating a "new" bourgeoisie within itself. Nor does the personal prestige of leaders within the RCP serve as more than a partial basis for the problem of the RCP's line.

Overall, it still must be stressed that the RCP is not the main enemy. Not even the CPUSA is the main target of revolution in the US. The bourgeoisie does not primarily reside in any party in the US except for the Democratic and Republican parties. Even if the RCP were dishonestly claiming the banner of Marx, Lenin and Mao, it would be incorrect to unleash our major blows against the RCP. MIM targets the US Government above the Ku Klux Klan and other disgusting organizations. The best way to knock the wind out of the sails of the RCP is to do just this.

The purpose of this essay is to spell out some differences between the MIM and RCP line, especially for those people interested in Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought (MLMZT). There are many honest people in the RCP struggling to grasp MLMZT.

DEFINING THE BASIC PROBLEM OF THE RCP'S LINE-- "LEFT" ECONOMISM

Economism is an incorrect view and practice relating the vanguard party to the broad masses and their daily struggles. It is rooted in the doctrine of economic determinism and was especially strong in the Second International, which spawned today's reformist Socialist International and groups like the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Basically, economists expect economic conditions to serve up political change on a silver platter.

Rightist economists cheerlead for wage struggles as tantamount to revolution. Cheerleading for various struggles while keeping one's revolutionary opinions to oneself, saying what people want to hear and otherwise losing militance is more generally known as

opportunism or tailing spontaneous (politically unconscious) struggles. This "right opportunism" is the main danger in the party-building process in the world.

Although the RCP defends its line in Liu Shaoqi fashion, MIM is currently of the opinion that the RCP's deviation from communism is a "leftist" confusion of the relationship among the international conjuncture (and the basis of revolutionary opportunity), class, the base of the vanguard party and political line.

Quite typically, in its very document intended to make a break with economism, the RCP states that "the poorer they are, the more people want revolution." Fine, but then the RCP says its "firmest base" is among people "who feel it most." Already this is a bourgeois liberal-guilt sort of line. Furthermore, it is an empiricist line especially given the decisiveness of the superstructure at this time. (See "On the Crisis of Marxology and Economism.")

The RCP does not mean to say that India and Bangladesh are automatically in a revolutionary situation. The RCP stands head and shoulders above other parties in understanding that at this time it is the contention between the rival imperialist blocs and the self-destruction which this implies that provides a chance at making revolution against weakened states.

Still, the RCP has not made the link between the desire for revolution and the ability or freedom to make that revolution. The question is why if the poorest want revolution most they do not make it. Clearly the answer is that they do not have the opportunity or freedom to do so. The state is the most obvious reason why: The police, army, prisons, family and other repressive institutions oppress the poorest most of all.

To this the RCP says that we must work "from the revolution back." This is a profoundly un-Marxist notion, exactly the same as Trotsky's idea of waiting for pure proletarian insurrection. The vanguard party will have to have support among the workers who will control the most strategic parts of the US. However, the way to obtain this support is not to tail after workers or wait for them. The only waiting that has to be done is for the bourgeoisie to get further involved in the current WWII. As the bourgeoisie destroys itself, the proletariat and the vanguard party need only collect bids for the rope contract for the hanging.

God, Avakian and the Moonies do not offer real world solutions. The revolution will be made with what's at hand, not a miraculous international conjuncture brought about by obscurantist leadership.

"Left" economism is manifested in a constant oscillation between viewing the masses as asses and believing that the masses would step forward automatically if there were a heroic example. "Left" economism is different than right economism only in that its result is more aggressive organizing.

Of course, the RCP's own "left" economist line is that the masses are asses. In an article in the Revolutionary Worker, the RCP compares the masses of the US to the inhabitants of one giant insane asylum because of their lack of understanding of the situation in Central America. It is true that the American public does not know what side the US is on in El Salvador and Nicaragua, but that is a result of the bourgeoisie's domination of the means of communication and information, not the inherent stupidity or insanity of the masses. Mao saw clearly that it does no good to attack the masses, but it does give the bourgeoisie the chance to rule in place of the masses. That is why the ultraleft attack on the masses is "left" in form but ultraright in essence.

The "masses are asses" line results in commandism and attacks on the masses. Since according to this line there is an incredible gap between the politically conscious leaders and mere followers in the party and amongst the masses, leaders order their followers around to make sure the "correct" thing is done. What is missing is any attempt to mobilize the masses through Mao's mass line. Pushed to extremes, the "masses are asses" line results in treating the masses as the enemy. Indeed, the RCP would do well to take a look at "On Handling Contradictions Among the People." To attack the masses as anti-party is to support a non-Marxist line.

The spontaneous generation of revolutionaries line results in the push for a party of heroes to spark the masses. This point of view also justifies commandism within the party since superheroes do not want lower-ranking party members to mess up any chance to spark the masses. If macho, superhero leaders order around lower level party members in the short run, this is justified by imminent mass rebellion seeking divine leadership according to this line.

In any case, the "left" economist line justifies the personality cult, a stifling division of labor, commandism and in extreme cases, attacks on the masses.

The ways economism and workerism are expressed by the RCP to youth are many. One is that "youth can not lead the revolution." This is not correct. Precisely because youth do not form a class but a strata, they can lead revolution. Contrary to some RCP circles, not all youth are "crazy" (ready to step forward, but in need of heroic leadership) and unable to make revolution in the long run. Any strata can lead the revolution. There are female, Black and youth leaders of revolution. There is no formula for saying which strata will contribute the most proletarian revolutionaries.

Another ally of economism is the theory of productive forces--another determinist view. This is used to defend tailing after workers. In this view, those people that do not have the correct relationship to the means of production can not lead the revolution, since ultimately, development in the productive forces spurs revolution.

In another variant of the theory of productive forces offered by Liu Shaoqi in his ultraleft form, the masses are so culturally backward, that they are in sore need of rectification by correct party leaders, who see to the growth of the productive forces themselves since the masses are so incompetent. Of course, this sort of elitism is not much different than the ideology of leave-it-to-the-market (i.e. ruling class) found in the U.S.

In contrast, MIM believes that class struggle, mainly over the state at this time constitutes the most important part of relations among people and classes in general. Furthermore, at this time, ideological and political line largely determine one's relationship to the very means of production.

Mao said that "ideological and political line are decisive in everything." Experience and expertise are not the requisites for fighting and upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat; otherwise, how could anyone in the United States be a socialist? The empiricist explanation of youth's inability to lead revolution must be thoroughly exposed and rooted out. Line not experience is decisive. Also, empiricism must be linked to the pragmatist line of expertise in command or that "politics must serve economics," which is the line in Beijing right now.

ACCELERATING ATTACKS ON MAO

Since the RCP has a lot of trouble being the banner-holder for Mao in the US, it is not surprising that RCP leaders have taken to attacking Mao in between the lines. In a chapter right out of recent Chinese history, Avakian started an attack on Lin Biao in the closing pages of his *Harvest of Dragons*. Now, people who have studied recent China know that since 1972 the revisionists have attacked Mao and the Four by targetting Lin Biao alone and not as part of a general succession of revisionists in the Chinese CP led by Liu Shaoqi. Today, Deng and Co. always mention the Four and Lin Biao in the same breath while omitting references to Liu Shaoqi, who the revisionists have rehabilitated.

Avakian appears to be attacking Lin for overestimating the revolutionary potential of the Third World. (*Harvest of Dragons*, 150) This is not just a typical Trotskyist refrain on Avakian's part. Something about Lin Biao has been worth singling out in Avakian's first article in *Revolution* and in his *Conquer the World*. In the closing pages of *Harvest of Dragons* Avakian criticizes people who are always talking about the "masses, the masses, the masses." (p. 147)

Who are these mysterious people? They are none other than followers of Mao and the Cultural Revolution. Mao himself often used the phrase "the masses, the masses, the masses" in calling for daring leadership of the masses, self-education and the steeling of

youth in revolutionary struggles which necessitated contact with the masses and the carrying out of the mass line:

The ultimate line of demarcation between the revolutionary intellectuals on the one hand and non-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary intellectuals on the other lies in whether they are willing to, and actually do, become one with the masses of workers and peasants. (Mao in 1939 in "The Orientation of the Youth Movement," Peking, 1960, p. 9)

Moreover,

What should be taken as the criterion of judging whether a youth is a revolutionary? How shall we make him out? There is only one criterion, namely, to see whether he is willing to, and in practice does, unite and become one with the broad masses of workers and peasants. (Ibid., 9, 10)

In the creation of his bourgeois-style political machine, Avakian has found it necessary to piss on Mao's profound contributions relating the masses to the vanguard party.

The RCP is also no longer excited by Mao's contribution to the proletariat's understanding of imperialism. The RCP calls Raymond Lotta's book *America in Decline* "The First Significant Deepening of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism." (Revolution, Spring 1984, 52) Apparently the united front against Japanese imperialism is not applicable in the world as a whole. (Revolution, Spring '84, 20) The two stage revolution of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial country just seems like no fun for Avakian anymore. Indeed, it seems there were several anti-imperialist revolutions (unnamed of course) that Mao was screwing up for not coordinating in an International. This of course was again a result of Mao's national chauvinism according to the RCP. "Maoism without Leninism is nationalism (and also, in certain contexts, social-chauvinism) and bourgeois democracy." (Conquer the World, 38)

Moreover, "Imagine, for example, what it would have been like if the revolutionary line in China had been more clearly and firmly an internationalist one." (Ibid., 44) In addition, The "Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement" cosigned by the RCP is in general better than any of the RCP's literature in regard to criticizing Trotsky at least as much as Stalin, the role of the masses and anti-imperialist struggle and the relationship of economism in both "left" and right forms to the international situation. However, even in this document there is an attack on the Chinese CP under Mao for its "exaggerated understanding of the negative aspects of the Comintern." What were the Chinese supposed to do in 1963? Ally with the Soviets? Who were the genuine organizational units that needed an international body? Why should the CPC open up parties to attacks from the Soviets (and US) just for the sake of visible unity? By 1972, the bourgeoisie had control of China's foreign policy through Zhou Enlai. Why should Mao push for an International led by Zhou and Deng? Weren't millions of copies of the works of Mao distributed internationally? To say that the Chinese did not support revolution internationally is just pure slander. The Chinese shed their blood in Korea and sent arms and other aid to the Vietnamese. These were the most significant revolutions to actually occur. Does the RCP want to play the Trotskyist game of blaming Mao/Stalin for the failure of world revolution?

Most grievous of all the attacks on the most important aspects of Mao's Thought and all of Marxism-Leninism is the RCP's between the lines dismissal of the Cultural Revolution in China. Besides widespread ignorance of Liu Shaoqi within the RCP coupled with Avakian's attacks on Lin Biao and disdain for Mao's views of the masses, the RCP downplays the most advanced and pathbreaking experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Avakian is fond of saying that it is easier to establish the dictatorship of the

proletariat in the backward countries but that it will be easier to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat in the formerly imperialist countries. What a massive illusion! What Eurocentrism! In fact it will be harder for many reasons. One is that the masses of the imperialist countries have long been bribed with superprofits and depoliticized. Another is that they will not get the chance to engage in protracted guerrilla warfare. Insurrection will be brief (compared with that in China) and necessarily focussed in the army, navy and airforce. The armed forces will be more thoroughly hardened and professionalized than in any Third World country. Avakian says there will have to be a professional army after the revolution in the US to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pisses away the lesson learned in China--that the professionals in any part of the state--army, navy and airforce and bureaucracy--form a real material basis for the generation of a bourgeoisie in the party. The armed forces in the US will be a thousand times worse than the Red Army of the Long March as a basis for the generation of a new bourgeoisie in the party.

The RCP is also soft on Chinese revisionism. There is rarely any concrete exposure of the Chinese "reforms" since Mao in the Revolutionary Worker. Nor has the RCP done any major in-depth or theoretical work detailing those changes. As of 1987, the RCP has yet to concretely show what it is that is concretely happening in China in our own lifetimes. Avakian's theoretical treatments of the coup in China are nothing but camouflage for his unwillingness to really expose the internal workings of Chinese state capitalism.

The RCP's line is that China could not help becoming revisionist because external forces are decisive and China was alone with Albania against the world capitalist system. The RCP correctly initiated discussions within the party about the coup in 1976, but it never really stressed that China is state capitalist. *Revolution and Counterrevolution* leaves the question at the stage that China is on the capitalist-road and should be described as socialist in public practices of RCP activists. With the publication of *The Capitalist-Roaders Are Still on the Capitalist-Road* in 1977 by a non-party study group, one wonders why the supposed vanguard RCP took so long to come to its position in favor of the Cultural Revolution and the Gang of Four in China. Was there really a process that needed two or three years of struggle in the RCP or was the RCP leadership waiting to see what its competitors in the October League/CPML would do and who would get the China franchise?

More recently, in *America in Decline*, Raymond Lotta downplays the significance of the coup in China. As discussed elsewhere, Lotta is trying to imply that World Wars alleviate the crisis of imperialism and restructure the world for another round of accumulation. This is fallacious to begin with, but Lotta adds that China's entrance into the Western bloc "has had no leavening effect on crisis," as if anything but the dictatorship of the proletariat could. However, even though war is aimed at the redivision of the world, Lotta does not see that the coup in China is the equivalent of a war fought by US imperialism for the allegiance of a large country with influence in many liberation struggles to boot.

The RCP also attacks the Chinese experience with the party and the conscious element. Even in his defense of the Gang of Four, Avakian delivers pretty faint praise: "Perhaps they were not as good as Stalin." (RCP, *Revolution and Counterrevolution*, 22) (Of course, Mao's grade for Stalin was 70.) And the context this comes up in is "the sphere of correctly distinguishing and handling contradictions between the enemy and the people and contradictions among the people." (Ibid.) Clearly Avakian is implying that the Cultural Revolution was characterized by attacks on the masses similar to Stalin's purges and that the Four are to blame. Mr. Avakian, who was it that developed the theory of continuous revolution? Who was it that saw that attacks on impurities among the masses were useless? Who saw that class struggle continued under socialism? Avakian seems to have done the necessary work to claim the banner of the Four, but little statements between the lines reveal his own analysis. Jiang Qing "I believe, was capable of more than a little subjectivism." (Ibid., 104) This of course is with no evidence or even an anecdote. It also plays into stereotyped thinking about women. Finally, Avakian gets a kick out of an

RCP CC member's statement "well, war is approaching and we don't have a socialist country to defend, thank god." (Revolution, Spring '84, 15) With that flippant an attitude to the most important experience with socialism to date and that much disdain for the development of the conscious element, it is no wonder that the RCP finds itself "thanking god" and Avakian every day.

Mao made it clear that the liberation of 1949 and the Cultural Revolution were the two most important accomplishments of his life. The RCP leaders seem to be quietly dropping the lessons of the GPCR and relegating the Chinese's theoretical contributions to the struggle against imperialism to irrelevance.

ATTACKS ON STALIN, SOFT WORDS FOR TROTSKY

As one would expect, the RCP's counterfactual and baseless speculations reach new heights in discussions of Stalin. Basically, the RCP rejects the united front. Again it is interesting to consider that maybe the alliances of WWII made by Stalin were not in the interests of the proletariat. One suspects that this idea of fighting on one imperialist side against another might be a bad thing, but once again the RCP proves itself master of innuendo and unproven assertions.

The Trotskyists and other bourgeois critics of Stalin like to point to the 1939 Non-Aggression Pact that Stalin made with Hitler. None of these critics like to point out that in the next few years it was Stalin's army, not the British, French or American army that turned the tide against Hitler and won the war.

Raymond Lotta finally acknowledges this in *America in Decline*. (p. 212) Still, the RCP argues that overall the balance of WWII was not good for the socialist countries or even progressives. (Avakian, Revolution, Spring '84, 12) Gentlemen, we are not dogmatists, but what would you have done? Better yet, since you benefit from hindsight, who would you have supported at the time instead of Stalin?

Off hand, Stalin is right that the bourgeois democracies if left to themselves do not have any overriding interest in preventing fascism. It is also well known that Hitler wanted Britain by virtue of its racial heritage to be a partner in imperialist plunder. Hitler also did not expect to fight the US for top dog status right away. He saw a role for Americans too. So why couldn't the bourgeoisie have divied up the world including the Soviet Union? Churchill is known to have considered it very seriously. When Britain was losing in 1941, what was there to lose? In no case would Hitler or Stalin have had the illusion that they could be in harmony in the long run. Before Hitler sent the Jews off to concentration camps it is known that he had all the communists killed. Nor did Stalin ever have any illusions about the West. He did not exactly pack in his game in Eastern Europe or in the Cold War that ensued WWII.

The scorecard for WWII, as it probably will be for any World War, was favorable for socialism. China broke through thanks to Japanese imperialism's battering of China and war with the US. Britain's international desperation made it lose its grip on the colonies in a way that at least allowed for upsurges often in the guise of fighting fascism. Albania broke through. It is true that communism fared poorly in Western Europe. The RCP has detailed this fact in their journal the *Communist*. Still, the contention of the imperialist blocs could easily have become the division of the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the world. The RCP denies this as part of its elevation of interimperialist rivalry to theoretical heights above the other three contradictions Mao cited as most important in the world today.

THE RCP'S REINTERPRETATION OF LENIN

The RCP's favorite hiding place is Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, where Lenin discusses the necessity of having a vanguard party. A tired RCP refrain in defending its metaphysical disdain for the concrete and the particular is that "you must not understand the need for leadership and a party." This party for its own sake line reaches its highest

heights in the defense of Avakian's photographs. Essentially, the RCP accepts the popular bourgeois interpretation of Lenin's struggle for a vanguard party as a struggle for a bourgeois disciplinary body to check the democratic tendencies of the masses.

The RCP's "left" economist line leads it to its view of the party as merely a bourgeois disciplinary body. This is the root of commandism and their line of experts in command. The experts line is shown in the RCP emphasis on a division of labor within the party and in the deification of party leadership. One RCP representative has been so thoroughly mystified as to say that Raymond Lotta (an RCP leader) is just not available for forum discussions. He is just so high up that the masses could hardly hope to see him in the flesh. However, when it comes to selling Lotta's book *America in Decline*, Lotta is, as it turns out, a national lecturer.

The RCP's one-sided emphasis on discipline in the party is shown in its one-sided attacks on Charles Bettelheim. In the *Communist*, the RCP attacks Bettelheim as non-Marxist based on all Bettelheim's works prior to his third volume of *Class Struggles in the USSR* in which Bettelheim does finally call the Russian Revolution a capitalist revolution.

The recurring theme of the article in the *Communist* is that Bettelheim is a bourgeois democrat who does not uphold party discipline and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Indeed, the RCP comes right out and says that oppression of sections of the masses is necessary to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. (*The Communist*, no. 5, May 1979, 203) In contrast, Lenin stressed that the dictatorship of the proletariat was an "alliance" of the proletariat with other classes between itself and the bourgeoisie. It is an unequal alliance led by the proletariat, (Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 29, p. 381) but no Marxist has ever called for the "dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and a section of the masses." Indeed, the RCP is directly contradicting one of Mao's five most important essays on philosophy: "Dictatorship does not apply within the ranks of the people. The people cannot exercise dictatorship over themselves, nor must one section of the people oppress another." (Mao, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tsetung*, 436)

The RCP's critique of Bettelheim has other examples of in-between-the-lines attacks on Mao. The RCP objects to this quote from Bettelheim. "In brief, a ruling party can be a proletarian party only if it refrains from imposing orders on the masses and remains the instrument of their initiatives. This is possible only if it submits fully to criticism on the part of the masses, if it does not try to impose "necessary" tasks upon the masses, if it proceeds from what the masses are prepared to do toward the development of socialist relationships." (Ibid., 220) The RCP must want to impose socialism on what it views as the ignorant masses. The RCP even disagrees with this almost exact paraphrase from Mao: "The only 'guarantee' of progress along the road to socialism is the real capacity of the ruling party not to become separated from the masses." (Ibid., 221)

The real reason for the RCP's 63 page attack on a professor who does not even hold state power is that the RCP wants to distance itself from the Cultural Revolution's lessons in fighting revisionism. Bettelheim was one of the most important first-hand observers of the Cultural Revolution. In 1968 at a time when the revolutionary movement in the US thought of Mao as "heavy" but was too weakly developed to build a party, Bettelheim struggled in the forefront of the academic community to debunk criticisms of the Cultural Revolution and to explain the theory of socialist transition. Later he described the actual particulars of the *Cultural Revolution and Industrial Organization in China*. This book described the masses in their actions to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the end of the book Bettelheim wrote a postscript which distinguishes him as clearly as possible from bourgeois democrats and ultraleft/anarcho-syndicalists. It starts out "the Cultural Revolution did not result from 'spontaneous' mass action inspired by the illusory views of the 'ideology of spontaneity,' but from mass action aided by the political guidelines of Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line, and from the activities of the workers, peasants, cadres, etc., who adhered to this line. These guidelines and activities alone made it possible to concentrate the correct initiatives of the workers, and enabled the Chinese masses to unify

their struggles and to define the objectives they had to attain before they could hope to overcome a bourgeois line and social relationships that obstruct China's progress along the road to socialism." Bettelheim wrote this before the RCP even existed and yet the RCP concludes that Bettelheim has not even provided a flashlight in the struggle to light up the road upholding Mao Zedong Thought. (Ibid., 234) This is just the RCP's way of saying that studying Bettelheim's books on the Cultural Revolution is a waste of time.

Unfortunately, the "Declaration of the RIM," which the RCP is a party to states that "The Marxist-Leninists in the advanced capitalist countries face the task of continuing to combat the pernicious influence of revisionism and reformism in their ranks. The key to doing this remains the fight for principles developed by Lenin in the course of preparing and leading the October Revolution." (p. 45) This sounds good until one realizes that this poses Lenin against Mao in the fight against revisionism. However, one quickly realizes that Lenin never "developed" the restoration of capitalism thesis. How can we claim that the bourgeoisie right inside the Communist Party took power in the Soviet Union and China if the principles that Lenin developed are still the key? It took the experience of the ICM and the Chinese CP in particular to develop the theory of continuous revolution. There is no way to demarcate against Hoxhaism, the CPSU or the CCP without that theory. There is no way to demarcate on the Soviet Union and China without principles developed by Mao.

Basically the RCP and its allies are saying that Mao Zedong Thought does not apply to advanced capitalist countries. Mao's advances in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From" are again knocked down from the realm of philosophy or revolutionary theory to the realm of China's national revolution. MIM is a "Maoist" group and upholds the lessons of these essays of Mao's in fighting revisionism and recognizes the Cultural Revolution in China as containing the most advanced, concentrated and universal lessons in fighting revisionism to date. Again this is not a dogmatic defense of Mao. Such a defense is a contradiction in terms. This is to point up the differences between the MIM line and the RCP line. While the RCP pretends to go back to Lenin, MIM holds that it is impossible to uphold Lenin without upholding Mao. Marxism-Leninism is doomed to failure and death if it ignores the lessons of MZT.

FORMALISM: AN EXPRESSION OF "LEFT" ECONOMISM

Those who are active in politics will be struck by the RCP's formalism. One RCP spokesperson literally regards the RCP's most inactive member as more of a threat to the bourgeoisie than the entire Communist Workers Party (CWP, five of whom were killed in Greensboro by the KKK/Nazis/US Government) and Dennis Brutus, who is rated as one of the top twenty opponents of apartheid by apartheid. MIM's experience has been that the decisive question for the RCP in its recruitment of new members is whether or not candidates consider the RCP as THE VANGUARD outside of any discussions of political line.

Thus it is not surprising that the RCP has trouble recruiting youth, who Lenin stressed above all else in *On Youth*, are rightfully too impatient to give organizations steeped in formalism a second thought. The personality cult, the marketing hype and loftiness of the RCP cadres, and the endless attacks on the masses as something of a practice of dictatorship over people are all rooted in a "left" economist line and theoretical confusion.

MIM can only hope to live up to the spirit of Lenin in his writings in *On Youth*. In spirit, he favored summary executions of cadres who said there were no advanced youth to be had in the party. He advocated that people who were too formalistic and purist to get involved in mass struggles, meet people and recruit them vigorously with or without the proper seasonings, experience etc. that these people be kicked out of the party. In these times when the forces who uphold Mao are having trouble keeping up with the

spontaneous upsurges of the masses, this attitude should be applied to all strata and classes as part of a general organizational line.

ON THE RCP'S STANCE ON SOCIAL BASE

MIM does not suffer from bourgeois liberal guilt trips. MIM will not wait for any strata or the proletariat itself to mount the political stage.

Instead of tailing after one social base or another, MIM starts from the international proletariat's scientific view of the international situation. In this time of imperialism and world war, the international proletariat has already established that it's had enough and that it will make revolution given the opportunity during imperialist war. If one disagrees with this point, it would be correct to conduct an investigation of the demands of the oppressed peoples now and in the recent past. It is not that MIM abandons the mass line on this point, but that MIM sees the mass line as already established on the basic questions of imperialism and war in this time period. On organizational questions and burning issues of the day it is still necessary to conduct relentless investigation and uphold the mass line.

Of four contradictions at this time--between the imperialist countries and the oppressed countries, between blocs of imperialist countries, between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries, and between the imperialist countries and their own proletariat--MIM focusses only on the first two. MIM has a duty to intervene first and foremost in these two contradictions. There are no socialist countries at the moment, so the third contradiction has little impact on MIM line. As for the fourth contradiction, it is a factor, but the analysis of class struggle within the United States for instance does not have a principal influence in MIM's formulation of revolutionary strategy at this time. (See upcoming issues of MIM Theory on the labor aristocracy of the U.S. as a majority of the population.) Consequently, MIM does not derive its social base from this fourth contradiction. Frankly, the masses of the United States do not dictate MIM's line. Rather, MIM's line on imperialism and war dictate MIM's social base. It is possible, however, for Maoists to disagree on this issue.

MIM's social base is that group of people who see the necessity of destroying and transcending imperialism and its symptom of militarism. It is the analysis of the current situation as one of World War III and MIM's line of working to stop it and go beyond it that separates MIM's social base from the RCP's.

In response, the RCP has said that it is mostly the petty-bourgeoisie that is in motion as a result of war and imperialism at this time. However, if "petty-bourgeois intellectuals" and students are receptive to MLMZT, then MIM will dare to recruit amongst those strata and any others willing to listen. MIM will boldly organize united fronts among everybody opposed to imperialism and militarism. The RCP claims that MIM is writing off the proletariat. Fine, Trotskyists can wait for pure proletarian insurrection. If Mao had not organized the masses of "petty-bourgeois" peasants and if Lenin had not made all the peasants "middle peasants" by giving in to their demand for private plots, neither the Chinese nor the Russian Revolution would have happened. Both Lenin and Mao were excellent in assessing principal contradictions and adjusting their expectations of social base accordingly.

Concretely, the advanced today are concerned about the Mid-East, Central America, Southern Africa, the nuclear arms race and many other issues including punk rock, racism and sexism. Ironically, the harder the RCP tries to project what the proletariat will look like when THE CONJUNCTURE comes, the farther off the road to the proletariat the RCP gets.

CONCLUSION

MIM will not share the RCP's disdain for the particular and concrete and hence the masses and their struggles. Nor will MIM join the RCP in Trotsky's netherworld of external causation, abstraction and deterministic fallacies.

MIM works for revolution out of what exists at hand. If the people who show an interest in fighting imperialism and defeating the American state have many leaps to make, we can not wring our hands or promise revolution when the material conditions ripen. World War III is already here.

It is to be stressed that there are no guarantees in the business of making revolution. The world may be vaporized despite the best efforts to end WWII. There may even be a revolution that fails or goes down to defeat in the long run. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not over until classless society is reached and even then new and comparable contradictions may arise. People who are looking for bourgeois discipline, comforting prophecies, cult leadership or a chance to administer such should join the RCP. People who see that there are no guarantees but that it is nonetheless "right to rebel" should struggle with or in MIM.

Other literature relating to the RCP:

"On Personality Cults"—free.

MIM Theory, "Positive Trends in the RCP?"—a smattering of views on the recent work of the RCP and the RIM that it is part of. .30.

"The Decline of the RCP," essay critique of the RCP by the Organization for Revolutionary Unity, a now defunct group that upheld the Cultural Revolution and viewed the USSR as state capitalist. \$1.50.

Don't be a geographical opportunist!

Know the various lines of groups to the "left" of social democracy in the United States, even if you don't live near any of their chapters!! Send for list of names, addresses, subscription policies, ideologies and comments by a MIM comrade, all in easy to read chart form. Comes with special chart for prisoners seeking free literature. .40 or free for prisoners or those who subscribe to MIM Theory or MIM Notes for \$1 or more.