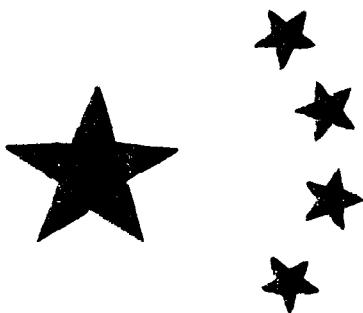


CHINA'S ALLIANCE WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM

**A SPARTACUS
YOUTH LEAGUE PAMPHLET**

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CHINA'S ALLIANCE WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM

Published by:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.,
Box 825, Canal Street Station,
New York, NY 10013

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January 1976

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Introduction

There are movements whose professed principles and aims so condemn their practice that their adherents must suffer periodic crises of faith. In the world of politics, Stalinism is such a movement. There comes a point at which every supporter of a Stalinist organization, if he is to remain organizationally loyal, must abandon the values and attitudes which drew him to revolutionary politics in the first place.

For thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of Maoists throughout the world, Angola is such a point. China is in open and direct military collaboration with the U.S./South Africa/Portuguese colonialist bloc against the Soviet-allied Angolan nationalists of the MPLA. To support this policy, Maoists must deny their original spark of subjective revolutionary commitment. Their acquiescence, however, has been prepared by years of ritual apology for Stalinist class collaboration.

Many of the Maoist cadres of today—particularly the older ones—were first drawn to radical politics by the Cuban revolution and the great personal authority of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Today these same individuals are called upon to cheer those who are killing the most dedicated soldiers of the Cuban army, now serving—no doubt as volunteers—in Angola. Many Maoists, especially American Maoists, have visited Cuba. It is possible that they met some of the soldiers now serving in Angola; drank with them, played baseball with them, sang the *Internationale* with them. The members of the Revolutionary Communist Party or October League do not want to think about the Angola question in this way. Yet surely the knowledge that Mao's men are collaborating with the murderers of Che Guevara must be breaking through routinism and narrow organizational loyalties.

“Old Left” Maoism

The early Maoists in the West were not really Maoists so much as they were old-line Stalinists who rebelled against Khrushchevism. They were drawn to Mao as the apparent defender and continuator of “Stalintern”-style orthodoxy. Some of the 1950's Communist Party (CP) supporters who remained firmly committed to the cult of Stalin following the 20th Congress of the CPSU did so out of sheer sectarian sclerosis. But many were reflecting in part a motivation which was not unhealthy.

With the onset of the Cold War, the bourgeoisie had turned Stalin into a political bogeyman used to frighten children with visions of 1984-style totalitarianism. Bourgeois public opinion was assisted in the vilification of Stalin because he was a real villain; Stalinism's monumental and undeniable atrocities (the purge trials, the chauvinist brutalization of nationalities, the sledge-hammer repression of political and cultural dissidence) could not but produce a deep-going revulsion among millions of ordinary, non-ideological working people in Western Europe and the U.S. Stalin, the bloody and sadistic tyrant, was the great cross that CP members had to bear. Many of the most dedicated Communists, aware that the trajectory of

liberal anti-Stalinism led straight to reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, resolved to bear that cross with defiance and even pride.

Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin was motivated by the Russian bureaucracy's overwhelming need to end irrational state terror against its own members. Many of the delegates to the 20th Congress of the CPSU (e.g., Kosygin) had themselves barely escaped Stalin's murderous arbitrary hand. But some Western Stalinists saw in Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin an abject apology to bourgeois liberalism.

Among those who resisted Khrushchev's new line were many of the most serious and leftist members of the CPs—a type best represented in the U.S. by Milt Rosen and Nelson Peery. While maintaining essential elements of traditional CP opportunism, the anti-Khrushchev Stalinists wanted a harder posture. They rejected the strategy of pressuring middle-class liberal or social-democratic circles and the labor bureaucracy in favor of orienting toward the working-class ranks and radical student youth. The core of the founding cadre which, headed by Rosen, broke and formed Progressive Labor was based upon the trade-union section of the New York CP.

These old-line Stalinists were drawn to Mao not primarily because of his supposedly original contributions to Communist doctrine: "people's war" and the peasant-guerrilla strategy. Nor were they enthralled by the "Chinese road to socialism" as the key to the world revolution. Rather, the anti-Khrushchev Stalinists placed themselves in the Mao camp because Mao seemed the most powerful and prestigious spokesman for the old Communist faith.

New Left Maoism

But Maoism in the West could not have become a significant force had it been restricted to the unreconstructed Stalinists of the 1950's. To become a substantial political current, Maoism had to intersect a new political generation whose path to "Marxism-Leninism" was very different from that of the old-line CPers, and who proved more loyal to Peking.

The New Left of the early/mid-1960's was a student-centered phenomenon conditioned by the explosion of violent social upheaval in the colonial world (the Cuban revolution, the Algerian war of national independence, the Vietnam war) combined with relative quiescence of the industrial working class in the advanced countries. This quiescence—particularly the failure of the workers movement to support the colonial revolution as did the students—was impressionistically seen as evidence that the proletariat of the metropolitan centers had become corrupted, junior partners of monopoly capital sharing in the super-profits of imperialism.

New Leftists were attracted to the Maoism of the Cultural Revolution period, not because it seemed the continuity of orthodox Stalinism, but because it seemed the highest expression of ascetic repudiation of the spoils of imperialism and of the "Third World" nationalist-populist fervor toward which the student New Left looked as the impetus for the world revolution. People's China was seen as the vanguard of the non-white, "Third World" poor struggling against the advanced white nations—a category that definitely included Russia.

There is no doubt that the New Left's preference for Mao's China over

Khrushchev/Brezhnev's Russia was based largely on a healthy subjective impulse. The Russians' frank espousal of "peaceful coexistence" was condemned as a cowardly attempt to conciliate American imperialism at the expense of the insurgent colonial peoples. Our purpose is not to idealize the old New Left (although it is inconceivable that New Left Maoist radicals as they were ten years ago could support today's U.S.-South Africa offensive against an African nationalist movement). 1960's New Leftism was rife with dilettantism, faddishness, personalism, sexism, intellectual snobbery, thumbing one's nose at the bourgeoisie—the typical vices of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Yet the New Leftists drawn to Maoism wanted passionately to create an egalitarian and just society; the apologists for the Kremlin did not.

It is ironic that although the USSR was North Vietnam's main military ally, it was the protracted war in Indochina that was key to winning New Leftists to Maoism and to Stalinizing them. Despite Hanoi's obvious alliance with Moscow rather than Peking, the Vietnam war was seen as proof of Maoist doctrine: "people's war," the peasant-guerrilla road to power.

At the same time, the indisputable continuity of Ho Chi Minh's party with the Stalinized Comintern tended to refurbish the image of traditional Stalinism in the eyes of young radicals. The heroism of the Vietnamese people, led by a traditional CP, did much to restore the moral authority of Stalinism for a generation whose attitude toward orthodox "Communism" had been shaped by the gray philistinism of Khrushchev's Russia and the abject reformism of the Western CPs.

It was the French general strike of 1968, the "workers control" wave sweeping Italy the following year and the general upsurge of class struggles within the advanced capitalist countries which broke down the last barriers between New Left Maoism and traditional Stalinism. It was the orthodox Stalinists' professed orientation to the industrial working class which was the most difficult for New Left radicals to accept. But when the revolutionary capacity of the working class was made manifest by life itself in the late 1960's, student-centered radicalism received a lethal blow. The inclusive, amorphous student movement disintegrated and out of it emerged competing organizationally "hard" formations, all claiming adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Thought, all seeking to "conquer the masses." A new generation of Stalinist organizations—some centrist, some left reformist—had come into being.

U.S. imperialism opens the door...

It is unquestionable that during the early 1960's the U.S. strongly tilted toward the Kremlin in the Sino-Soviet dispute. This fact was decisive in creating New Left Maoism. In view of the subsequent turnabout in American foreign policy, it is legitimate to ask why the U.S. bourgeoisie was ever disposed to regard China as the "main enemy" in the first place.

The early attitude in U.S. ruling circles toward the Sino-Soviet split was conditioned by the Cuban revolution and the peasant-based revolution in Vietnam that was engaging ever more American blood and treasure—both shockingly unexpected developments. The ruling class was worried about

the "peasant-guerrilla road to power": perhaps a handful of radicals, inspired by Castro and Mao, could indeed go into the countryside, agitate the peasants and topple the Batistas and Diems throughout the colonial world. The political leadership of American imperialism was a bit scared of the calls for people's war emanating from Havana and Peking; they knew that the USSR of Khrushchev and Brezhnev was a force for conservatism and the global status quo.

During the mid-1960's, U.S. imperialism threw its strength against the radical followers of Mao-Guevara and the regimes espousing "Third World" militancy. It won easy and even unexpected victories. The Latin American guerrilla bands were wiped out without significant U.S. military intervention; China's left-talking "friends" (e.g., Ghana's Nkrumah) were toppled and replaced by pro-Western military dictatorships. Most decisively, the pro-Peking Indonesian Communist Party (then the largest CP in the world not holding state power) was annihilated in a CIA-abetted domestic bloodbath.

By the late 1960's, the most capable American political ideologues knew there were not going to be "two, three, many Vietnams" (a point which the New Left radicals implicitly acknowledged as they turned from "Third World" adventurism toward workerism). Bourgeois strategists realized that the existence of Castro's Cuba a mere 90 miles from Florida and the military successes of the Vietnamese were, in the final analysis, based on the strength of the USSR. For American imperialism, a reassessment of China's role in world politics was in order.

Peking's denunciation of the Russians for overturning the "soft" Dubček government in Czechoslovakia and its solidarizing with the pro-Western Rumanian regime demonstrated that Mao was far less committed to maintaining an orthodox hard-Stalinist stance within the "Communist" movement than to seizing a chance to line up with any tendency which was anti-Russian.

America's alliance with Mao's China was facilitated by the emergence of Henry Kissinger as the strategist of U.S. foreign policy: a pessimistic conservative, Kissinger has oriented to long-term balance-of-power politics undisturbed by episodic, localized quarrels or formal ideological posture. By the early 1970's, the leaders of U.S. imperialism realized that throughout most of the world they had no immediate diplomatic competition from Mao's China while sharing a common enemy: the USSR.

More than five years ago, while Maoist rhetoric was at its "radical" zenith, the Spartacist League predicted the possibility of a U.S.-China bloc:

"At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the USSR's avowed policy of 'peaceful coexistence' while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with *China*. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build 'Socialism in One Country' through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism."

— "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part II, 30 August 1969

Former followers of the Mao trail who find themselves bewildered by China's pro-NATO stance would do well to examine the Trotskyist methodology which enabled the SL to see through Mao's "anti-revisionist" veneer while subjective leftists were mindlessly waving their Little Red Books.

...and China walks in

Because of the more closed nature of Chinese political life, tracing the evolution of the Mao regime's attitude toward Nixon/Kissinger is a more tentative undertaking. Clearly, 1965 was an important turning point. In that year of U.S. escalation in Vietnam, a section of the Chinese bureaucracy (Peng Chen, the armed forces chief of staff Lo Jui-ching) pressed for improving relations with the USSR and preparing for a military intervention of the Korean War type. Mao quashed the impulse to mend fences with the Russians in support of the Vietnamese, maintaining de facto military neutrality during the Vietnam war and scarcely (and sometimes not at all) permitting the USSR to send military aid via Chinese territory.

Yet de facto military neutrality, though a crime from the standpoint of the international working class, is a long way from an actual and active alliance with U.S. imperialism. What was China's global strategy in the mid-1960's? Mao is given to utopian voluntarism and quite possibly believed that the moral example of the Chinese people combined with "revolutionary" rhetoric could inspire popular nationalist movements which would erode the Russian and American power blocs. But while the trumpet blasts of Mao Thought excited students from Berlin to Mexico City, the walls of the Kremlin and the Pentagon could be breached only by a more solid substance.

By 1968, the unreality and all-sided failure of Mao's "radical" policies had become manifest and the Chairman was forced to change course sharply. The disastrous Cultural Revolution was halted; the Red Guards were packed off to the countryside; the army and party imposed order at gunpoint. A campaign to break out of diplomatic isolation was undertaken. The 1969 border clash with the Russians may have convinced the Mao regime that the immediate military threat came not from the Americans in Vietnam but from the Russians on China's northern frontier. By the early 1970's, the Chinese bureaucracy realized that throughout most of the world it had no immediate conflict with the U.S. while sharing a common enemy: the USSR.

Respectable Maoism?

The New Left Maoists' hostility to Brezhnev's Russia flowed from a leftist impulse: the Kremlin was seen (correctly) as betraying the colonial masses for the sake of collusion with U.S. imperialism. But outside the radical student milieu, a powerful objective basis has always existed for Maoist anti-USSR rhetoric to intersect an anti-communist matrix.

In West Europe, the only popular basis of support for U.S. imperialism is fear of Soviet conquest and consequent national oppression along the lines of Poland or Hungary. Popular anti-Russian sentiment is particularly strong in West Germany, where the USSR is seen as occupying half the

nation and the Kremlin's continual denunciations of German revanchism affront national chauvinist backwardness among the German workers and petty-bourgeoisie.

The possibility of appealing to anti-Russian bourgeois nationalism among the masses may be a factor in the relative strength of Maoism currently in West Germany and Sweden. The Maoist line is an acceptable way for a layer of young intellectuals and militant workers to express conventional anti-Russian nationalism without thinking of themselves as reactionaries.

Certainly, when Ernst Aust, head of the West German KPD-ML (one of the larger European Maoist organizations), brought court action against the federal defense minister for not guarding the eastern border vigilantly enough against a Soviet attack, he was not gritting his teeth and reluctantly carrying out Mao's orders. Mao gave no such orders. Aust was playing for the crowds that cheer nuclear sabre-rattler Franz-Josef Strauss, former West German defense minister who has led the rightist opposition to detente and last year flew to Peking to demand a holy alliance against Russia. Behind Strauss stands the legacy of Nazism and the anti-Comintern pact.

The relation of U.S. Maoism to national chauvinism is less extreme. The U.S. is the guardian of capitalism on a world scale, so that anti-communist attitudes have a general form not solely focused on the Soviet Union. Yet the American masses see Russia as the main enemy, the only nation capable of destroying the U.S.; China and the colonial world appear remote. American Maoism can take advantage of this greater popular fear of the USSR. A youth joining a Maoist organization will have less trouble from his conventionally-minded family and friends if he is pro-Chinese rather than pro-Russian. The former seems faddish and idiosyncratic; the latter is really dangerous.

"Khrushchevism under the gun"

One does not really become a social democrat, syndicalist, Stalinist or Trotskyist simply by joining an organization and believing in its general principles. Individuals become the living embodiments of political tendencies only through serving them during great historical experiences.

In this sense, Western Maoism does not begin in the late 1960's when student-centered radicals became overwhelmingly enamored of the Little Red Book. Rather, the New Leftists became Maoists in the 1971-72 period by abandoning their former subjective principles out of loyalty to Peking. Many of the New Left Maoists did not make that jump. Some dropped out of serious organized politics entirely; some rejected Stalinism outright and joined groups claiming to stand in the Trotskyist tradition; others broke with Peking to become eclectic "Marxist-Leninists."

To be sure, there was never anything revolutionary about Mao's policies in the 1960's. The fundamental ideology of Maoism—like its tamer twin, Khrushchevism—has always been "Socialism in One Country": the Stalinist bureaucracy's nationalist justification for sacrificing the international revolution in favor of diplomatic deals aimed at taking the pressure off its own deformed workers state.

China's willingness to shore up reactionary nationalist military regimes against their own working masses had been amply demonstrated at the "Asian-African Solidarity Conference" held at Bandung, Indonesia in 1954, where Chou En-lai had propounded the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," including a pledge to refrain from exerting pressure on other nations to change their economic systems. Peking's diplomatic agreements with regimes such as the Congo (Brazzaville) or Tanzania, and its applauding of Boumediene's reactionary coup in Algeria, were apt implementations of the "Spirit of Bandung." The "anti-imperialist" rationale for such betrayals was exposed as threadbare by the Maoists' simultaneous policy of peaceful coexistence with Japan, the imperialist powerhouse of Asia.

The foreign policy aspirations of the Chinese were never basically different from those of the Russian Stalinists: the greater verbal militancy of the Mao regime flowed from China's far more limited ability, due to American intransigence, to put its sellout appetites into effect.

Militant Maoism was "Khrushchevism under the gun." It was a more or less simple product of the far greater pressure which the Chinese state—diplomatically more isolated and industrially/militarily far weaker than the Soviet Union—suffered from U.S. imperialism in the 1960's. The pro-Chinese Western radicals who accepted Mao's "revolutionary" bromides as good coin can be condemned for light-mindedness and, to a certain extent, for cynicism. But those who followed Mao through the increasingly transparent and immediate betrayals and now line up behind U.S. imperialism against the USSR have undergone a corrosive process which made them much different political animals than formerly inhabited the New Left zoo.

Toward the new alliance

It was in 1971 that the Mao regime's right turn manifested itself in nakedly counterrevolutionary foreign policy moves. The Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon had pretensions to being among the leaders of the "non-aligned Third World." In the spring of 1971, the radical Sinhalese-nationalist JVP attempted a rural-based uprising which was put down with wanton savagery by the government. To maintain Bandaranaike's good will in competition with Washington and Moscow, the Chinese denounced the JVP as objectively counterrevolutionary and solidarized with its bloody suppression.

In late 1971 the Bengali masses rose up in a struggle for national independence against the Punjabi-centered military regime of Yahya Khan in Pakistan. The Pakistani regime responded with a campaign of mass terror comparable to the worst nationalist atrocities of this century. Since Pakistan was the main rival of Indira Gandhi's India, the most important Soviet ally in South Asia, Mao's China fulsomely endorsed Yahya Khan's murderous efforts to maintain Pakistan's territorial integrity. The Maoists demonstrated that they would not be outdone in treachery by the Russians, who had earlier militarily backed India in its border war against China.

Capping Peking's counterrevolutionary policies was the new alliance: China and the United States. In February 1972, while Nixon's planes were

bombing Hanoi, the imperialist chieftain was effusively welcomed in Peking.

Angola

The Maoists who accepted Bandaranaike, Yahya Khan and Richard Nixon as friends of China (and many did not) had become more hardened and cynical; the New Left naiveté and enthusiasm had been ground off. The events of 1971-72 were important steps toward State Department Maoism, but they were not the final plunge. Chinese policy had limits and ambiguities which allowed Maoists to claim—not just for public consumption but also to assuage their own consciences—that they were still committed to liberating the toiling masses of the world from the domination of both “superpowers.”

China's support to the reactionary butchers of the “Third World” was diplomatic in character. Likewise China's subsequent campaign to strengthen NATO was mainly limited to oblique references in the pages of *Peking Review* and private encouragement from Chinese leaders to their American and West European “colleagues.” China's withdrawal of aid from the Omani rebels in order to befriend the Shah of Iran, and from the Eritrean liberation fighters in order to conciliate the Ethiopian junta, are more substantive betrayals; the oppressed masses pay for these acts with their blood here and now. Yet these, too, remained negative acts. Chinese pilots are not strafing PFLOAG camps and Chinese advisors are not telling the Ethiopian regime how to take Asmara.

But Chinese intervention in Angola is direct and active military support to counterrevolution. Maoists who could swallow Yahya Khan's butchery in East Bengal cannot stomach the South African army in Angola. The scale of Chinese aid to the anti-MPLA bloc required direct collusion of Peking's agents with those of the imperialist powers. Chinese military attachés must have attended meetings with CIA agents, South African officers and Portuguese colonialist politicians in which they planned the capture of Luanda, knowing full well that the annihilation of the Cuban soldiers and the most advanced elements of the Angolan working class would follow. In addition, the battle over Angola is grabbing front-page headlines throughout the world, making China's support for the U.S./South Africa axis an international scandal which cannot be covered up.

For those who, fully realizing the nature of Chinese involvement in Angola, still choose to support it, nothing will now be impermissible for the sake of China's alliance with the U.S. Post-Angola hard Maoists should logically be able to inform to the FBI on CP members and other leftists, to break strikes at Boeing or General Dynamics for the sake of “national security,” to serve in America's colonial wars without experiencing any inner moral crisis. Once again, Stalinism will have taken subjectively revolutionary militants and twisted them into willing servants of counterrevolution.

The future of radical Maoism

Unlike the Maoist movement, Stalin's degenerated Comintern could still claim direct descent from the world's first socialist revolution, had the

material support of the USSR and was rooted in mass parties. Stalin's atrocities in Russia and monumental betrayals of revolutionary struggles internationally generated hundreds of thousands of embittered ex-CPers, but the "Stalintern" retained its unified mass character. In a looser fashion, a Kremlin-led world movement continues to this day.

In contrast, the international Maoist movement is organizationally weak, has always been faction-ridden, receives little material (or other) support from Peking and is much more dependent upon ideological loyalty. If China continues its all-out and overt alliance with U.S. imperialism, it is doubtful whether Maoism can remain a significant political force. Except where there is an indigenous basis for left-wing anti-Sovietism, as in West Germany, the hard-line pro-Peking groups will deteriorate into isolated and despised sects.

Since 1971-72, there has been a tendency for Maoist organizations to break with Peking and become nationally limited formations espousing their own idiosyncratic brands of "Marxism-Leninism." In the U.S., the Progressive Labor Party, loyal only to Milt Rosen's bizarre apotheosis of Joseph Stalin, is a good example of this phenomenon. The West German Kommunistischer Bund (Nord) is another such organization, now seeking to develop positions to the left of mainstream Maoism but still based on Stalinist doctrine.

The tendency of Maoism to be displaced by centrist eclecticism is, understandably enough, most developed in Portugal. There are several substantial groups to the left of the pro-Moscow PCP. Yet the Peking-loyal Maoists (the PCP-ML) are a small minority, hopelessly and justly isolated from the most militant workers. While the Chinese maintain that the main enemy in Portugal today is "Soviet social-imperialism"—and are willing to align with anyone from Mario Soares' Socialists to openly fascist forces against the PCP—the only Portuguese Maoists who have attained a mass following are those who have broken with this line. The MRPP claims that fascism and "social fascism" (the PCP) are equal dangers, publicly acknowledging differences with Peking on this score, and the larger UDP openly tails after the PCP.

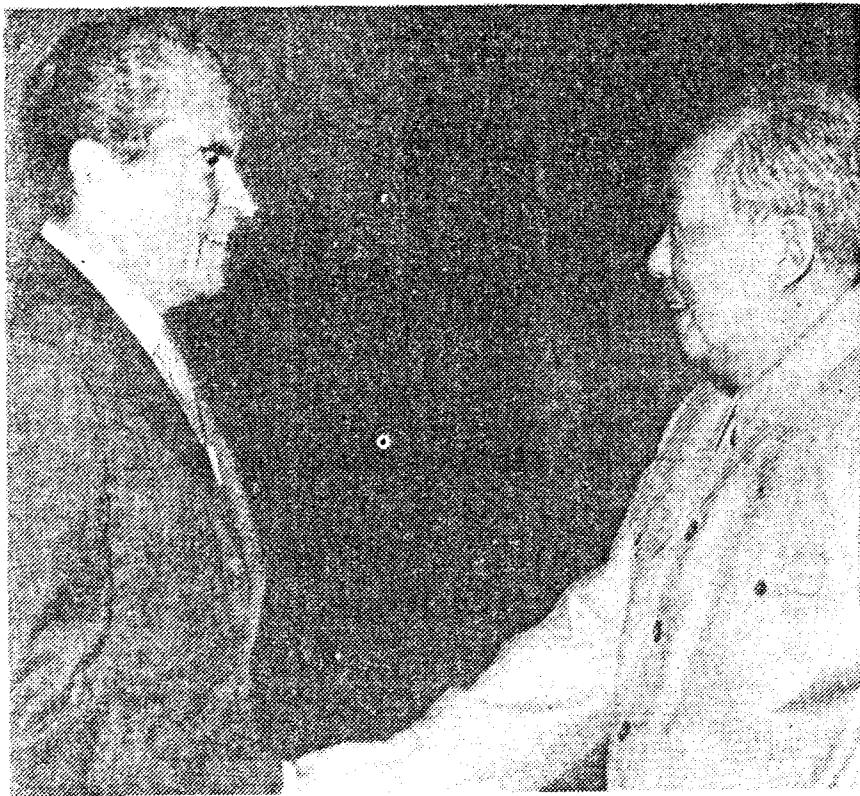
Thus the main challenge to Trotskyism will come not from the dwindling band of post-Angola hard-line Maoists, but from the critical Maoists, dissident Maoists and ex-Maoists. A main orientation of Trotskyists at present must be to prevent the deep crisis of Maoism from dissipating itself in a new layer of nationally limited, impressionistic, inherently unstable Stalinoid formations.

It is not enough to dissent from the outright counterrevolutionary acts of Chinese foreign policy. It is not enough to support whatever forces appear to be battling imperialism or domestic reaction at any given moment. The counterrevolutionary policies emanating from Peking and Moscow must be destroyed at their root. And that root is the rule of a privileged bureaucracy which "defends" collectivized (proletarian) property relations by intriguing with imperialism—in a word, Stalinism. It is the historic task of Trotskyism, and no other tendency, to lead the working class to the overthrow of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and place the enormous resources of the Sino-Soviet states totally in the service of world revolution.

—reprinted from Workers Vanguard Nos.

94 (30 January 1976) and 95 (6 February 1976)

As U.S. imperialism launched carpet-bombing raids against North Vietnam Mao and Nixon shook hands over their "detente" deal. Later, during the Watergate furor, the Chinese leadership tacitly indicated partisanship with "friend of China" Nixon: in November 1973 Chou reminded New York Times journalist C. L. Sulzberger, "we have never published anything about it [the Watergate scandal] in our press." When Nixon's chicanery and brazen infractions of bourgeois legality forced his resignation, the Chinese expressed their dismay. According to the New York Times (5 December 1974) Chou sent a message of felicitation and get-well flowers to the sulking, ailing Nixon. Subsequently Mao wrote Nixon to personally invite him to visit China,



as though this crook were still a head of state (New York Times, 14 August 1975). When the Premier of Thailand asked Mao about Nixon, the Chairman reportedly spoke fondly about Nixon and declared that the Watergate scandal was the unfortunate result of "too much freedom in the United States" (quoted in New York Times, 10 July 1975). Regarding wiretapping and government surveillance, Mao contended: "What's wrong with taping a conversation when you happen to have a tape recorder with you? Most people in America love playing with tape recorders!" Well, unlike Mao, most people in America would love to hear all the Nixon tapes playing over national radio.

Nixon and Mao—

The New Alliance

Once again as in the periods preceding World Wars I and II the imperialist powers are jockeying for advantage and conducting the most frantic diplomatic maneuvers. What is new is the equally frenzied participation of the bureaucracies of the two giant deformed workers states *on opposite sides* in the quest for alliances and spheres of influence, under circumstances of nuclear armament of nearly all the likely belligerents.

At center stage for the moment [1972], Richard Nixon and Mao Tse-tung consummate their semi-alliance in a "Long March," complete with Nixon quoting the Red Book and Mao humming "America the Beautiful," which will decisively shape world events in the coming period. The more profound causes of the U.S.-China detente must be sought in the context of global imperialist rivalry, deliberately concealed in the chancelleries of Europe, Moscow and Tokyo as well as in Washington and Peking, but darkly visible nevertheless.

The final evaporation of the rainbow vision of an American Century came with the collapse of the international monetary system and the prostration of the American military system in Indochina. America reverted to the status of one big power—the biggest—among many and therefore needed new alliances of a new type to safeguard its position.

Counterposed to the weakened position of U.S. imperialism is the rise of Soviet power and influence in Asia, Europe and the Near East. In the eight months since the announcement of the Nixon-Mao talks the Soviets have launched a counter-offensive up and down the line: by opening discussions with Brandt of Germany on a nonaggression pact and seeking to settle boundaries in Europe; by supplying the DRV with new weaponry and following Podgorny's visit to Hanoi with a big reception for Vo Duc Tho as the new ambassador to Moscow; by condemning recent U.S. bombings days ahead of the usually prompt Chinese; and finally through spectacular victory as India's patron in the war with Pakistan while the U.S. and Chinese favored Pakistan, and Yahya Khan served as middleman in the pre-Summit arrangements.

Gromyko's visit to Japan capped off the Russian offensive. The re-emergence of Japan as Asia's industrial and soon-to-be military powerhouse is a major initial cause of the China-U.S. detente. The textile war and battle over tariffs between the

U.S. and Japan, as well as Japanese rearmament, has underscored the fact that the U.S.' real competitor in the Pacific is Japan. In his recent interview with Americans visiting China Chou devoted most time to warnings of a rearmed Japan including showings of a number of Japanese military films. The split between Premier Sato and his Defense Minister is over the pace, not the fact, of militarization.

The Soviets may offer a partial return of the Kurile Islands off Japan in exchange for a panoply of benefits including major Japanese capital penetration into Siberia. Japan's powerful industrial base, short of raw materials and facing a depressed economy, is aggressively seeking markets. If a Moscow-Tokyo accord is reached it will tend to both stalemate and consolidate the U.S.-Chinese detente.

The Chinese have now developed a missile with a delivery radius of 2,500 miles, capable of reaching Moscow. In the short run this development tends to heighten Chinese fears of a possible Russian "preventive" bombing, thus driving China into U.S. arms in proportion to Sino-Soviet antagonism. The U.S. least of all wants to see a single power dominate Eurasia. Russian support to India in the Sino-Indian border war which took place in a wasteland peopled by a non-Chinese and non-Indian national minority as well as the Sino-Soviet armed clashes over a few islands of the Ussuri River indicate the real possibility of such a war between the two states.

The Laird military budget of \$83 billion has been justified on the basis of "further erosion of strategic balance with the USSR." The Soviets presently lead in land-based missiles and are increasing their missile-submarine force. The most intense area of competition is in naval armaments and maneuvers in the open sea (particularly in the Mediterranean) with a heavy emphasis on competition for refueling ports.

The U.S. is actually through a "margin of superiority" preparing for a possible future rapprochement between Russia and China. There can be no "security" for a workers state in an alliance with imperialism. We demand instead an international bloc along *class* lines. A united front in support of the Indochinese revolution would have tipped the balance long ago....

Quid Pro Quo?

The U.S. has just granted the People's Republic of China the same trade status as the Soviet Union while leaving North Vietnam, Korea and Cuba in the category of "least favored nations." The unilateral opening of trade channels by the U.S. raises the question of what China will offer in return. U.S.-

Chinese trade is bound to be limited due to the low productivity of Chinese industry. The Nixon-Malraux discussion indicates that Nixon will offer long-term loan credits as the next step.

The problem of accumulating a significant surplus in the agricultural sector to deepen its industrial base has plagued China throughout the Sixties and is a major cause of the intense struggles of the Cultural Revolution. The import of grain in the wake of the Great Leap Forward, the natural disasters during the early part of the decade and the economic disruption during the Cultural Revolution indicate that even the marginal stability of the bureaucracy hangs on its ability to break out of the vicious circle caused by an insufficient surplus.

It is an axiom from which the Chinese cannot escape that the influence of the world market is bound to take its toll on workers states, exacerbating their deformities and generating capitalist restorationist tendencies—if the revolution is not extended in time to the more productive states whose prices dominate world trade. The Chinese theory of "self-reliance" is not only utopian but reactionary in that it strives to drive the productive forces back into the national boundaries.

Collaboration for clique's survival

Chinese foreign policy has gone through a number of phases but reflects an underlying unity. In 1963, at the height of the Sino-Soviet polemics, the Chinese reiterated their conception of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." These included the infamous "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" clause which the Chinese have asserted since the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949.

The concept of "non-interference in each other's internal affairs" was proclaimed by the Chinese as Leninist but was in fact introduced by Stalin in the Thirties. Lenin and Trotsky never uttered so cynical and hypocritical a conception as the basis for the foreign policy of a *workers state*; they recognized tactical limitations imposed by imperialist strength, but they never bartered away Communist Parties for this "principle."

The *tactic* of coexistence was invoked under conditions of extreme emergency at Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky himself, on instructions from the Central Committee, headed the delegation to Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky used the platform to talk over the heads of the German officials to the troops in the trenches over all Europe to turn their guns against their own rulers. International class unity of the proletariat held absolute primacy for the Bolsheviks. The final treaty was a compromise and a retreat. The Bolsheviks never painted it up as a victory or a great step toward socialism and, most important, continued to

orient the European Communists to making the revolution. In contrast Stalin and Mao willfully subordinated the class struggle for temporary diplomatic advantage. Their policy of "non-interference" is much more than the observation of certain restrictions in *state* relations necessary for any workers state surrounded by capitalist states; they extend non-interference on the diplomatic and military level to the stifling of struggle by the Communist Parties under their influence abroad, thereby transforming a temporarily necessary policy of *restraint* into a policy of *betrayal*.

When it is a question of a workers party oriented to another deformed workers state the Chinese, like their Soviet counterparts, will betray without so much as the blink of an eye. The Sudanese workers led by a pro-Soviet Communist Party staged an adventurous coup last summer in the Sudan. Crossing class lines in order to edge out Soviet influence, the Chinese supported Nimeiry's rightist counter-coup which resulted in the smashing of the CP and the trade unions. On the fundamental "principles" of foreign policy, Mao and Stalin are like "lips and teeth."

The early phase of Chinese foreign policy embraced the 1954 Geneva sellout to which they and the Russians were signatories. U.S. hostility toward China, particularly manifest in the Korean War, pushed them toward closer relations with the Soviet Union during the middle Fifties. It was Chou En-lai who urged Soviet military action to smash the Hungarian Workers' Councils in 1956, reflecting the bureaucracies' dread of the revolutionary proletariat.

The brutal Soviet withdrawal of aid spurred a new "leftist" period of Chinese foreign policy isolated from the deformed workers states as well as the capitalists. Instead of looking toward and assisting proletarian revolution in the West, despite Lenin's designation of the era as the "eve of proletarian revolution," the Chinese universalized the strategy of the Chinese revolution and called for "self-reliance" and "people's war." The failure of Maoist parties to achieve success anywhere on the globe and the internal pressures brought about by Mao's utopian attempt to build "socialism in one country's consciousness" forced a disoriented bureaucracy to hastily abandon the left turn for a sharp tactical right turn, just as the failure in Germany of the "leftist" tactics of Stalin's Third Period in the early Thirties led to the rightist popular front tactic of the middle Thirties. Left utopian adventurism breeds right pragmatic capitulationism. The underlying unity behind the vacillations of Maoist policy has its roots in the maneuverings of a Bonapartist clique standing between imperialism and the international proletariat and fearful of both.

The "non-interference" clause has proved most useful to Mao in the current right turn. It was used to condemn the Indian army's actions in Bangladesh against China's ally Pakistan (although China shelves the principle when Pakistan meddles in Kashmir). The Russian position is exactly the reverse, since its ally is India. Both opportunist leaderships are *silent* on the plight of the Biharis in Bangladesh, the "Palestinians of the subcontinent," who are not permitted to return to Bihar in India or to West Pakistan and who face massacre at the hands of Bengali nationalism. The regimes in Peking and Moscow both noisily endorse Bandaranaike's suppression in Ceylon of the Guevarist-type insurrection in the countryside. In this unholy alliance they are joined by Pakistan and India, Britain, France and the United States. The Chinese only exceed the others in that their supportive aid (\$30 million) is refurbished with diplomatic support in the form of Chou's assertions that the rebellion was all a CIA plot. These Chinese betrayals, more egregious but qualitatively identical to previous practice, *have paved the way for the Nixon visit.*

New Red Book—preface by Nixon

The bureaucracy evolves *its own* methods to effect tactical turns. These methods include, above all, maneuvering, purges, cult worship and ultimately a secret police. The narrow identification of Leaders with one or another temporary policy, while the Supreme Arbiter (Stalin or Mao) stands "beyond and above" policy and error, creates enormous instability. It is both an index of the regime's inflexibility in structure and its considerable "freedom" of action in making various moves. Without this understanding Mao appears more and more to the disillusioned "cultural revolutionist" as a dissident Maoist.

The present ascendancy of Chou En-lai and the eclipse of Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta indicate not a restoration of capitalism (so easily restored according to the Maoist schema), or a betrayal of the Cultural Revolution, but rather its logical extension and continuation—as Mao will be the first to tell you.

The super-secret purge of Lin Piao and numerous top military leaders speaks reams about the undemocratic essence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—an event neither great, nor proletarian, nor cultural, nor revolutionary. All the manufactured and manifestly one-sided denunciations of Liu Shao-chi which were counted as evidence of mass democratic discussion are thrown by the boards in the simple fact that Lin Piao's preface to the Red Book has been removed in the new English-language editions for export while the domestic

Chinese production continues unabated for an unknowing but suspicious mass.

It is hardly coincidental that the two heir-apparents to Mao have been purged at the height of their power. The Ninth Party Congress of April 1969 included in the new Chinese Constitution the official designation of Lin Piao as the new heir-apparent. This outrageous repudiation of workers democracy exceeds even the semi-feudal practice of the Catholic Church. The Pope may appoint the College of Cardinals which will in turn select the next Pope—but he cannot select his successor outright. Once succession is formalized in this way the impulses toward corridor intrigue reminiscent of Byzantium become irresistible. Lin Piao is gone. We await only his confession.

Cultural counterrevolution

The Nixon visit has already had other repercussions on the cultural front. Bereft of principle, creativity and imagination, the bureaucrats turn the accumulated cultural wealth of mankind on and off like so much political lubrication. During February Chinese bookstores issued a dozen or so titles banned in the Cultural Revolution. These works include the great bourgeois philosophers of the French Revolution Montesquieu and Rousseau; the giant of European transcendental idealism of the rationalist school Kant; and the predecessors of Marx and founders of scientific political economy Adam Smith and Ricardo (the latter developed the labor theory of value); and finally, the arch-apologist of ancient slavery Thucydides who incidentally wrote the first scientific history on record. His major work provides us with the *only written record* corroborating Engels' thesis based on anthropological studies that the development of a material surplus was the prerequisite of a durable division of society into classes. The new list of published titles notably excludes Russian authors indicating a cynical and arbitrary policy of the Chinese Stalinists toward culture.

Maoist apologetics

Wilfred Burchett, writing for the *Guardian*, summed up the apologist's-eye view quite neatly:

"What China has to gain is clear. It is a crowning triumph of the new, outward-looking phase of Chinese foreign policy. Entry into the UN by a thumping majority and a tribute-paying visit by the President of the superpower of the West—both within less than six months! Very good. Very good, Chairman Mao may murmur with considerable justification."

—16 February 1972

Burchett has things upside down. China's entry into that Den of Thieves at this particular time is more a consequence of the rapprochement with the U.S. than its cause. The nature of the U.S. "defeat" in the UN on the China question is revealed when we note that eleven of the fourteen NATO nations either voted for admission or abstained. These robbers were alert to Nixon's tactic of double diplomacy whereby he sought to outflank Europe. In the context of China's "new, outward-looking" diplomacy (one would think an "outward" policy would seem *more* threatening to imperialism) the Europeans rushed to China's side like Penelope's suitors upon Ulysses' departure. It was imperialist competition and Chinese collaboration rather than acknowledgement of Chinese strength that loomed largest among the motives for acceptance of China into the UN. China's sudden silence on the nature of that august body contrasts sharply with Mao's praise for the late Bung Karno (Sukarno of Indonesia) when he *exited* from "the U.S. controlled United Nations" (Mao to PKI, 23 May 1965). It is hardly accurate to conclude from all this, as does for example the Georgia Communist League, that Nixon is crawling to Peking on his hands and knees.

Indochina Must Go Communist

The Nixon-Mao meeting, contemplated early in the Nixon administration, is a major gambit along with the eight-point peace plan to prolong the Vietnam war and obtain a settlement favorable to U.S. imperialism. The brazen step-up of the bombing on the eve of the journey to the proportions of the most intense phases of the war is further evidence of Nixon's intent....

The fate of world socialism—not only of the Vietnamese and Chinese revolutions which Stalinism has placed in profound jeopardy—hinges on the ability in the not distant future of the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard to rebuild an international party (the Fourth International) capable of leading the world's workers to power. The Nixon-Mao Summit indicates the time may be shorter than one might think.

—Excerpted from Workers Vanguard No. 6, March 1972

China's "United Front" with NATO

The Maoist bureaucracy of the People's Republic of China has hailed the 1972 Sino-American rapprochement as the inauguration of its long-sought "peaceful coexistence" with United States imperialism. The Stalinist misleaders ruling in both China and the Soviet Union, by seeking to subordinate the class interests of the international proletariat to the exigencies of bureaucratic self-interest, criminally sacrifice proletarian revolutions and even Communist unity for illusory "peaceful coexistence" deals and class-collaborationist maneuvering with world imperialism.

As state relations between the two nationalist bureaucracies deteriorated and the Sino-Soviet split alarmingly widened, the Stalinists in each camp escalated the ideological-polemical warfare, cynically attempting to cover their respective betrayals of internationalism by mutual accusations of "revisionism." Although dedicated to the same treacherous policies of "peaceful coexistence" as the Moscow Stalinists, the Chinese bureaucracy resorted to greater verbal "militancy" than the Russians. Threatened by savage imperialist intervention in Vietnam and stripped of the Russian military shield, the Peking bureaucracy was qualitatively more vulnerable than the Russians, so the Chinese line represented "Khrushchevism under the gun."

The shrill Chinese denunciations of the "revisionist" USSR in part were an overture to U.S. imperialism for detente in return for Chinese refusal to consider joint Chinese-Russian aid to Vietnam. Thus, the Peking Stalinists pledged to imperialism, "We will never take any united action with the new leaders of the Soviet party" (*Red Flag*, 10 February 1966). At the same time the Chinese bureaucracy pronounced the "people's war" line, which preached "self-reliance" instead of full Sino-Soviet military, diplomatic and economic aid to the embattled Viet Cong and Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Following the brutal Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Chinese Stalinists, apprehensive of the menacing and provocative Russian military presence along the Siberian bor-

der, sharpened their polemical attacks to the point of declaring that the USSR had passed over to the imperialist camp: "the clique of Soviet revisionist renegades has degenerated long since into social-imperialism and social-fascism" (*Peking Review*, 26 August 1968). According to the Maoists, the "Soviet revisionists" led by Khrushchev restored "capitalism" in the USSR in 1956 and ever since have exercised "colonial domination" over Eastern Europe and practiced "neo-colonialism" in the economically underdeveloped countries (*Peking Review*, 4 November 1968 and 14 July 1969).

As long as their interests were confined to pushing "peaceful coexistence" with the "non-aligned," underdeveloped capitalist countries in the era of Bandung, the Chinese Stalinists, despite their sensational "discovery" that the USSR had "long since" become "imperialist," continued to maintain that the "principal contradiction" was between the oppressed nations of the so-called "Third World" and U.S. imperialism. But when the U.S. admitted China into the arena of international power politics in return for Chinese pressure on the DRV/NLF to accept the robbers' "Peace Treaty," the Maoists began to denounce the main enemy as "U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism" and to call for an international united front against the "two superpowers" (*Red Flag*, August 1971). Treacherously pursuing its own great-power appetites through "improved relations" with U.S. imperialism, the Chinese bureaucracy subsequently denounced the USSR as "even more deceitful than old-line imperialist countries and therefore more dangerous" (*Peking Review*, 6 October 1972, our emphasis).

Betrayals on the road to detente

The Chinese bureaucracy's betrayals of 1971 in Sudan, Pakistan and Ceylon were "summed up" by the U.S. imperialists as indicating the reliability of the Chinese for a "united front with imperialism" against the "number one enemy," the USSR. In Sudan, "leftist" generals backed by the powerful pro-Moscow Communist Party attempted a coup against General Nimeiry, who successfully smashed the rebellion, decimated the CP through incarceration and mass slaughter, and unleashed a reign of terror against the working class and all dissidents. The Maoist bureaucracy not only congratulated Nimeiry for liquidating the "social-imperialists," but also rewarded the bloody Khartoum regime with \$80 million in military and economic aid. Mao then feted in Peking a delegation of these counterrevolutionary swine, who gratefully toasted Mao for supporting the repression of the CP and of the rebellious non-Arab blacks in southern Sudan (*Le Monde*, 22 December 1971 and 18 February 1972).

To counterbalance long-standing Russian influence in bourgeois India, the Maoists have given full political and economic support to the U.S.-backed military dictatorship in Pakistan, climaxing in Mao's obscene support for the genocidal war against the Bengali national liberation struggle in East Pakistan (now Bangla Desh). As the marauding Pakistani army butchered one million Bengalis, Chou En-lai commended "Your Excellency" Yahya Khan for having "accomplished great useful work in preserving the unity of Pakistan" (*Pakistan Times*, 13 March 1971) and despicably denounced the fallen nationalist fighters as "a handful of individuals intent on sabotaging Pakistan's unity" (*Le Monde*, 14 April 1971).

In a bid to compete with Russian influence in Ceylon, the Chinese Stalinists extended all-out support to the extermination of the "people's war"-inspired Janata Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP--People's Liberation Front) by the Bandaranaike popular-front government, a coalition including the class-collaborationist pro-Moscow CP. Vying with the "social imperialists" and the U.S. imperialists for recognition as the firmest supporter of the slaughter of thousands of JVP youth, Mao rushed a \$25 million loan to "Your Excellency" Bandaranaike and a political statement of solidarity with the crushing of "these acts of rebellion" by a "handful of individuals calling themselves 'Guevarists.'"

Introducing "NATO (Marxist-Leninist)"

Since the inauguration of the Peking-Washington so-called "peaceful coexistence," the Chinese bureaucracy increasingly has shrieked that "strategically the key point of their [the "two superpowers"] contention is Europe" (Documents of the 10th Congress, CPC). The Maoists have been campaigning hard throughout the "Free World" for strengthening NATO, that imperialist "united front" of 300,000 troops for preventing "Communist aggression" and socialist revolution in Europe. Objectively lining up with U.S. imperialism, the Chinese bureaucracy is advocating an *increased direct military threat to the USSR* so that the Russians would be forced to withdraw troops from Siberia for strengthening the Warsaw Pact forces!

The mouthpieces of the Maoists have been blaring pro-NATO propaganda tracts, such as "NATO--Need for Improved Military Forces" (*Peking Review*, 21 December 1973). In one Sino-French communiqué, Peking called for military unity of the NATO countries "for the preservation of their common security" (*Peking Review*, 21 September 1973). The Maoists applauded when one reactionary, Lord Chalfont, "criticized the idea that all military threat to Western Europe had disappeared and that

consequently all the American troops could be withdrawn and NATO dismantled" (*Pékin Information*, 6 August 1973).

The Chinese Stalinists invited staunchly anti-Communist, German nationalist Franz-Josef Strauss to China and reportedly assured him that "the security of West Europe can be assured only by the military support of the United States" (*Le Monde*, 15 January 1975). Likewise, Chou En-lai last year pledged cold-warrior Senator Henry Jackson, leading representative of the anti-U.S./USSR detente wing of the American bourgeoisie, that China would continue to advocate the strengthening of NATO (*New York Times*, 2 July 1974). Belgian Prime Minister Tindemans, recently returned from Peking, expressed his astonishment at the Chinese leaders' repeated favorable references to U.S. Defense Secretary Schlesinger's report to Congress as "a good view of the world" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 24 April 1975). Numerous articles in the Chinese press this year have reported favorably Schlesinger's insistence that U.S. troop levels be maintained in Europe and that the U.S. has vital security interests to protect in Europe, the Near East, the Persian Gulf and Asia. For the sake of its "peaceful coexistence," its "socialism in one country" and its property rights to some sparsely-populated Siberian tundra, the Chinese bureaucracy is willing to be the drummer boy for imperialist militarism....

-Excerpted from "Revolutionary Union's 'United Front' with NATO," Young Spartacus No. 32, May 1975

Schlesinger Sacking Upsets Maoists

Rocket-rattling Pentagon boss James Schlesinger, the most bellicose opponent of U.S.-USSR "detente," has long been the darling of the Chinese Maoist leadership, whose foreign policy in recent years increasingly has been directed against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism." But last month [November, 1975] Gerald Ford, evidently preparing for a presidential re-election campaign spotlighting "detente," abruptly reshuffled his cabinet and unceremoniously dumped the recalcitrant Defense Secretary Schlesinger.

Only days later the Chinese regime released through its official Hsinhua news agency an unprecedented, lengthy statement criticizing the sacking of Schlesinger as a concession to the Soviet Union and as a dangerous weakening of U.S. imperialist forces! Favorably quoting jingoist Senator Henry Jackson, this Maoist mouthpiece mourned the ouster of Schlesinger as "a loss to the nation in the pursuit of a prudent defense and foreign policy" (quoted in *New York Times*, 9 November).

While Brezhnev and Co. treacherously woo allegedly "pro-detente" U.S. imperialist politicians, the Chinese Stalinists have solidarized with hard-line gunboat diplomats like Henry Jackson and cold warriors such as Schlesinger. Although incessantly denouncing the allegedly "fascist" USSR, the Chinese have consistently refrained from calling for a revolution in this country. For American Maoists a consistent application of this Chinese line can only lead to backhanded support for Henry Jackson and Barry Goldwater! The Maoist bureaucrats ruling over and against the Chinese workers, no less than the Stalinist jackals entrenched in Moscow, are willing to shamelessly betray revolutionary internationalism for their anti-revolutionary and ultimately utopian goal of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Before Nixon inaugurated the 1971 U.S.-China "rapprochement," the Peking bureaucracy branded NATO an "aggressive bloc which is an enslaving tool in the hands of the United States of America"; in deeds, however, the Chinese willingly capitulated to imperialism, notably by refusing to supply the then-struggling Indochinese insurgent forces with adequate military aid. Once the aging Mao/Chou leadership negotiated its "united front" with U.S. imperialism against their "number one enemy" Russia, the Chinese Stalinists increasingly became the number-one foreign drummer boy for NATO and Schlesinger.

Last spring Schlesinger submitted a report to Congress advocating a "NATO first use of theatre nuclear forces" in the event of any Russian-backed "aggression" in Europe (*New York Times*, 30 May). Peking responded by stressing to Belgian Prime Minister Tindemans (then visiting China) that Schlesinger's "nuke-'em" tirade represented "a good view of the world" (quoted in *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 April).

Then last summer after the U.S.-USSR Helsinki summit meeting, *Peking Review* (8 August) bemoaned that "the Soviet Union generally is on the offensive while its rival, the United States, more often than not, finds itself at the receiving end" and anxiously warned about "weak links in the U.S. and NATO defense line in Europe." Citing a report to Congress by Schlesinger, this article sympathetically reported that "the United States has in the past few years beefed up its nuclear strength and paid special attention to developing its conventional forces in Europe."

In just one recent issue of *Hsinhua Weekly* (3 November), for example, the Maoists lauded U.S. capitalist politicians opposed to defense cuts, backed a NATO resolution to "strengthen NATO's military forces" and called for a more aggressive West German militarism:

"In the face of this situation [Russian military build-up], many countries in West Europe have emphasized the need to strengthen their unity and the defense capabilities of their respective countries. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, too, has made its efforts to promote West Europe unity and has advocated strengthening 'one's own will in defense' to cope with superpower menace."

Such "strengthening 'one's own will in defense'" for the bourgeoisie signals nothing less than its ominous preparation for renewed imperialist war. Thus, even the bourgeois London *Economist* (8 November) has been taken aback: "China is the world's most consistent advocate of German reunification and West European integration." The West German imperialists have long raised the "reunification of Germany" as their battle cry; behind such nationalist chauvinism seethes the rapacious appetite for imperialist conquest, in particular a counterrevolutionary attack against the Soviet bloc. As Lenin warned in 1915, bourgeois governments seek "European unity" and alliances "only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against Japan and America*" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21). The Chinese line calling for stronger European capitalist armament is despicable vicarious militarism and social chauvinism. Unlike the imperialists and Stalinist bureaucracies, revolutionaries call for the *revolutionary reunification* of divided Germany.

By encouraging belligerent military confrontation with the



WIDE WORLD

U.S. Defense Secretary Schlesinger atop a tank views NATO troop maneuvers in West Germany (above). When the "Great Helmsman" threw the rudder hard right and began to champion a stronger NATO and German "reunification," German Maoists found themselves peddling the same pro-imperialist, revanchist line as the bourgeois right wing, from Christian Democrat Franz Josef Strauss to the neo-Nazi Nationalzeitung. The sizable, Peking-loyal West German Maoist groups—the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist Leninist) [KPD(ML)]—not only have endorsed this colossal betrayal of proletarian internationalism, but also have organized pro-NATO demonstrations! KPD(ML) leader Ernst Aust even has brought a court suit against Georg Leber, the West German Minister of Defense: these Maoists charge the Defense Minister with "neglecting" the military "preparedness" of West German imperialism and demand a fortified armed forces to protect the fatherland from "Soviet social-imperialism" [West Berlin KPD(ML) leaflet dated 4 November 1975]! In a frenzied attempt to silence criticism of their pro-militarist line the KPD and the KPD(ML) have carried out vicious thug attacks against our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Germany and against the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group.

USSR, the Chinese bureaucracy criminally endangers the colossal revolutionary conquests represented by the non-capitalist property foundations and social base of the Russian state. This treacherous bloc with imperialism against the USSR is no less fatal for a defense of the Chinese deformed workers state; a defeat of the USSR would certainly be followed by imperialist aggression against China.

Divided by conflicting nationalist interests rooted in their commitment to "building socialism in one [their own] country," the Stalinist bureaucracies misruling from Moscow and Peking are the real "splitters and wreckers" of international proletarian solidarity. Today, as Brezhnev waltzes Ford at Helsinki and Mao thumps war drums for NATO, only the Trotskyist program, upheld by the international Spartacist tendency, unceasingly calls for *international communist unity against imperialism*. The greatest obstacles to a real united front against imperialism are the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The counterrevolutionary Russian bureaucracy, no less than its Chinese counterpart, must be smashed. But the Stalinist usurpers misruling in the Sino-Soviet states must be removed not by imperialist conquest restoring capitalism but by a workers political revolution struggling for the establishment of workers democracy through soviets based on the existing collectivized property relations. The foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" can only endanger the defense and sabotage the extension of the revolutionary gains embodied in the degenerated workers states by betraying the anti-capitalist struggles of the oppressed. Only international proletarian solidarity can effectively combat imperialist threats. Only the socialist revolution can eliminate forever the holocaust of imperialist war.

- All U.S. troops and bases out of Europe—Smash NATO!
- Soviet nuclear shield must cover all the deformed workers states!
- For the unconditional defense of the USSR, China and all other deformed workers states from imperialist attack and capitalist restoration!
- For workers political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and to forge international communist unity against imperialism!
- Extend the revolutionary gains—For international socialist revolution!

--reprinted from Young Spartacus No. 38, December 1975

China Counsels NATO On Red Threat in Portugal

"German imperialism is interested in guaranteeing that Portugal does not fall into the [Russian] social-imperialist camp. And here the working class has interests which coincide with those of German imperialism."

—Unidade Popular, 16 January 1975

Obviously the words of the NATO high command or German Christian Democrat Franz Josef Strauss, right? No! This pro-imperialist propaganda comes from the Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist) (PCP[M-L]), which has been endorsed by the Chinese bureaucracy in *Peking Review* and *Hsinhua Weekly*! Although Portugal has been seething with pre-revolutionary turmoil since the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship, the Peking Stalinist regime has *opposed* any revolutionary upheaval which would pull Portugal out of NATO or increase the influence of the pro-Moscow Portuguese Communist Party (PCP).

Mao scolds "passive" Pentagon

In the split between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies misruling in the deformed workers states of China and Russia, the Peking Stalinists criminally have denounced the USSR as "social imperialist" and "more dangerous" than U.S. imperialism. In a recent, typical attack against the Moscow Stalinists, the Maoist bureaucracy venomously tirades:

"The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type [a bloc of the four bourgeoisies?]. . . .

"The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the U.S., are now fiercely locked in contention for world hegemony. The later upstart, the Soviet social-imperialists, who harbor ambitious

dreams and stretch their hands everywhere, are, in particular, leaving no stone unturned in their efforts to replace the U.S. imperialists now becoming increasingly vulnerable and strategically passive. They are trying to embark on Hitler's track of world domination."

—Peking *People's Daily*, 9 May 1975

In order to increase the pressure on the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy to withdraw its enormous military force menacingly poised along the Russia-China border and deploy it instead far away on the European front, the Maoist bureaucracy has been crusading for the strengthening of imperialism's NATO and West German militarism. The Chinese imply that the only force able "to keep vigilance against Soviet social-imperialism" and able to strengthen NATO is U.S. imperialism (*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 16 March 1975). Yao Wen-yuan, an important Chinese "ideologist," told a correspondent for the Turin *Stampa* (20 April 1975) that "the non-existent detente must not be translated into a weakening of the Atlantic Alliance [NATO]." According to the Peking *People's Daily* (24 December 1974), the Soviet Union must not be permitted to succeed in its attempts to "squeeze out the United States" from Europe, because: "This would make their expansion into and infiltration of West Europe easier."

Pro-colonialist line on Macao

While cynically harping about "superpower contention," the Chinese bureaucracy actually favors U.S.-USSR "cold war" confrontation in Europe. Likewise, Peking fulminates against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism," yet the Maoist line that the interests of the Portuguese proletariat "coincide with those of German imperialism" is identical to the Social Democratic class collaboration which Lenin branded "social imperialism." In fact, Mao supports "Portuguese social-imperialism"; China has *opposed* proposals by the ruling Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) to grant independence to the Portuguese colony of Macao in coastal China! Thus, the Chinese Stalinists have demonstrated that their foreign policy interests in Portugal "coincide" with those of the ultra-right, pro-NATO generals and colonialist bourgeoisie.

Yet, while encouraging continued colonial possession of Macao and Hong Kong, the Chinese government now is claiming sole rights to the far-flung Spratly Islands in the South China Sea presently occupied by... Vietnamese Communist forces (*New York Times*, 27 November 1975)! Providing an ugly spectacle of Stalinist chauvinism, the Chinese government

belligerently warns the "fraternal" Vietnamese bureaucracy,

"We have never invaded or occupied the territory of other countries, but will never allow others to invade or occupy our territory whatever the pretext. The South China Sea Islands are China's sacred [!] territory."

—*Peking Review*, 12 December 1975

"We cannot think of a revolution now"

Evidence of the shameless opportunism and abject reformism of the PCP(M-L) is provided by its statements in an interview given the U.S. *Guardian* (1 October 1975). Following the Chinese line that the "number one" enemy in the world today is Russia and that the "number one" danger in Portugal today is the PCP, the PCP(M-L) supports the reactionary generals in the bourgeois MFA against the PCP: "...we support the AFM as the

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most important force in Portugal." Yes, the MFA is the "most important force"...for strikebreaking, attacking the hard-won democratic rights of the workers, suppressing the most leftist units in the military and jailing 500 members of the pro-Peking Movement for the Reorganization of the Party of the Proletariat (MRPP).

In step with Peking the PCP(M-L) likewise backs the Portuguese Socialist Party (SP), which has received up to \$10 million a month from the CIA and which rallied the vicious anti-communist riots last summer (*New York Times*, 27 September 1975). Cries the PCP(M-L),

"We know that one day we must break with the SP and attack it; but for the moment we think that it is a good alliance to make against the principal problem, which is imperialist forces of any kind, and first in this are the forces represented by the PCP....Although it [the SP] is a bourgeois party it is the only party that will defend democratic liberties."

—PCP(M-L) as quoted in *Guardian*, 1 October 1975

The PCP(M-L) can justify functioning as the tail of the "democratic" counterrevolution because Maoists oppose proletarian revolution in Portugal today: "We cannot think of a revolution now" (*ibid.*)! The reactionary line of the Chinese bureaucracy that the influence of the USSR must be blocked and reversed even through supporting the MFA as it attacks the workers, even through opposing proletarian revolution in a pre-revolutionary situation, must be exposed for the colossal betrayal that this represents!

Like the PCP(M-L), the left-Stalinist MRPP blocks with the allegedly "fascist" SP against the so-called "social fascist" PCP. The MRPP even hailed *real* fascists during the orgies of anti-Communist terror in northern Portugal. When rightist mobs, including clerics and fascists, murderously attacked the PCP in Leiria, the MRPP enthusiastically applauded the "people of Leiria" for driving away the "revisionist poison" and closing the "kennels inhabited by leash dogs of the social-fascist party" (*Luta Popular*, 28 August).

The present crisis in Portugal cries out for the intervention of Trotskyists. As proletarian internationalists our duty is to patiently combat the illusions of the masses about the "progressive" MFA, mercilessly expose the treachery of the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders, and assist in every way possible the crystallization of an authentic Bolshevik party in Portugal today. For the reforging of the Fourth International!

—based on "Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!,"
Young Spartacus No. 37, October 1975

Angola:

Maoists Marching With Pretoria

When Portugal's last high commissioner in Angola, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, slipped out of Luanda on the night of 10 November 1975, he declared the former colony independent but handed over power to no one. Instead he simply walked out of his office, leaving his keys in the door.

With the departure of the Portuguese army the Angolan state entity effectively ceased to exist. The left-nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) proclaimed a "People's Republic" in Luanda, while the virulently anti-communist National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and neo-colonialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) established a rival "Democratic People's Republic" at Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa) in the south central plateau region.

The civil war that has enveloped the country for the last year assumed a new character as imperialist forces (principally the U.S. together with its South African ally, aided by Portuguese reactionaries) moved in with an open bid for power, anticipating the final departure of the last 2,000 Portuguese troops. Meanwhile, since the MPLA gained control of the Luanda port and airport the Soviet Union has stepped up its aid to the MPLA. As the conservative London *Economist* (15 November) noted, "The war Portugal left behind...is no longer a matter of skirmishing between badly armed guerrilla groups....Angola has become a proxy battlefield between the major powers."

Imperialist/colonialist blitzkrieg

In the weeks immediately preceding the November 11 termination of colonial rule, a motorized column of about 500 white soldiers, mostly South African and Portuguese, appeared at the head of a joint FNLA/UNITA force. The column entered Angola from South West Africa (Namibia) and swept up the coast, driving MPLA from key ports. As the joint column pushed north, FNLA forces, led by pro-Spinola Portuguese reaction-

aries and supplied by U.S. arms channeled through Zaire, moved south in a coordinated pincer attack on Luanda. To create a credible neo-colonial regime in competition with the MPLA's "People's Republic of Angola," the U.S./South Africa axis effected a paper unification of FNLA and UNITA in a puppet "Democratic People's Republic." Simultaneously the South Africans more shamelessly admitted their intervention (now estimated at more than 4,000 regular troops). In early December General Jack Dutton, South African army chief of staff, visited his troops in Angola (referred to in Johannesburg newspapers as the "zone of operations") taking along foreign newsmen.

On the other side, internationalization of the conflict has also proceeded apace as the MPLA was reinforced by several thousand Cuban troops and equipped with Soviet tanks and rockets. These forces and materiel have already begun to turn the tide. On three fronts the MPLA has pushed back its opponents, retaking key positions, especially along the central stretch of the Benguela railroad in south central Angola.

Now decisively subordinated to the imperialist scramble for Angola, the FNLA's Holden Roberto and UNITA's Jonas Savimbi are reduced to the role of puppets, mouthing the anti-communist tirades dictated by their paymasters while the fate of their forces is decided in Washington and Pretoria. Under the present conditions of imperialist-colonialist control, their victory over the MPLA would either set up an Angolan client state of the U.S., South Africa and Zaire; or, more likely, partition the country with South Africa annexing the Ovambo regions, a South Africa/Zambia joint protectorate administered by UNITA along the Benguela railway, a Gulf Oil fiefdom in the north and either outright *Anschluss* of FNLA-held areas to Zaire or a Bakongo client state controlled by Mobutu through his brother-in-law Roberto.

Abstracted from their slanderous characterization of the USSR as capitalist/imperialist, the mainstream Maoists' assertion that the present war in Angola is one of "superpower" contention is empirically correct. The departure of the colonial troops and administrators in November effectively dissolved Angola as a state, while the assumption of command by imperialist forces over the FNLA/UNITA military coalition (South African-led armored column in the south and Portuguese colonialist direction of the FNLA army in the north, coupled with massive U.S. military aid), *together with the introduction of Soviet military advisors and Cuban troops*, decisively internationalized the conflict. The fighting in Angola is no longer a domestic civil war, but a "war by proxy" between the U.S. and the USSR. Yet, even though the social conquests of the October Revolution are not directly threatened by the battle

over Angola, in this simple contest ("war by proxy") between American imperialism and the Russian degenerated workers state, communists must *take sides*. That is why the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League calls for military victory of the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist coalition.

However, unlike the Stalinists who equate military support with political support, we have never given the least political confidence to the MPLA. As part of the ill-fated "Transitional Government" established by the Portuguese the MPLA broke a major dock strike, militarized labor, disarmed civilians and courted imperialism. Today the MPLA vows to treat the Bakongo people of the north as a Biafan-type secessionist movement, and tomorrow in power the MPLA would establish a "radical" or even "Marxist-Leninist" regime like the Congo (Brazzaville), where oppression is unrelieved and the economy still completely dominated by the French. A changing of the guard in Washington (for example, the replacement of the conservative Gerald Ford by the liberal Edward Kennedy) would be sufficient to douse the MPLA's "anti-imperialism," and the Soviet Union is still intent on promoting detente. Rather than risk a major military showdown with U.S.-dominated forces, it may well supply the Luanda regime only enough to prevent a total rout and then pressure for negotiations. The Russians would like to split the U.S. from China, currently united behind the FNLA, and are perfectly prepared to use Angola as a bargaining chip.

Furthermore, our call for the military victory of the MPLA has a conjunctural character. Before the fratricidal conflict between the MPLA and FNLA/UNITA became decisively subordinated to direct imperialist and South African control and transformed into an imperialist intervention, the victory of the MPLA, despite its left-nationalist "patriotic" rhetoric, would not have been qualitatively more progressive than the victory of the FNLA or UNITA. While Marxists would have militarily supported all the groups against Portuguese colonialism, the absence of any qualitative political difference among them dictated support to none of the bickering rivals when squared off against each other. Each was a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement aspiring to congeal a bourgeois regime, inevitably hostile to Angola's toiling masses.

Thus, prior to the subordination of the civil war by "super-power contention," we declared:

"However, unlike the FNLA and UNITA, the MPLA draws its present support from the masses of urban dispossessed, semi-proletarians and working-class elements. For the FNLA and UNITA to defeat the MPLA, the FNLA and UNITA would have to conduct wholesale slaughter and terrorism, decimating demoralizing and dispersing the plebeian mass which can form

the basis for a future independent movement of the working people.

"In specific confrontations between the MPLA and FNLA and/or UNITA, most important in the battles for Luanda and Lobito, communists in Angola, while never ceasing to attack politically the treacherous MPLA leadership, might pursue the tactic of proposing episodic, concrete fighting agreements, military blocs, with the MPLA forces to defend the proletariat and poor. We recognize, however, that should communists in the course of this struggle begin to rally around their program and leadership MPLA supporters or especially to split a section of the MPLA ranks away from their bourgeois leaders, then the MPLA would turn on and savagely attack not only the communists but also its own ranks. The task of a military bloc thus could abruptly shift to defending an independent proletarian formation from the MPLA, not to mention the FNLA and UNITA....

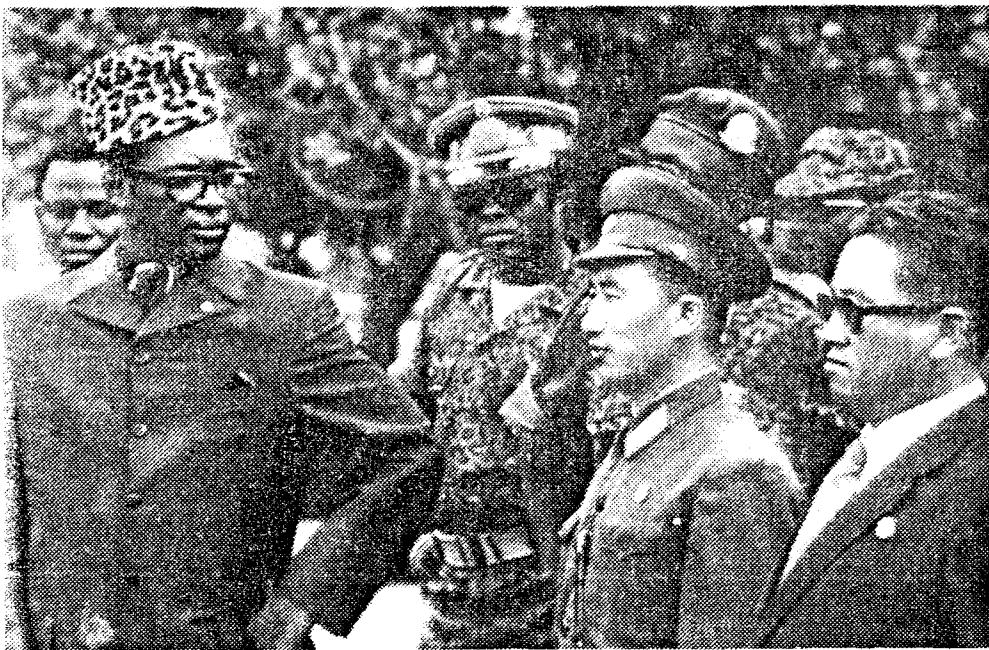
"In Angola, where the native bourgeoisie is non-existent as a class, where the proletariat is weak and lacking developed class-consciousness, and where the vast rural population is divided by myriad tribal and ethnic differences, any of the petty-bourgeois nationalist formations which might come to power through military means will establish a regime of a bonapartist character, becoming the new middlemen for continued imperialist exploitation. The Angolan nationalists will follow in the steps of Nkrumah, who banned strikes and imprisoned labor militants; Nyere, who outlawed working-class organizations; and Sekou Touré, who instituted forced labor."

— *Young Spartacus*, September 1975

Only when the limited civil war became internationalized with the decisive subordination of the MPLA's rivals to imperialism did we call for the military victory of the MPLA *against the imperialist power play*.

Chinese arms for anti-communists

In its reactionary crusade against Soviet "imperialism" in Angola the Stalinist bureaucracy in "People's" China marches in lockstep with the U.S. imperialists and the abominable South African apartheid regime against the Russian-aided/Cuban-led MPLA. Even before the limited civil war became subsumed by direct "superpower contention" on the eve of Angolan independence, the Chinese government lined up with the U.S. imperialists and directly aided the rabidly anti-communist FNLA in its fight for hegemony over the Soviet-backed MPLA. FNLA leader Holden Roberto, who has been receiving CIA funds for over a decade, recently boasted, "All my troops have been trained by the Chinese" (quoted in *New York Times*, 14 December 1975). And with these Chinese-trained troops the FNLA has vowed to massacre "every single



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Zaire President Mobutu, long-time henchman of the CIA, with North Korean military advisors who are presently training his troops and those of the FNLA in the use of Chinese weapons.

"communist" in Angola (quoted in *African Development*, November, 1975)! Likewise, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi claimed that UNITA would defeat the Cuban Communists, because "we have experts trained in China concentrating on the development of our guerrilla tactics" (*New York Times*, 26 January).

China has aided the Zaire-based FNLA as part of Mao's courting of Mobutu, that infamous henchman of U.S. imperialism who drools with annexationist appetites toward Angola. In 1974 the Maoists began to send Chinese military advisors and aid to FNLA bases in Zaire; in June, 1974, a *France Presse* dispatch from Kinshasa (Zaire) reported, "A team of Chinese military instructors has arrived in this city to begin the training of FNLA units" (quoted in *A Capital* [Lisbon], 3 June 1974).

A year later, as the fratricidal fighting escalated, a correspondent in Zaire reported that "there are Chinese instructors training the soldiers of a determinedly anti-Marxist FNLA at Kinkusu in the hope of offsetting the influence of a pro-Soviet MPLA" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 June 1975). In addition, the Chinese have been training FNLA troops in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania (*Jeune Afrique*, 18 April 1975). As Russia boosted its aid to the MPLA, the Chinese sent tanks and heavy artillery to both the FNLA and UNITA (*Washington Post*, 4 September 1975; *New York Times*, 14 November 1975). According to the FNLA, China even supplied pilots to fly its French-supplied Mirage jets (*New York Times*, 24 August 1975). Even U.S. officials testified

to China's active support of the CIA-funded FNLA/UNITA: "Since the spring we have given minimum aid to the anti-communist movements [in Angola], because we were satisfied to let the Chinese do the work in the field" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 5 December 1975).

No condemnation of U.S., South Africa

China not only worked with the CIA "in the field," but also allied with U.S. imperialist policy in Angola. From the outset of the civil war China has joined the imperialist chorus, ceaselessly assailing not the U.S. and South African imperialists and Portuguese mercenaries but the USSR as "the enemy" and "arch-criminal" in Angola. *Peking Review* (1 August 1975) roundly denounced Russian shipments of arms to "one organization" (guess which!) as "despicable tactics" and concluded, "These criminal deeds are certain to arouse anger among the Angolan people, open their eyes to the Soviet machinations and cause them to close ranks in the struggle against *the enemy*." In its articles on Angola *Peking Review* week after week refused to mention U.S. aid to the FNLA/UNITA, refused to mention U.S. machinations with Mobutu and South Africa for an imperialist

At a January 1976 demonstration in NYC, Maoists sided with U.S. and South Africa demanding "Cuban Troops Out of Angola."



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balkanization of Angola, and refused to mention China's aid to the anti-communist/neo-colonialist forces! Nor has China even once denounced "the other superpower"—Mao's polite appellation for U.S. imperialism—and exposed its "despicable tactics" and "criminal deeds."

On the contrary, as the Angolan civil war became transformed into a "proxy war" waged by the "superpowers," the Mao bureaucracy increased the decibels of its already thundering political support to the U.S./South Africa axis. During the South African-led blitzkrieg toward Luanda in November, the Chinese government issued a high-level policy statement on Angola which tiraded against... the "expansion and crude interference of the Soviet Union" (*Peking Review*, 21 November 1975). But this stunning policy statement not only refrained from even gently condemning U.S. imperialism but also *refused to mention the South African invasion!!* Significantly, the bourgeois *New York Times* (21 December 1975), chastising Congress for its "emotional prejudice" against South Africa, wryly observed, "Even China has managed to remember its own national interests when regarding Southern Africa and has done its limited best to offset a Soviet advance."

Concerned only with "its own national interests" the Chinese bureaucracy, moreover, has cautiously probed possibilities for an alliance with South Africa. Recently China shifted its position on "dialogue" between black-ruled African states and the white-supremacist South African government. Formerly condemning such "dialogue" as "reactionary double tactics," China now has advised at least Zambia to pursue "detente" with the South African regime (*Los Angeles Times*, 14 September 1975). In recognition of China's overtures and backing in Angola, the South African *Rand Daily Mail* recently declared, "A Pretoria-Peking dialogue could be very beneficial to South Africa" (quoted in *Daily World*, 5 December 1975).

"Marxism-Leninism-Henry Kissinger Thought"

Warbling its "detente" duet with Kissinger, China has formulated its diplomatic policy for Angola to be fully congruent with the aims of U.S. imperialism. Week after week China has called for an end to Russian involvement in Angola and a government of "national unity." Not coincidentally, this has been one major objective of imperialist vizier Kissinger. With U.S. intervention in Angola hampered, with FNLA/UNITA forces now in retreat, and with the South African invasion driving many African countries into the MPLA camp, any solution forcing the withdrawal of the Cubans and the return to power of the FNLA and UNITA in a coalition government would represent

a victory for the imperialists at the bargaining table recouping their losses on the battlefield.

Favorably reporting a recent NATO Council meeting (!!), *Peking Review* (26 December 1975) extols Marxism-Leninism-Henry Kissinger Thought:

"At the meeting U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger condemned the Soviet intervention in Angola and said that the United States would not allow the Soviet Union to get a foothold in the territory.

"At a press conference afterwards, Kissinger said: 'The United States cannot be indifferent to massive Soviet supplies of arms (in Angola). ' 'The United States favors a solution in which all of the parties in Angola can negotiate with each other free of outside interference and in which the problem of Angola is handled as an African issue,' he declared. 'Failing that, the United States will try to prevent one party by means of massive introduction of outside equipment from achieving dominance,' he added."

Both the Chinese Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists demand an end to the "Soviet intervention in Angola." Both the Chinese Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists advocate a negotiated settlement "free of outside interference." And both the Chinese Stalinists and the U.S. imperialists staunchly support NATO, which equipped the Portuguese colonial army in Africa; this same *Peking Review* article even called for "reinforcement of Western defence capabilities"!

Yet *Peking Review* carefully edited the remarks of Kissinger at the NATO gathering, remaining silent about his statement supporting the immediate withdrawal of South African forces from Angola. Of course, the South African regime reacted bitterly to Kissinger's call for South African withdrawal from Angola; for example, the *Johannesburg Star* (20 December 1975) headlined, "NATO Takes Tough Line in Angola." But the same issue observed that China had taken no such "tough line" toward South Africa.

"Two line" double talk

For backing U.S. imperialist policy in Angola and for failing to condemn the South African invasion, China has been pilloried by the Soviet Union and numerous African and other "third world" regimes. Attempting to save face in the United Nations during December, Chinese delegate Lai Ya-li protested:

"We have always treated the three Angolan liberation organizations on the same basis and in a friendly way, and we provided them with various kinds of assistance, including military assistance, in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism."

—*Peking Review*, 12 December 1975

Self-serving exaggerations implying continual and even-handed support notwithstanding, the Chinese *prior to the civil war* in Angola did politically support all three petty-bourgeois nationalist organizations at one time or another: Peking received Jonas Savimbi in 1968, Agostinho Neto in 1971 and Holden Roberto in 1973.

But in the very next breath Lai Ya-li claimed,

"After they reached agreement with the Portuguese Government on achieving independence at a scheduled date, we stopped giving new military aid to the three liberation organizations."

Rubbish! During the civil war which erupted "after they reached agreement with the Portuguese Government" (the Alvor accords of January 1975), the Chinese, according to the FNLA as well as journalists both bourgeois and leftist, continued to provide military aid to the FNLA and (to a lesser extent) UNITA.

But embroidered in this tissue of lies seems to be a pattern of truth. According to its official radio broadcast on 26 November, the FNLA has unilaterally *dismissed* "the Chinese who had been serving as instructors for its troops," charging that the Maoist military advisors overly stressed "political indoctrination" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 28 November 1975). This FNLA pronouncement testifies not only to the fact of Chinese aid but also to the deeply anti-communist character of the FNLA.

At the same time, the Chinese bureaucracy certainly must have recognized that, once the U.S. and South Africa became involved in a "proxy war" with the USSR, any "new military aid" to the imperialist-led forces became not only militarily superfluous but also politically compromising for "anti-imperialist" China. However, although the Mao bureaucracy professes disengagement in Angola, the FNLA now receives advisors and aid from...North Korea! "More than 100 North Korean instructors," reports *Newsweek* (8 December 1975), "are helping to train the army in the use of Chinese equipment!" While China pays lip service to so-called "non-interference" in Angola, North Korean advisors put teeth into the FNLA troops. In Angola, China and North Korea are, to borrow a Maoist phrase, as close as "lips and teeth."

Apologia for Pretoria

China's refusal to condemn the South African invasion provided grist to the propaganda mills of its Stalinist rivals in Moscow. Faced with growing international opposition to its opprobrious policy toward Angola, China finally broke its damning silence on South Africa...*nine weeks after the invasion!* In the *Peking Review* of 9 January, an article devoted

to attacking the Moscow Stalinists for "starting up their propaganda machine against South Africa's invasion of Angola" reluctantly condemns South Africa in a *pro forma*, one-sentence swipe. Yet the article flatly declares that the "chief culprit" is *not* South Africa or U.S. imperialism but "Soviet social-imperialism," allegedly representing "the most dangerous enemy of the people of Angola and of Africa as a whole."

Of course, this is the position of Pretoria and the Pentagon. At the mid-January Organization of African "Unity" (OAU) conference on Angola, only the most staunchly pro-imperialist OAU regimes "decided to admit openly that they regarded South Africa as less an enemy than Cuba and the Soviet Union" (*Washington Post*, 15 January 1976). As the bourgeois media has dourly observed, the South African invasion of Angola compelled numerous "non-aligned" and even anti-Russian African regimes like Nigeria to side with the MPLA against South Africa as the "Number One official enemy and pariah" (*Washington Post*, 15 January).

After tersely denouncing the South African invasion, the *Peking Review* article then lets the Pretoria brasshats off the hook by charging Moscow with unjustly *provoking* the South African invasion. Just listen:

"However, it is clear to sober-minded people [!] that South African intervention took place only after the Soviet Union had begun dividing the Angolan liberation movement and stirring up the civil war there. It was nobody other than the Soviet social-imperialists who, by their flagrant intervention in Angola, provided the South African authorities with the opportunity [!] to send their troops in and fish in troubled waters. Hence [!!], the Soviet social-imperialists, who have been clamouring against the South African invasion are the arch-criminals *responsible for the intervention by the South African racist regime in Angola.*" [our emphasis]

It was not the civil war between the rival Angolan nationalists which prompted the South African invasion; in fact, South Africa invaded "only after" Russian "interference" gave the MPLA the edge over the FNLA/UNITA forces on the eve of formal independence, which provided the "opportunity" for this "proxy war." South Africa invaded Angola and today battles Cuban troops in an imperialist power play with the objective of "driving Communism out of Angola." To unload "responsibility" for the South African intervention upon the USSR is to cover for the imperialist aims of Washington and Pretoria!

Within the American Maoist movement, the one serious attempt to justify a break with the Peking line on Angola has come from the widely read weekly *Guardian*. Announcing in a 26 November editorial that it "respects, but differs with, the position of People's China," the newspaper is now campaigning

aggressively for the MPLA. Although it is organizationally independent (having been until recently the lap dog of the October League, notable for its absolute fidelity to Peking in all its betrayals, both big and small), the *Guardian*'s dissidence is significant for it both reflects and influences the broad radical milieu out of which the Maoist organizations recruit.

Angola: a national liberation struggle?

In his column "Fan the Flames" (24 December 1975), *Guardian* editor Irwin Silber seeks to give a general theoretical justification for support to the MPLA, despite its ties to "Soviet social-imperialism." Silber begins by appealing to the orthodox Leninist position on national liberation struggles in the context of inter-imperialist rivalry. A genuine nationalist movement, by accepting aid from an imperialist power hostile to its direct oppressor, does not thereby necessarily become an instrument of that power. A war of national liberation does not become an inter-imperialist conflict simply because the nationalist forces receive support from "the enemy of their enemy." No genuine communist would reject these general principles.

Lenin supported the Irish national uprising during World War I although it received some material support from Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany. Trotsky supported China's resistance to conquest by Japan although Chiang Kai-shek's government was receiving aid from the Western powers including American military volunteers (Claire Chennault's Flying Tigers). The attempted Kurdish uprising against Iraq last winter, although decisively militarily dependent upon the Shah of Iran (who sacrificed it), was a genuine national struggle.

But is the situation in Angola comparable to the above examples? The *Guardian* would have us believe so. Silber justifies support to the MPLA in terms of "the achievement of Angolan independence under its most consistently patriotic force." Another article in the same issue approvingly quotes Samora Machel, president of Mozambique:

"In Angola, two forces are confronting each other; on the one hand, imperialism with its allies and puppets; on the other, the progressive popular forces which support MPLA. There is nothing else."

Machel to the contrary, Soviet bloc intervention is a decisive factor in the conflict. U.S. opposition to the MPLA is not because of its domestic economic policies, but because of its alliance with the Soviet bloc. Washington is determined to prevent Angola from becoming a Soviet-allied state, a base for the Russian navy and a conduit for the Kremlin's maneuvering in Africa. Kissinger has recently

made it absolutely clear that he is willing to accept a Neto government if it moves away from the USSR in the manner of Anwar Sadat's Egypt:

"We are not opposed to the MPLA as such. We make a distinction between the factions in Angola and the outside intervention. We can live with any of the factions in Angola and we would never have given assistance to any other faction if other great powers had stayed out of this.... We accepted in Mozambique without any difficulty a pro-Marxist faction that came to power by indigenous means, or perhaps with some minimum outside support, in Frelimo.... the issue is whether the Soviet Union, backed by a Cuban expeditionary force, can impose on two-thirds of the population its own brand of government."

-New York Times, 24 December 1975

Kissinger's stated attitude toward the MPLA is *not* that of an imperialist power toward a national liberation movement it is determined to crush. The British in 1916 did not state they would accept a Pearse/Connolly government in Ireland if only the latter stopped conspiring with the Germans. Japan in 1937 did not offer to withdraw from China if Chiang changed his foreign policy. Ba'athist Iraq made no pretense at agreeing to an independent Kurdistan on condition that it be unaligned with Iran.

Kissinger is offering to accept an MPLA government if it breaks its alliance with the Soviet Union, and that is a fundamental difference. That is why the present war in Angola is not a national liberation struggle against U.S. imperialism. Kissinger's policy is to oppose the MPLA *because* it is allied to the Russians, *or* to pressure it to break that alliance. The MPLA is not receiving aid from the Soviet bloc in order to liberate Angola from American neo-colonialism; rather it is under attack by U.S. imperialism because it is allied to the Soviet bloc.

Revolutionaries must resolutely break politically with both Moscow and Peking brands of Stalinist class collaboration, and with their respective petty-bourgeois nationalist allies. Military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition is a necessary tactic in the context of our fundamental strategic aim: the struggle to build an independent working-class Trotskyist party. Such a party, basing itself on the powerful South African and copper-belt proletariat and the fledgling working class in Luanda, and supported by the peasant masses, must be built in order to wipe out capitalist exploitation and the oppression of the black masses and construct a socialist federation of southern Africa.

-based on articles from Workers Vanguard Nos. 87 and 92, 28 November 1975 and 16 January, 1976 and Young Spartacus No. 40, February 1976

Peking Promotes Ethiopian Junta

The flare-up of the war in Eritrea over the past three months and the recent shifts within the unstable and faction-ridden Ethiopian junta indicate that the 13-year Eritrean secessionist rebellion in Ethiopia is rapidly coming to a head. A military victory of the Eritrean independence forces could well precipitate the rapid dissolution of the multiplicity of well-armed and seriously disaffected racial and ethnic minorities which comprise the Amharic-dominated Ethiopian state.

Since the end of January [1975], the avowedly "socialist" Ethiopian junta has been fiercely prosecuting its murderous policy of suppressing "bandit elements." The daily attacks on Asmara and the villages surrounding the Eritrean capital are clearly intended to terrorize by bloodbath the civilian Eritrean population into submission. Ethiopian jet fighters have leveled at least six villages, and more than 550 civilians have been reported killed in Asmara alone. An estimated 2,300 Eritrean guerrillas have been slain since February 1....

Eritrea and the national question

The Russian Bolsheviks recognized three types of countries with regard to the self-determination of nations (see Lenin, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*). First, the advanced capitalist countries where national unification had been one of the fundamental tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution against the feudal order. Second, Russia and the Eastern European countries where the formation of a centralized state for defense against the invasions of the Huns, Turks and Mongols proceeded more rapidly than national consolidation, resulting in the multi-national state. And third, the colonial and semi-colonial countries where bourgeois-democratic development is arrested by the yoke of imperialism. Thus, in most of the countries under imperialist domination the process of national unification either is only in its infancy or has not yet even begun.

Especially under the impact of the first imperialist world war and the historic split with the Social Democrats, the Bolsheviks and the Communist International insisted that for the vast areas of the world under imperialist domination the national question becomes merged with the general colonial question. Stalin, the Bolshevik Party expert on the national

question, was merely repeating the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International when he declared:

"the vague slogan of the right of nations to self-determination has been replaced by the clear revolutionary slogan of the right of nations and colonies to political secession and the formation of independent states."

—*The National Question Presented* (1921)

The Bolsheviks' slogan for the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies from imperialist domination "in its political expression signifies nothing else than the recognition of the right to self-determination" (Lenin).

The Bolsheviks even recognized the *right* of secession for many of the pre-national peoples and tribes of Central Asia

"who have not passed through a capitalist development, who do not, or practically do not, possess an industrial proletariat of their own, who in the majority of cases preserve the pastoral and patriarchal tribal form of life...or who have not yet progressed beyond a primitive semi-patriarchal semi-feudal form of life."

—*Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem*, 1921

Like most of the states which have emerged in Africa under the auspices of "neo-colonialism," Eritrea is not yet a nation. The population of Eritrea is divided almost equally between Coptic Christians and Muslims, and historically communal differences have been rife. For instance, as early as 1946 the Christian-based Unionist Party favored some form of unity with Ethiopia, which is predominantly Christian, while the Moslem League advocated union with neighboring Sudan.

The communal divisions are reinforced by linguistic differences. The two most prevalent languages—there are seven less widespread languages in Eritrea—are Tigrigna, spoken mostly by Christians of the central highlands and by the inhabitants of the northern province of Tigrai, and Tigre, spoken chiefly by Muslims in the west and northeast as well as by many Sudanese.

At the hands of the Ethiopian feudal overlords the Eritreans suffer an oppression which has a national character. The Eritreans have been forced into a life-and-death struggle for independence before they have historically been consolidated into a nation. The continued enforced union with Ethiopia can only result in the further devastation of Eritrean society through brutal economic, linguistic and cultural oppression.

While in general Leninists do not favor Balkanization which divides up areas into small, often hostile states which are even more subject to imperialist domination, we recognize that the annexation of Eritrea to Ethiopia is itself a product of imperialism. Thus, we support the democratic right of Eritrea to secession. We call for military victory to the

Eritrean independence forces, while placing absolutely no political confidence in their petty-bourgeois and communalist leaderships. We also call for an end to all U.S. aid to the reactionary Ethiopian junta, and demand that all Ethiopian troops be withdrawn from Eritrea.

The secessionist forces

The organized Eritrean independence movement began with the formation of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in response to Ethiopia's drive to end Eritrea's federated status in 1961. The ELF was based on Muslim regional chieftains and maintained its headquarters in Damascus. The independence struggle proceeded sporadically over the next ten years, but declined with the end of the civil war in the Sudan in 1972. In exchange for Selassie's support the Nimeiry regime of Sudan closed its borders to the Eritrean rebels, thereby denying them a relatively secure base of guerrilla operations into Ethiopia.

In 1970 the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF), predominantly Christian and purportedly "Marxist," was formed in opposition to the Muslim-communalist ELF. During the past five years the sharp antagonism between the ELF and the EPLF has frequently erupted in violent confrontations; hostilities between the two wings of the secessionist movement in 1970 alone claimed the lives of 1,500 guerrillas and 300 civilians. The present ELF-EPLF alliance is largely the product of the ferocity and scale of the junta's attacks, popular pressure for unity, and the recognition by the guerrillas that the present political instability of the junta provides a rare opportunity to bring about the collapse of the military regime and the independence of Eritrea.

The character of Ethiopian "socialism"

The present bonapartist ruling junta came to power riding the wave of massive discontent with Selassie's ineptitude and insensitivity to the mass starvation and the large landowners' criminal profiteering with the famine. The junta is but the most recent in a long series of regimes, beginning with Leopold Senghor's Senegal in the late 1950's, that have declared themselves to be "African Socialists." Given the history of imperialist exploitation and plunder in Africa, no petty-bourgeois authoritarian regime can hope to gain much support by declaring itself "capitalist." Furthermore, the Ethiopian junta seeks to undercut the appeal of the Eritrean Fronts: "We [the junta and the ELF-EPLF] are all

revolutionaries and our divisions and our fight do not make sense" (*Afrique Asie*, 24 February 1975).

The "socialist" junta has banned all strikes and political demonstrations, suspended the few freedoms won during the massive uprisings of workers, students and soldiers last spring, and ejected 60,000 troublesome students to the hinterlands "to teach the peasantry." The regime's prisons have been filled with labor leaders and student activists, and three concentration camps have been constructed in anticipation of the internment of the tens of thousands of Eritrean inhabitants of Addis Ababa.

The junta has touted its "socialist" nationalization of 101 corporations, 29 of which (mainly the multinationals) will retain minority interests. These nationalizations, however, involve the commitment of the junta to enormous compensation to the former capitalist interests (*Africa*, March 1975).

Assorted Pan-Africanists and Stalinists maintain that such nationalizations reflect the "revolutionary suicide of the petty bourgeoisie," described by Amilcar Cabral as the road to socialism in the economically underdeveloped countries. While still a Trotskyist, Shane Mage described succinctly and lucidly the actual significance of such nationalizations by petty-bourgeois bonapartist regimes:

"If reasonably full compensation is paid, this amounts to mortgaging the future of the country to foreign capitalists. Instead of *profit* and *depreciation*, the tribute to imperialism is now called *interest* and *amortization*. And this change of form is no blessing to the people of a colonial country. The ability of a private corporation to repatriate profits is limited by the market and thus subject to wide cyclical fluctuations. Payments of principal and interest on government bonds, on the other hand, must be met in both good and bad years, even if it requires great sacrifices from the native population. Compensation payments thus have the effect of transforming the national government into a medium for the extraction of surplus value from the native working class and its transfer to foreign capitalists."

—"The Colonial Revolution—Capitalist or Socialist?"
International Youth Bulletin [YSA], No. 1, 1960 [original emphasis]

Concerning the minority interests granted the multinationals by the junta, the imperialists have long recognized the benefits of such an arrangement. As the prestigious *Economist* (23 August 1969) sagaciously observed:

"The shrewdest businessmen in that part of the world have argued for some time that a 49 percent stake in a business whose success is underwritten by government participation may be more valuable than 100 percent of a concern exposed

to all the political winds that blow."

The junta, under the pressure of the mass hatred for the landlords who last year extracted their exorbitant rents while peasants harvested dust and who sold their grain at inflated prices while 200,000 starved to death, has declared a "radical" land reform promising nationalization. The southern provinces have a feudal land tenure system dominated by absentee landlords. Since these feudal lords maintain their own substantial private armies, an attempt to carry through any significant land reform would surely provoke armed resistance, which is the last thing the junta wants. Such armed resistance could well prompt the "revolutionary socialist" government of Somalia to pounce on southeastern Ethiopia, fulfilling its irredentist policy toward the Somali-speaking minority of the area. In the other provinces there is some capitalist farming alongside extended family holdings. The threat of nationalization in these areas has aroused the wrath of some non-commissioned officers in the junta and has led to the arming of local populations by renegade aristocrats and village chiefs (*Manchester Guardian*, 22 February 1975).

Any illusions concerning the "socialist" possibilities of the junta's land reform can be dispelled by comparison with the "model" land reform of 1952 in Egypt. Following the coup, the Free Officers Movement nationalized some land with the compensation in state-issued, interest-bearing bonds. The state administered some of the nationalized lands, taking the place of the landlords in exploiting the peasants and agricultural workers. Much of the state's profit, however, went to paying the former owners the debts incurred through the nationalization. In 1962, ten years after the military junta had embarked on land reform, only ten percent of the land under cultivation had been redistributed, and those few peasants who did receive land were found to be spending more on its maintenance than they were receiving in land-derived income. Although more "radical" than that of the Ethiopian "socialists," the Egyptian junta's land reform program accomplished virtually nothing for the toiling masses.

Stalinists, Pan-Africanists line up to fawn over junta

The Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet degenerated workers state can be found opposing Eritrean independence...once again. The Stalinists called for the return of Eritrea to Italy after WWII in an effort to curry favor with the Italian bourgeoisie and thus secure ministerial portfolios for the Italian Communist Party in the bourgeois government. So today the

Stalinists hail the "progressive" junta and its "non-capitalist development," while denouncing so-called "imperialist lies" about the junta's barbarous Eritrea policy (*Daily World*, 3 January 1975).

The Maoist bureaucracy has likewise rolled out the carpet of class-collaborationist "peaceful coexistence" for the junta in an effort to outmaneuver the Soviet Union in the area. One French journalist, who has conducted extensive interviews with leaders of both the ELF and EPLF, has commented, "The penetration of the Chinese in Ethiopia and the growing kindness which they enjoy from the military in power disquiet the Russians" (*L'Express*, 3-9 February 1975).

In 1971 the Chinese Stalinists discontinued their aid to the Eritrean rebels and established friendly relations with Selassie, who was warmly received in Peking as an "anti-imperialist." The Maoists saluted Selassie, who had provided Ethiopian troops for the imperialist interventions in the Congo and Korea, for his contributions "to the promotion of the cause of anti-imperialist unity in Asia and Africa" (*Peking Information*, 20 October 1971)....

As the reactionary Ethiopian junta throttles the workers movement and intensifies its genocidal war against the just independence struggle in the province of Eritrea, the Chinese bureaucracy continues its disgusting support for the barbarous Ethiopian military dictatorship. Enthusiastically hailing the first anniversary of the junta on September 12, *Peking Review* (19 September) in a two-page panegyric uncritically embraced the Ethiopian generals and marvelled at their alleged progress in leading Ethiopia (no mention is made of Eritrea) to the threshhold of a socialist paradise.

The honeyed paeans extolling the junta cabal can only produce gagging in all but the most cynical. Just a few samples will suffice:

"Fresh achievements in opposing imperialism and colonialism, in national and democratic reforms and in developing the national economy have been made in the last year by the Ethiopian people under the leadership of the government.... Measures by the Provisional Military Government are conducive to safeguarding state sovereignty and the national interests and independently developing the national economy.... The Ethiopian Government pursues a policy of non-alignment, supports national-liberation movements, upholds African solidarity and has actively developed relations of friendship and co-operation with other African countries and developing countries."

The junta "develops the national economy" by outlawing all strikes and even absenteeism, prohibiting the formation of any workers party and now arresting the leadership and jailing thousands of members of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor

Unions for its September 4 statement criticizing junta policies!

The junta achieves "democratic reforms" by prohibiting demonstrations and on September 30 imposing martial law and revoking indefinitely all civil liberties to smash a general strike protesting its repressive measures!

The junta "safeguards state sovereignty" by gunning down in cold blood seven Ethiopian Airlines workers, wounding 19 and imprisoning over 500 more simply for demonstrating on September 25 against the "leadership of the government" (*New York Times*, 12 October)!

The junta "supports national-liberation movements" by indiscriminately bombing Eritrean villages and starving the Eritrean people with a total embargo on food into the province (*New York Times*, 24 September)!

And the junta "develops relations of friendship" with other African and Arab ruling cliques by continental tours drumming up support for the genocidal war in Eritrea (*L'Express*, 3 February)!

With obscene cynicism, the parasitic bureaucrats ensconced in Peking echo today for the junta the same hollow tribute sounded yesterday for His Imperial Majesty, the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Haile Selassie, Elect of God, Emperor of Ethiopia. Today *Peking Review* salutes the coup overthrowing the "feudal dynasty" (its emperor unnamed, of course), under which industry was "in the hands of foreign monopoly capital, the royal family, and the aristocracy" and under which virtually all land was "owned by the royal family, the aristocracy, the church, and other feudal landlords." But when Selassie ruled from the throne, *Peking Review* (28 December 1973) devoted a major article to lauding this "anti-imperialist" tyrant's alleged "historic friendship" with China (Selassie sent Ethiopian troops to fight the Chinese in the Korean War), as well as his "achievements in Ethiopianization" of industry and "tapping agricultural potential" (Selassie at this very time attempted to conceal mass famine in which 100,000-500,000 perished)!

Many subjectively revolutionary but Maoist-minded youth in this country solidarize with the secessionist struggle in Eritrea and loathe the bloody dictators in Addis Ababa. However, the Maoist bureaucracy explicitly supports the unstable junta and conspicuously refuses to support the Eritrean independence movement. To uphold the Chinese line in Ethiopia today means to deliver the masses to the "progressive" junta and to back the slaughter of the Eritrean people!

The leaders of the ELF and EPLF earlier this year went to the United Nations to seek support for their struggle from

Peking hailed
Haile Selassie as
an "anti-imperialist"
friend of China, now
salutes military junta
which overthrew his
"feudal dynasty."



DER SPIEGEL

the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Apparently they were unsuccessful, as no statement by the OAU subsequently has been issued. Rather, at the height of the February attack on Eritrea which had all the ferocity of a genocidal war, the OAU rolled into Addis Ababa to hold its annual meeting! While the OAU has totally ignored the war in Eritrea under the pretext that it is an "internal affair," many of these same OAU leaders did not ignore the execution of some of Haile Selassie's lackeys just two months earlier and were quite vociferous in expressing their horror and outrage.

The Charter of the OAU declares all state boundaries in Africa to be sacrosanct. For the OAU to support the particular legitimacy of the Eritrean independence struggle would open a Pandora's box for its more than 40 member states. The boundaries of nearly every state in black Africa have been largely determined by the interests of imperialism, often arbitrarily drawn by colonial powers on the basis of the balance of forces existing in Europe. Almost every state in black Africa (Somalia being the outstanding exception) is comprised of a conglomerate of disparate ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups.

National liberation through permanent revolution!

Unlike Stalinists and Pan-Africanists, Trotskyists realize that in the epoch of imperialism the weak bourgeoisies, the bonapartist military cliques, the feudalists and the tribalists of Africa are incapable of carrying out even the essential bourgeois-democratic tasks of achieving genuine independence, bourgeois democracy, national unification, agrarian reform and rapid industrial development. These petty-bourgeois strata on the one hand are tied to foreign capitalists and the native

ruling elites (be they capitalists, feudalists or tribalists), and on the other hand stand in fear of the toiling masses.

Only the proletariat in a revolutionary alliance with the downtrodden peasants and tribal peoples can solve these tasks, but the proletarian power in so doing passes over into the anti-capitalist struggle which is the beginning of the socialist revolution. But for an isolated workers government to survive without either counterrevolution or internal bureaucratic degeneration it must break out of its national integument. As Trotsky stated (*The Permanent Revolution*):

"in a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the subsequent fate of the dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution."

At the same time, independence struggles in Africa can profoundly shape the relationship of class forces within the imperialist countries. The independence of Guinea-Bissau and the impending independence of Mozambique have been a powerful impulse in the unfolding of a pre-revolutionary situation on the Iberian peninsula. Thus, while the powerhouse of the African revolution is the strong proletariats of Johannesburg and Cairo, the more backward areas, such as Eritrea, are by no means historically consigned to being dragged behind proletarian revolutionary upheavals in the large industrial centers. For the building of Trotskyist parties in black Africa! Forward to the united socialist federation of Africa!

—based upon articles "Eritrean Independence Struggle Intensifies," Young Spartacus No. 31, April 1975 and "Peking Promotes Ethiopian Junta," Young Spartacus No. 37, November 1975

Pinochet: "China Has Behaved Well"

As Chinese Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping last month assured Gerald Ford in a toast to U.S.-China detente, "the consistent policy of the Chinese government and people is 'dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never teach hegemony.'" With such anti-hegemony homilies of Mao "Thought," the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy merely signals that its foreign policy will continue to pursue anti-revolutionary "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Far from struggling to advance the revolutionary destruction of U.S. imperialist hegemony in Latin America, the Peking Stalinists, ready to "store grain" even in the coffers of barbaric military dictatorships, now are negotiating a huge loan of \$58 million to the Chilean junta of Pinochet, the butcher of thousands upon thousands of Chilean workers!

In a recent interview with *New York Times* journalist C.L. Sulzberger, Pinochet acknowledged that China has offered the murderous Chilean junta a \$58 million loan (*New York Times*, 29 November 1975). At a time when the already unstable junta has become almost totally isolated internationally, Pinochet expresses confidence in his Chinese ally:

"Russia and Cuba are trying to recover their position, to make Chile the South American base it was under Allende. This country was then the center for all their activities throughout the continent—for guerrillas, for distribution of funds, and for sending terrorist arms throughout South America. But China, that is different. China has not participated in this. China has behaved well."

Indeed, ever since the September 1973 coup which toppled the Allende regime, the Chinese Stalinists have "not participated" in any anti-junta protests and have "behaved well" for the *gorilas*. During the Pinochet coup, when leftists desperately fled to foreign embassies seeking asylum, the Chinese embassy *closed its doors*, turning away militants to be hounded down and slaughtered on the streets by the shock troops of reaction! According to leftist Chilean refugees, every embassy in Santiago was guarded by army units during the coup... except the Chinese embassy (*Rouge*, 2 November 1973). Corroborating these accounts, Fernanda Navarro, a n official in the Allende government and personal secretary of Hortensia Bassi de Allende, upon arrival in the U.S. after the coup recounted that

no refugees were in the Chinese embassy. Even the Maoist *Guardian*, in its editorial (12 December 1973) responding to criticisms of Chinese collaboration with the junta and refusal to shelter refugees, was unable to deny this atrocious betrayal of proletarian defense in a life-and-death situation.

After the coup, when an international campaign became urgently necessary to stay the hands of the junta executioners, the Chinese government stepped forward to demonstrate its "friendship" with the bestial Pinochet police state. On October 11, the Maoists booted out the Chilean ambassador in Peking and welcomed the junta's representative (*New York Times*, 12 October 1973). Within a few weeks, the Chinese bureaucracy diplomatically recognized the Chilean junta, just as the Maoists had rushed to recognize the Algerian junta following the reactionary Boumedienne coup against the Ben Bella regime in 1965. In Santiago the Chinese diplomats met with Pinochet for high-level consultations and even feted the representatives of the junta.

When Chilean Foreign Minister Ismael Huerta Diaz rose to address the United Nations a month after the coup, many "third world" and Soviet-bloc delegations walked out, but the Chinese refused to join the protest. Likewise, at a UN meeting in Geneva that same month the only governments to abstain

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In the aftermath of Pinochet's reactionary coup, the Chinese embassy refused asylum to militants who were being hunted down and murdered in the streets of Santiago.

from voting for a resolution to aid Chilean refugees were the U.S. and China. In recognition of Peking's support, Pinochet the following month sent Mao a personal message of felicitation (reprinted in *La Prensa*, 20 November 1973).

At no time since the coup has the Maoist bureaucracy waged any campaign in defense of the victims of junta terror. Since the end of September 1973, *Peking Review* has printed a total of only five articles on Chile; three of these "anti-imperialist" tidbits, moreover, extol the Andean Pact Organization, a Latin American common-market through which the Chilean junta has been able to expand its trade and thus compensate for its international isolation! As workers continue to die under the iron heel of the Chilean junta, the Chinese bureaucracy remains silent. But when Generalissimo Francisco Franco finally expired, Chou En-lai immediately sent a wreath (!) to the Spanish embassy in Peking to mourn the death of this dictator (*New York Times*, 23 November 1975).

In supporting the bloody Chilean junta, the Chinese regime once again demonstrates its readiness to betray the masses for diplomatic maneuvers aimed at appeasing U.S. imperialism and undercutting so-called "Soviet social-imperialism." By no means is Pinochet the first butcher to receive Maoist support as a reward for slaughtering the followers of pro-Moscow parties. In the Sudan the Communist Party in 1971 backed a coup attempt by "progressive" generals, which was crushed by General Nimeiry. The Peking bureaucracy congratulated Nimeiry and extended the Khartoum dictatorship \$80 million in aid.

Although Pinochet points out that the Chinese "behaved well" compared with the USSR, the Moscow Stalinists never pursued a revolutionary line in Chile. By subordinating the Chilean workers to the so-called "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie through the class-collaborationist Popular Unity government, the pro-Moscow Communist Party, as well as Allende's Socialist Party, suppressed the class struggle of the proletariat and politically lulled the workers with the reformist pabulum of a "peaceful road to socialism." By preaching fatal illusions in the alleged "neutrality" of the "democratic" military, by conciliating the bourgeois Christian Democrats and by holding down wages and returning occupied factories and estates, the Stalinists sabotaged the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants and thus prepared the preconditions for the victorious rightist coup.

But the Chinese bureaucracy no less treacherously gave unqualified support to Allende and his "peaceful road to socialism" for Chile. In a letter to Allende dated 3 February 1973 (made public in Chile on 23 July 1973), Chou En-lai cautioned

Allende against implementing anti-capitalist measures: "only by acting...in a prepared and gradual form can one reach step by step the objective of changing the physiognomy of economic backwardness and improve the living conditions of the people" (quoted in *Chile Hoy*, 3-9 August 1973). Moreover, even in the immediate aftermath of the coup, the Chinese bureaucracy continued to favorably report Allende's policies against strikes and independent workers militias (*Peking Review*, 28 September 1973).

Unlike the U.S. Maoists, whose Chinese mentors have demonstrated that they value diplomatic relations with Pinochet far more than the lives of imprisoned Chilean militants, we have unfailingly called for an international campaign of protest and class-struggle actions in defense of the victims of the junta's repression. Since the coup the international Spartacist tendency has initiated numerous demonstrations from coast to coast in this country, as well as in Australia and Austria, demanding the release of all Chilean class-war prisoners and focusing on the imperiled leaders of the "far-left" Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), ignored in the sectarian defense work of the pro-Moscow Stalinists. In September 1974, when the International Transport Workers Federation issued a call for a two-day international labor boycott of Chilean cargo, the Spartacus Youth League took the initiative in mobilizing student support for the successful picket-line demonstrations on the docks in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

**FREE ALL VICTIMS OF THE CHILEAN GORILAS' TERROR!
DOWN WITH THE JUNTA—FOR WORKERS REVOLUTION!**

—reprinted from Young Spartacus No. 39, January 1976

Maoists Bow to U.S. in UN—

China Withholds Support for Puerto Rican Independence

The Maoist bureaucracy ruling over the working masses in the People's Republic of China, like its Stalinist rivals in Moscow, has utilized the United Nations, that august den of thieves, not as a tribune to advance the international socialist revolution but only as another arena to pursue the anti-revolutionary foreign policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

While the Chinese diplomats in the UN denounce the U.S. and especially "Soviet social imperialism" for fomenting "super-power contention" in the Near East for example, the Chinese government in fact collaborates with the anti-USSR machinations of the U.S. imperialists by refusing to exercise its veto, as a member of the UN Security Council, against the UN Emergency Force policing the Near East and now enforcing the imperialist-dictated Sinai accords.

Likewise, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy every so often comes out like a cuckoo-clock for Puerto Rican independence, but Peking recently demonstrated in the UN that its verbal "support" for Puerto Rican independence is subordinate to maintaining "detente" with the U.S. imperialists and to competing with the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state.

In August the UN Decolonization Committee was presented with a Cuba-sponsored resolution on Puerto Rico which called upon the U.S. government "to refrain from any measure which might obstruct or endanger" the "right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence" and to cease the "persecution" of the independence movement. Even though this mealy-mouthed resolution stopped short of demanding immediate and unconditional independence for Puerto Rico and freedom for the imprisoned *independistas*, and even though no UN action or resolution will force the U.S. imperialists to relinquish their colonial possessions, the U.S. attacked this vaguely pro-independence gesture and warned that any support for the Russian-backed move would be considered an "unfriendly act."

When the resolution finally was placed on the agenda on August 20, the U.S.-led bloc, including Chinese-promoted so-

called "anti-imperialist" countries like Iran, squashed it through a motion to table, which passed by a narrow 11-to-9 majority. The Chinese delegation "fought" the U.S. imperialists' campaign by *abstaining in this vote!* The bourgeois establishment *New York Times* (21 August) devoted an editorial to hailing the defeat of the resolution as "a great victory" for the U.S. government and singling out as "noteworthy" the Chinese government's "course of inaction."

The Maoist groups in this country once again have been politically saddled with the onerous burden of a blatant capitulation to imperialism by the Maoist bureaucracy. Like shamefaced political cowards the bombastic Revolutionary Union (now strutting as the Revolutionary Communist Party), the slavish October League and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization dare not even mention the affair.

The *Guardian* crew devoted an editorial as well as an article to the UN action, describing the defeat of the resolution as a "setback to the Puerto Rican independence movement" and a "disappointment" (*Guardian*, 3 September). But these servile scribes attempt to absolve China's role in ensuring this "setback" by implying in their one sentence comment that the Chinese were not present to intervene: "The delegate from the People's Republic of China did not participate in the vote."

The only Maoist organization in this country to date venturing a justification for the Chinese abstention in the face of imperialist arm-twisting is the Resistencia Puertorriquena (RP). In its *Resistencia* (Vol. VI, No. 13) the RP assails the weak-kneed resolution as nothing less than an insidious "revisionist trap" and a "scheme of the social imperialists." Why? The resolution calls upon the U.S. to recognize "the national liberation movement of Puerto Rico," which the RP warns "in the Cuban-Soviet language means the PSP [Puerto Rican Socialist Party]!" The Chinese delegate, however, justified his abstention by noting "the sharp divisions on the issue"—meaning U.S. pressure—and not by concocting some fictitious "social imperialist scheme" much less by alleging crypto-sponsorship of the pro-Moscow, pro-Peking PSP.

The Stalinist bureaucracies ruling in place of the Chinese and Russian working class have demonstrated again and again their willingness to sacrifice and betray national liberation struggles for the sake of appeasing imperialism. Until these bureaucratic usurpers are ousted by the working masses in a revolutionary struggle to establish soviet democracy on the basis of the existing revolutionary gains represented by the collectivized property foundations of the Sino-Soviet states, these betrayals of proletarian internationalism can only continue.

-Reprinted from Young Spartacus No. 37, November 1975

Omani Rebels Betrayed

Maoist Bureaucrats Back Shah

A significant portion of the recent spate of Maoist polemics on China's foreign policy has attempted to justify, obfuscate or simply deny the alliance between the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy and the reactionary butcher of Iran, "His Imperial Majesty" Shahanshah Reza Pahlavi. Seeking the Chinese franchise as the most shameless flunkey for Mao, the October League (OL) has parroted China's line by extolling the Shah, the gendarme of U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf. At the same time the shifty Revolutionary Communist Party (née Revolutionary Union) has put on a "left" mask, thundering against the Shah while covering for the Chinese bureaucracy.

The opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), however, has simply echoed the Iranian Students Association (ISA). And recently a wing of the fractured ISA has produced a polemic against the OL which denounces these Maoist loyalists not for parroting but for deviating from the Chinese line.

On the Alliance of the October League (M-L) With the Shah of Iran (Supplement to *Iran Reports*, November 1975) in all its fifty pages nowhere hints at China's alliance with the Shah, nowhere proves its assertion that Peking is aiding the revolt in Oman against the Sultan Qaboos and the Shah's 8,000-man expeditionary force, nowhere mentions China's calls for a military alliance of the Persian-Arabian Gulf sheiks against the Soviet Union. But the pamphlet does demonstrate that the OL's position is reactionary. In so doing, however, the ISA only increases its political contradictions, since the OL line on Iran, like all its international positions, is a carbon copy of Mao's.

Carbon-copy Maoists rankle ISA

The OL first provoked the ISA by opposing its slogan, "No Arms to the Shah!" In *The Call* (October 1974) the OL complained that the RCP and ISA "try to organize demonstrations demanding that the Shah be disarmed and left weak and defenseless against the growing superpower war threat." Gloating

over its Maoist orthodoxy, the OL tauntingly observed that the RCP "seems to be having trouble defending China's stand."

Having the same problems, the ISA now sharply denounces the OL as "a pitiful cheerleader for Shah's murder of Omani revolutionary masses":

*"When the time is right," O.L. will support the revolutionary movement in Iran, but *for now*, since it has decided that the time is *not right*, O.L. will cozy up to the Shah, begging the reactionary puppet to arm himself to the teeth...."*

The ISA staunchly denies OL's claim to have faithfully xeroxed its line from *Peking Review*: "under no circumstances do we consider O.L.'s utterances to have any connection with the People's Republic of China." But, comrades of the ISA, Mao and Co. don't agree.

Mao's alliance with Shah...

In search of alliances with capitalist states against the Soviet Union, the Peking bureaucracy in 1971 began to "cozy up to the Shah" for a Sino-Iranian rapprochement. At this time the Chinese regime openly proclaimed its support for the Iranian monarchy:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the Imperial Government of Iran in its just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and protect its natural resources."

—Peking Review, 20 August 1971

To usher in this China-Iran "detente," the Maoists staged an official banquet in Peking to honor the Shah (reported in *Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 26 October 1971).

Not only declaring "detente time" to be "not right" for struggle against the Shah's "state sovereignty," the Chinese government also has been "begging the reactionary puppet to arm himself to the teeth." Like the OL, Peking rejects the slogan, "No Arms to the Shah!" At a banquet held in his honor by the Shah in 1973, Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei declared:

"[Iran] has to strengthen its defenses in view of the prevailing situation in the region. It is necessary and understandable for Iran to take measures to strengthen her defenses for safeguarding her security, independence and sovereignty.... We hope and are convinced that your country, under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, will build herself into a prosperous and powerful country."

*—Daily News Release (Hsinhua News Agency), Tokyo edition,
17-18 June 1973*

More recently *Peking Review* (11 April 1975) announced, "In international affairs, Iran has actively strengthened its

unity and cooperation with other Third World countries and firmly opposed the power politics and expansionism of the big powers, thus making a useful contribution to the struggle of all peoples against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism."

As "useful contributions" the Shah sent jet fighters to the Thieu regime in Saigon and to Ethiopia (*Saut al-Thawra*, 31 March 1974), where they are used against the Eritrean Liberation Front, another nationalist guerrilla force betrayed by Mao (see "Eritrean Independence Struggle Intensifies," *Young Spartacus*, April 1975).

For the ultimate in toadying to the Iranian ruling class, *Hsinhua News Bulletin* (27 August 1975) even carried an article entitled "Soviet Pollution Threatens Iranian Caviar"! When it comes to cozying up to "His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah" and his caviar-stuffed entourage, the Mao bureaucracy has produced tributes which make work in the editorial offices of *The Call* so much easier. When Shahbanou Farah Pahlavi visited China for a parley with Premier Chou En-lai, the Chinese press gushed forth the following:

"Under the leadership of Shahanshah Pahlavi, the government and people of Iran have made continuous efforts and achieved successes in safeguarding state sovereignty, protecting national resources, developing national culture, and building their country."

—*China Pictorial*, December 1972

When the Shah's drug-smuggling sister, "Her Imperial Highness" Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, was feted in Peking this May, Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council of China, waxed effusively:

"It can be said that the China-Iran friendship tree your Imperial Highness has participated in cultivating is growing sturdily and bearing fruits."

—*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 19 May 1975

...means betrayal of anti-imperialist struggles

One of these poisonous fruits ripened in late 1973, when Mao abruptly terminated all Chinese aid to the left-nationalist People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) fighting a "people's war" against the feudal Omani regime and the imperialist-backed Iranian intervention. The Chinese Stalinists, those self-proclaimed "firm supporters of all national liberation struggles," betrayed the desperate, Maoist-inspired guerrilla forces by cutting off Chinese military aid solely for the sake of proving Chinese "friendship" with the reactionary butcher of Teheran (*New York Times*, 7 February 1975).

Toasting the Shah at an "Iran-China friendship banquet" in Teheran, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei *expressly disavowed Chinese support for the Omani guerrillas* and called upon the Iranian tyrant "to fight subversive activities" in the Gulf (text of official statement quoted in *Christian Science Monitor*, 19 June 1973). Lacking adequate weaponry to defeat the Shah's expeditionary force, the impoverished rebels are now being slowly crushed. The Shah has acknowledged with great satisfaction that China in fact has "completely" ceased aid to the rebels (*Le Monde*, 25 June 1974).

It is an elementary obligation for socialists and labor militants to choose sides in this conflict between the oppressed Omani masses and the feudal slaveholding regime propped up by imperialism. We call for the military victory of the PFLO rebel forces and demand that all imperialist and imperialist-backed military forces be withdrawn immediately. The deformed workers states, in particular the Soviet Union and China, must provide the struggling Omani guerrilla fighters with adequate military supplies to match the modern weapons of the aggressors. Moreover, we demand the dismantling of all imperialist bases in the Persian Gulf.

At the same time we insist that the Stalinist misleaders of the PFLO, by subordinating the interests of the toilers of the Gulf to their exploiters, stand as a political obstacle to the development of a proletarian internationalist vanguard. Only by linking the popular struggle against Omani feudalism and Iranian-British military intervention to the class struggle of the proletariat in the industrial centers of the Gulf and throughout the Near East can the anti-imperialist struggles in the Gulf transcend their national isolation and limitations. The fundamental tasks of the Omani revolution can be resolved only in the context of *proletarian power* in the Gulf. The vital connection between a radical anti-feudal revolution in an isolated country of staggering backwardness and the development of the world socialist revolution which places the proletariat in power is contained in the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution.

The OL, indignantly accusing the Soviet Union of "pouring millions of dollars into so-called 'liberation movements' in the area," covers Mao's betrayal of the Dhofar struggle by implying that the PFLO should not be aided and defended:

"The USSR is also backing organizations in Oman which work closely with the revisionist Tudeh Party in Iran and with other pro-Soviet organizations such as the World Peace Council to lay the groundwork for Soviet expansion in the Gulf. The RU spreads the lie that China supports these organizations and that in fact they are being led by 'Maoists.' They use films made years ago, before the Soviet domination of these groups,

to try to mislead the people of this country."

—*The Call*, October 1974

(In fact, Russian aid to the PFLO amounts to only a trickle of rifles, an annoyance to the Sultan but no threat to "detente" with U.S. imperialism.)

But the OL in disavowing the Omani rebels simply followed signals from Peking, such as the following:

"In the Persian Gulf area, which is one principal contention target for the Soviet revisionists, the coastal countries have felt a more and more pressing need to unite to jointly safeguard the area's peace and security.... Whatever sabotage and troublemaking may be carried out by the two superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism in particular which is wasting no time in expanding its influence into the gulf area, it has become a general trend for the gulf countries to oppose the two hegemonic powers in unity."

—*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 1 June 1975

Unable to produce a shred of evidence demonstrating continued Chinese support for the "troublemaking" PFLO, the ISA polemic only vaguely refers to so-called "selfless support" and the "firm fraternal relations which exist between the PRC [People's Republic of China] and the people of Oman and the revolutionary movement in the Gulf." While giving limited aid to the Omani insurgents in the past, the Chinese leaders, not about to threaten "detente" with the Shah, indicate that these "firm fraternal relations" and all this "selfless support" entail no arms. As the chief of Hsinhua News Agency has spelled out so clearly (are you listening, comrades?):

"Liberation movements would have to choose and carry out their own causes, he said. While 'moral and theoretical' support may be forthcoming, China has not and would not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, he stressed."

—quoted in *Foreign Broadcasts Information Service*, 3 July 1975

With "support" such as this, it comes as no surprise that the works of Mao given particular emphasis by the PFLO are those stressing "self-reliance"!

Pro-imperialist "united front"

Extending its criminal support for NATO against the "number-one-enemy" Russia, Peking vociferously advocates strengthening CENTO, the military alliance for "containing" the USSR and policing the Persian Gulf. The main forces behind CENTO are, of course, the Shah and the U.S. This Unholy Alliance of sheiks and sultans, "Third World unity" in action,

is being assembled to "defend" the semi-feudal Persian Gulf tyrants from "subversion" (the Omani uprising) and from the "superpowers" (which for Mao means the Soviet Union).

Speaking at a Peking banquet in honor of Iraqi Vice-President Ma'ruf, acting Chinese Premier Teng Hsiao-ping declared that the Gulf countries,

"...are strengthening their unity and fighting on a common front. They strongly demand the removal of big-power forces from this area and have called, one after another, for joint defense of the security of the area by the countries there. This just call is winning ever wider sympathy and support. The Chinese Government and people support this call resolutely."

— *Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 4 July 1975

But the recent proliferation of treaties among the sheikdoms is a direct product of U.S. imperialist policy, which is committed to keeping the Gulf an American Lake. Even the ISA unmasks the "common front" which China "resolutely" supports: "In pursuit of the U.S.'s economic and military interest, the Shah has also been given the task of developing political alliances to strengthen U.S. hegemony in the area."

China: more arms for butchers of Kurds

The most important of these is the Shah's alliance with Iraq, based on an accord signed in March and a final treaty signed in June. This agreement, designed precisely "to strengthen U.S. hegemony in the area," has been hailed by the OL in words which have the ring of Hsinhua News Agency releases, the only difference being that the Chinese are more forthright: "The reconciliation of Iran and Iraq is a good omen, strongly testifying to the fact that the Third World countries share a common interest" (*Peking People's Daily*, 28 August 1975).

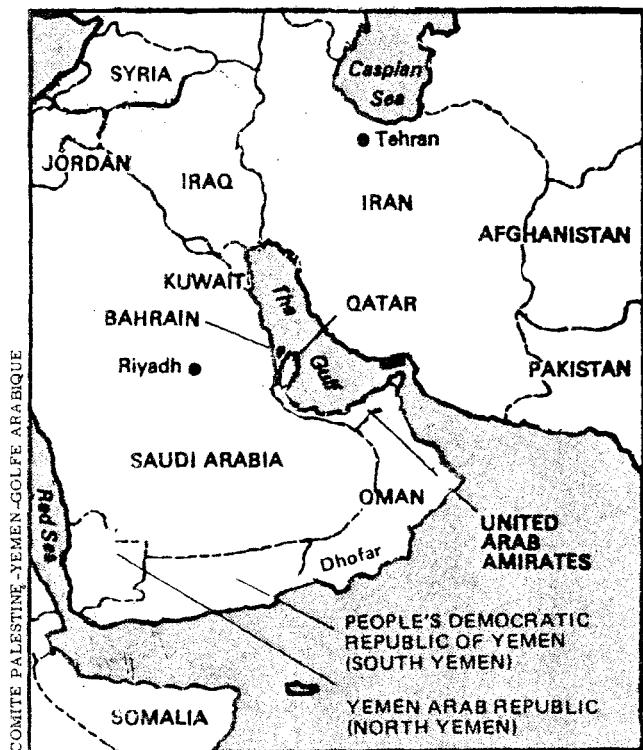
But the Iran-Iraq deal was no "good omen" for the Kurds. On the contrary, the "reconciliation of Iran and Iraq" resolved the border dispute by crushing the armed struggle of the nationally oppressed Kurdish minority. Using the latest Soviet equipment, Iraq had launched an all-out offensive to destroy General Barzani's Kurdish Democratic Party, representing the vast majority of Iraq's three million Kurds. Before "reconciliation" with Baghdad, the Shah was arming the rebels across the border; the June Iran-Iraq treaty, however, terminated this "border dispute," and with it the Kurds' Iranian sanctuaries and aid.

Precisely when Iran cuts off supplies and Iraq crushes the revolt, the Chinese regime hails "Iraq's support for the



GULF SOLIDARITY

Dhofari rebels,
abandoned by Mao,
are now being
slowly crushed
by Shah.



world's people's struggle for national liberation and against aggression" (*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 5 July 1975). Precisely when Iraq wages a genocidal "mop-up" of the Kurds, Peking declares that "to build up their own arms industry is one of the main tasks facing Iraq and other Arab countries" (*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 23 August 1975).

The OL especially is infatuated with the Maoist slogan, "Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution." But now that Mao wants "detente" with the Shah, the Kurds aren't in the Maoist list of "just peoples' struggles." Fronting for the Shah no less despicably than the OL, the RCP refers to the struggle of the Kurds and the West Pakistani Baluchis—which threaten to spill over into Iran—as "reactionary separatist movements" (*Revolution*, September 1973).

The Chinese exhortation for "other" Arab countries "to build up their own arms industry" included the island state of Bahrain, off the coast of Saudi Arabia. Minister of Finance Li Chiang, speaking at a Peking banquet in honor of the Bahrain government,

"congratulated the government and people of Bahrain on the successes they had achieved under the leadership of His Royal Highness Amir Isa ibn Salman Ali Khalifan in safeguarding state sovereignty and national independence and building their country."

—*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 15 October 1975

"Safeguarding state sovereignty" for Sheik Isa ibn Khalifan has been a notorious British officer named Henderson, who as head of the Public Security System banned all meetings of more than two people (*Le Monde*, 15 March 1972). Meanwhile, the "national independence" of Bahrain was entrusted to the U.S. for "safeguarding" in 1971, when the British withdrew; Bahrain is the headquarters for the U.S. Navy Middle East Force, which maintains two destroyers and one flagship on al-Jufair island (*Department of State Bulletin*, 28 March 1972).

Bahrain is the most developed of the Gulf mini-states and the only Middle East state where the proletariat makes up most of the population. But in "anti-imperialist" Bahrain the workers, exploited almost entirely by foreign capital, have had their strikes crushed and their unions banned—all "under the leadership of His Royal Highness Amir Isa ibn Salman Ali Khalifan" (see "Bahrain's Worker's Movement," *Gulf Solidarity*, May 1974).

Two, three, many fetes

The Maoist bureaucracy has sung its "detente" duet as well with North Yemen. Chinese Vice-Premier Chen Hsi-lien told

North Yemen army officers feted in Peking this April that the Soviet Union, of the two "superpowers," is "all the more greedy and hypocritical; it is stretching its hands everywhere and its performance is particularly notorious" (*Hsinhua News Bulletin*, 26 April 1975).

Mao's representative was knocking at an open door: the Yemen Arab Republic has long been of the opinion that the Soviet Union is its "number-one enemy." The YAR generals, with Saudi and American gold in their hands and hatred for "Soviet social-imperialism" in their hearts, repeatedly stage attacks on South Yemen, the sole remaining ally of the PFLO, and have supported the imperialist crusade to annihilate the Dhofar rebels (*PFLOAG Red Line*, 2 October 1972). According to Vice-Premier Chen, the North Yemen regime "has all along pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment" and "actively supported the people's national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America"!

Similarly, a representative of Kuwait was feted in the Great Hall of the People two years ago. According to *Peking Review* (22 March 1974), the Chinese spokesman thanked Kuwait for its "support to the Afro-Asian nations' causes of unity against imperialism." Yet since 1971 "anti-imperialist" Kuwait has received over \$500 million in arms from the U.S. imperialists, who have established a "defense" wall at the northern end of the Gulf ("Arms Build Up in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf," Organization of Arab Students, March 1975).

Another instance of Gulf "unity" supported by Peking was the formation of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), a federation of seven sheikdoms pulled together by Britain and Saudi Arabia; a December 1970 joint Saudi-British communiqué declared that "the development of the Union of Arab Emirates would make a significant contribution to peace and stability in the area" (quoted in *Gulf Solidarity*, October 1972).

One year later, the UAE was formed—and instantly hailed by both Moscow and Peking. As the semi-feudal cabal were supplying troops and aid to Omani Sultan Qaboos (*Saut al-Thawra*, 28 February 1974), Chou En-lai sent UAE President Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihayyan a message of congratulations (*Hsinhua News Agency*, 1 December 1972)!

ISA's secret war with Mao

With its sharp criticisms of the carbon-copy Maoism of the OL, the ISA crosses swords with the Chinese regime as well. Yet, still clinging to Chairman Mao, the ISA is compelled to brazenly deny reality, mangle its politics and discredit its integrity as champions of the struggles of the downtrodden Iranian masses.

While denouncing the OL for glorifying the Shah as an alleged opponent of the "two superpowers," the ISA nevertheless maintains that "certain countries"—"Libya, for example"—represent "'independent' governments 'opposing' the two superpowers." Leninists support specific concrete actions by the "national bourgeoisie" in industrially underdeveloped countries that have a genuinely anti-imperialist character, such as the nationalizations of British oil holdings by Mexico's Cardenas in 1938 and Iran's Mossadegh in 1952. But OPEC is simply an oil cartel; oil price manipulation by OPEC certainly enriches the ruling cliques of sheiks, sultans and clans, but has no "anti-imperialist" character—in fact, impoverished "third world" countries like India suffer far more from the skyrocketing oil prices than the U.S. "superpower."

Sarcastically suggesting that "the glitter of the 'Royal' petro-dollars in Shah's hands have blinded the OL," the ISA vehemently denies that the Shah stands in "the progressive sector of OPEC." The Chinese government, however, elevates the profit-bloated Shah as a leading force in OPEC (*Hsinhua Weekly*, 15 September 1975). As for the "progressive sector" of OPEC, even "radical" Libya, "for example," has supplied arms to North Yemen for use against the People's Democratic Republic of (South) Yemen, the sole ally of the Omani guerrilla forces (see Joe Stork, "Socialist Revolution in Arabia," *MERIP Reports*, March 1973).

While the ISA denounces the OL line that the USSR is the "most aggressive and dangerous imperialism," the Chinese regime has made just this line the cornerstone of its reactionary bloc with U.S. imperialism and its allies like the Shah against the Soviet Union. The Moscow bureaucracy certainly is counter-revolutionary; to enhance its diplomatic influence with the bourgeois Ba'athist colonels in Baghdad the Russian bureaucracy denounced the Kurdish national liberation struggle as "reactionary" and even supplied advanced weapons to so-called "strongly progressive, anti-imperialist" Iraq for use against the guerrillas (*Daily World*, 15 May 1974). No less treacherous, the Chinese government hailed the Iran-Iraq accords which buried the Kurds and, at the time of the fierce offensive against the Kurdish insurgents, called for Iraq to increase its military power.

Both the Russian and the Chinese bureaucracies, which rule as parasitic castes over the politically dispossessed masses in these non-capitalist states, pursue equally reactionary foreign policies based on the same quest for "peaceful co-existence with imperialism." Both the Russian and the Chinese bureaucracies sabotage and betray the international socialist revolution for the sake of attaining a *modus vivendi* with world

imperialism. While all the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states must be unconditionally defended against imperialist attack, the Stalinist bureaucracies must be removed through political revolutions which transfer political power to the proletariat through the establishment of soviet democracy. Only with the restoration of proletarian internationalism will Russia become a mighty "superpower" *against imperialism*.

Take the road of Trotskyism!

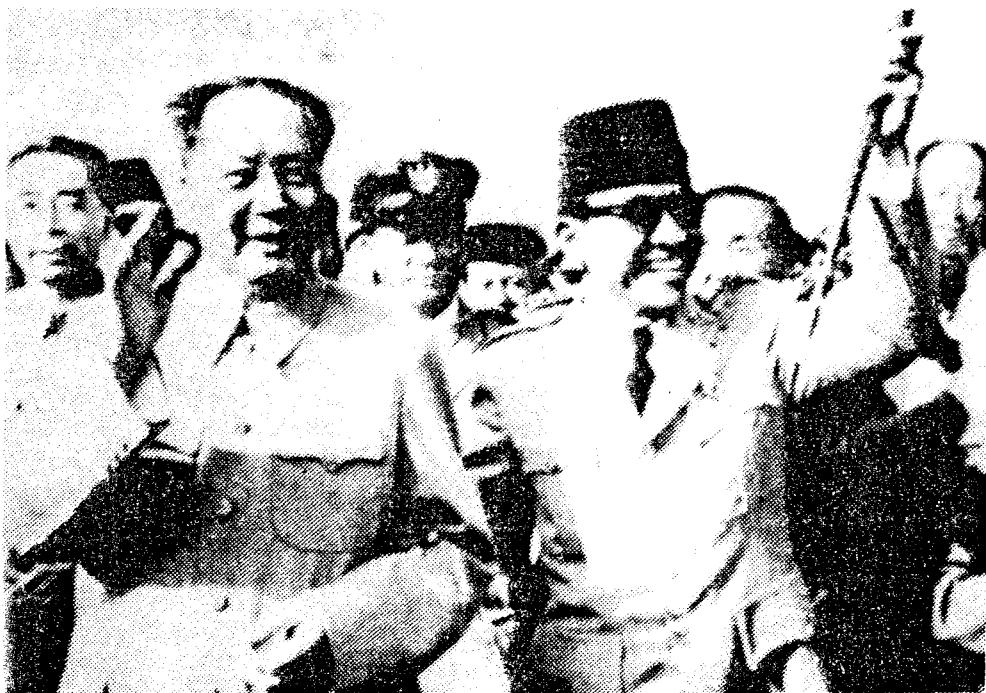
The dictatorships of the Shah and his fellow ruling cliques throughout the Persian Gulf must be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry. Only a workers and peasants government linked with the international socialist revolution—and not an illusory "people's democracy" embracing the "progressive" exploiters—can "safeguard state sovereignty," "develop the national economy" and forge a "united front against imperialism." Only within the framework of proletarian rule in Iran and throughout the Gulf can the domination of imperialism be broken, the national oppression of the Kurds and numerous other oppressed peoples be lifted, and the social emancipation of all the exploited and oppressed masses begin.

The great liberating socialist revolution which *will* sweep the Near and Middle East may well erupt first in Iran. Subjective revolutionaries supporting the ISA must break with Stalinism, the political chains binding even the most dedicated and courageous to the tyrants, slave-holders and generals ruling in palaces from Teheran to Salalah. Only Trotskyism—the continuity of Leninism—represents the program capable of leading the masses in struggle to the conquest of power.
FORWARD TO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN POWER IN IRAN AND THE GULF!

—Reprinted from Young Spartacus No. 39, January 1976

How Maoist Strategy Sabotaged Indonesian Revolution

PHOTO DEPPEN



Mao and Sukarno.

One of the most massive and savage reactionary massacres in modern history was unleashed in Indonesia ten years ago this month. A *half a million* leftists, workers and poor peasants were slaughtered as a white terror raged through city and village. The rivers of Indonesia turned red with blood and became choked with logjams of human corpses. And the police-state repression continues to this day, forcing the Indonesian masses to shoulder grinding poverty and untrammeled exploitation.

The largest Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China was decimated and pulverized by the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie" whom the Indonesian Stalinists, as well as their mentors in Peking and Moscow, had supported for years as the "leading force"

in the Indonesian revolution. The 1965 anti-Communist massacre in Indonesia drastically altered the direction of political developments in Southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists' fears as well as the Chinese bureaucracy's hopes of a Djakarta/Hanoi/Pyongyang/Peking axis were reversed. The Indonesia domino fell not in a revolution but in a counterrevolution, prompting the U.S. imperialists to launch an all-out invasion of South Vietnam.

State power was within reach of the Indonesian workers. The Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI—Indonesian Communist Party) on the eve of the counterrevolutionary coup was a powerful force with a membership of three million. The PKI youth organization could claim another three million members and the PKI women's section encompassed yet another three million. The PKI-controlled All-Indonesia Central Organization of Trade Unions (SOBSI) had a base of three-and-a-half million, encompassing the vast majority of the Indonesian proletariat, while the PKI-led Indonesian Peasants Association represented nine million peasants. Furthermore, the PKI controlled other large student and cultural organizations.

But the Stalinist leadership of the PKI betrayed the masses at every step by chaining the workers and poor peasants to their exploiters through the fatal policy of *gotong royong*: "national unity" with the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie" and their generals. When the generals finally struck, the PKI, politically disarmed and militarily unprepared, was simply helpless.

The treacherous class collaboration pursued for years by the PKI, backed to the hilt by the Maoist bureaucracy misruling People's China, prepared this crushing defeat for the international proletariat. Just as in Portugal today, the Stalinists preached confidence in the "democratic" generals, alliance with the "progressive" capitalists, and illusions of a so-called "democratic revolution" carried out arm-in-arm with the oppressors, thereby politically disorienting and lulling the masses while the bourgeoisie strengthened its position and prepared its reaction. The fatal consequences of Stalinist class collaborationism in Indonesia stand as a warning to the Portuguese workers and poor peasants: the embrace of the "progressive" generals is the kiss of death!

The "people united" means toilers will be defeated

In its search for a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the PKI subordinated the class interests and revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants so as not to threaten the weak

bourgeoisie and its links with the feudal order and world imperialism. PKI Chairman D.N. Aidit thus reminded the multi-millioned membership of the PKI,

"The character of the Indonesian revolution at the present time is bourgeois democratic and not proletarian socialist.... The Indonesian revolution is bourgeois in nature, because it does not abolish the private ownership of the means of production."

—*The Indonesian Revolution and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist Party of Indonesia* (1964)

With this rationale the PKI limited and contained the struggles of the masses, bartering the political independence and revolutionary mobilization of the exploited for collaboration and maneuvers with the exploiters.

In the name of the "bloc of the four classes," the PKI chained the laboring masses of Indonesia to Achmed Sukarno and the bourgeois Indonesian Nationalist Party, which had been brought to power in 1945 by the Japanese imperialists. In 1952 Chairman Aidit, on the instructions of Stalin, introduced the slogan "Long Live Sukarno! Long Live the PKI!" and pledged that the PKI "has subjected itself to the interests of the people and the national interest" (quoted in A. Dake, *In the Spirit of the Red Banteng*). The PKI called for "joint unity" with Sukarno's Nationalist Party to form a "united national front, including the national bourgeoisie" which would carry out "not socialist but democratic reforms."

Stalin-Mao-Sukarno et Allah

To maintain its uneasy alliance with the weak bourgeoisie, who feared above all a revolutionary mobilization of the millions who stood behind the PKI, the Indonesian Stalinists restrained the working class and contained the class struggle. All references to the class struggle, socialism and even "peoples democracy" were erased from the constitutions of the PKI youth organization and trade-union federation, while the PKI pledged to "support and uphold" the "Five Principles" of Sukarno's regime: belief in God, humanism, patriotism, democracy and social justice.

The PKI denounced its 1948 revolt at Madiun and elevated General Sudirman, who had suppressed the uprising, to the PKI roster of "Heroes of the Working Class" (Leslie Palmier, *Communists in Indonesia*)! Grovelling before Sukarno and the reactionary Muslim clerics, the PKI organized work brigades for the construction and repairing of mosques, and many PKI leaders publicly professed Islam.

When Sukarno launched his expansionist "Crush Malaysia" campaign, the PKI wallowed in national chauvinism and made the campaign a focal point of support for the government,

rather than unmasking Sukarno's expansionist appetites while simultaneously calling for the withdrawal of Britain from Malaysia. Likewise, the Chinese bureaucracy in 1963 hailed the Sukarno regime as "an important force opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding the peace and security of Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole," enthusiastically backed the "Crush Malaysia" campaign and even offered thousands of Chinese troops for suppressing the Celebes secessionist revolt. The "anti-colonialist" Sukarno regime, in anticipation of ever greater expansionism, issued in 1963 an official revised map of the world on which the Indian Ocean appeared as the "Indonesian Ocean"!

Bidding for greater influence in the Sukarno government, the PKI liquidated its political program and uncritically supported Sukarno and the "progressive national bourgeoisie." Aidit announced that "the state in the Republic of Indonesia as a whole is now led by the forces which represent the interests of the people" and concluded:

"...the Indonesian Communists have the Political Manifesto, namely, President Sukarno's speech delivered on August 17, 1959....We can draw the conclusion that resolute implementation of the Political Manifesto is tantamount to implementing the Programme of the CPI [Communist Party of Indonesia]. The Indonesian Communists, therefore, must resolutely carry out the Political Manifesto and set an example in doing so."

—Aidit, *The Indonesian Revolution* (1964)

The apotheosis of Sukarno reached its height in 1965 when Aidit, at the celebration of the PKI's 45th anniversary in May, rhapsodized:

"Among us...is Bung Karno [Brother Sukarno]. The clear sky above us is witness to it. Thousands of eyes see him. Millions of people are listening to him on the radio and watching him on their TV screens....Sukarno's portrait hangs beside those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

Although the masses were reeling under rocketing inflation, the PKI at this time refused to raise any demands for combatting the price rises, promised Sukarno that the PKI would not organize any demonstrations to protest economic conditions and attempted to sabotage anti-government demonstrations and struggles organized by other organizations (Tarzie Vittachi, *The Fall of Sukarno*).

In March 1965 the oil workers in Sungei and Pendopo who were organized in the PKI-led unions seized the U.S.-owned refineries. When the government smashed the occupation, the "anti-imperialist" PKI refused to protest. In fact, pro-PKI Foreign Minister Subandrio formally apologized to the imperialists and promised that there would be "no further embarrassment of Americans" (*New York Times*, 19 March 1965).

When the PKI-led land reform campaigners in East Java were attacked by rich peasants, landlords, Muslim reactionaries and rural officials in late 1964, the PKI declared that "terror must not be opposed with terror," but rather with "consultation and agreement" between the peasants and "the army and other patriotic forces" (Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism Under Sukarno*). The PKI restrained the desperate struggles of the land-starved, rent-gouged peasantry and adopted as its central slogan "6 to 4" rent reduction: "at least 60 percent of the produce should go to the peasants who till the land while the landowners at most should receive 40 percent" (Audit, *The Indonesian Revolution*)!

Like the Stalinists in Portugal today, the PKI not only sacrificed the organization of independent popular militias but even worked to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the fragile Sukarno regime. While today Portuguese Stalinists campaign for an "MFA-People Alliance," the PKI raised the slogan, "For the Maintenance of Public Order, Help the Police," and pledged itself to enforce "the co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force" (Audit, *Set Afire the Banteng Spirit!*). And in 1965 the PKI began to organize a "fifth armed force" trained and officered by the Indonesian air force!...

The Stalinist jackals leading the PKI, with the full support of Moscow and especially Peking, suicidally collaborated with the ruling class in digging the grave of the revolutionary movement in Indonesia. Attempting to pacify and hypnotize the combative masses, the PKI Stalinists ceaselessly preached confidence in the capitalist-landlord Sukarno regime as these representatives of the "progressive national bourgeoisie" banned strikes, suppressed the militant peasant movement and courted imperialist investment. Simultaneously, the PKI reformists pressured the bourgeoisie for its fair share of power as a prop of the capitalist state and demanded a cabinet of *gotong royong* ("all forces working together for a common objective").

September 30th movement

By the fall of 1965, Sukarno's deteriorating health called into question his ability to rule as the supreme arbitrator over the antagonistic forces maneuvering in the "national unity" government. Rumors abounded of some impending *banting stir*, a drastic change, including the possibility of an army coup on October 5, Armed Forces Day.

Indeed the military, closely tied to the powerful landlords and the Muslim right, was increasingly aggressive in its anti-PKI stance. As one top general ominously boasted, "We knocked

them out before [at Madiun]. We check them and check them again" (quoted in *Bangkok World*, 28 March 1965).

Then on the night of September 30, a group of leftist officers led by one of the colonels in Sukarno's praetorian guard kidnapped and executed six top rightist army officers, but missed their primary target, General Nasution, chief of staff of the armed forces and minister of defense and security. The leftist officers then seized the Djakarta radio station and broadcast a message in the name of the "September 30th Movement" declaring their action a preemptive strike thwarting a rightist military coup by a "Council of Generals" backed by the CIA and announcing the formation of a "Revolutionary Council" composed of left-leaning officers, some left Nationalists and minor figures in the PKI. (Many "members" of this "Revolutionary Council" immediately disassociated themselves.)

The "September 30th Movement" very likely was backed by Sukarno. The PKI, while allegedly implicated in the purge, publicly threw its support behind the "September 30th Movement."

On October 1, less than one day after the attack on the rightist officers, the PKI reportedly staged a demonstration in Jogjakarta (Central Java) raising such slogans as "Crush the Council of Generals" and "Kill Nasution, Hireling of the CIA" (*China Quarterly*, January-March 1966). The following day the PKI central organ, *Harian Rakjat*, declared that "the action taken by the September 30th Movement to save the revolution and the people is correct" and that "the action taken to preserve President Sukarno and the Indonesian Republic from the Generals' Council coup is patriotic and revolutionary."

Operating with the reformist perspective of strengthening the "popular aspect" of the capitalist state and gradually easing out the "anti-popular aspect" without class collisions, the PKI relied on behind-the-scenes maneuvers, high-level pressure politics and reckless provocations and purges rather than mass mobilizations against the rightist threat.

"Progressive" military strikes

The military was not about to let its chance slip. Poised for months, the army denounced the PKI as the "mastermind" behind the "counterrevolutionary" September 30th Movement and moved to crush the vulnerable Communists.

Events moved swiftly. On October 1 General Suharto occupied Djakarta and the following day closed the PKI's two main newspapers. At once "progressive" Sukarno appointed Suharto "to be responsible for restoring security and order."

At this critical juncture the defense of the left and labor

movement required the urgent mobilization of the formidable power of the PKI with its millions upon millions of followers. But the Stalinist leaders of the PKI, realizing the revolutionary dynamic inherent in such a mass mobilization and confrontation with the military, declared their loyalty to the "democratic" military and urged complete reliance on the "progressive" Sukarno!

On October 5 the PKI expressed its support for Sukarno's "national unity" appeals and his "settlement" of the "question of the September 30th Movement." Demonstrations which erupted against the mounting counterrevolution were denounced by the Stalinists.

Emboldened by the abject grovelling of the Stalinists, the military launched mass arrests of Communists. Spontaneous efforts of self-defense by PKI militants especially in the Communist strongholds in Central Java were easily crushed:

"Army troops arriving to restore centralized authority met resistance in the form of scattered bands of Pemuda Rakjat [the PKI youth organization] youths armed only with bamboo spears, bows and arrows and slingshots. Except on the higher slopes of Mount Merapi, the PKI made no real effort to defend its villages."

—*China Quarterly*, January-March 1966

The Muslim Party demanded the banning of the PKI, while mobs comprised largely of Muslim students burned the PKI's Djakarta headquarters and demolished the homes of leading Communists. Leaflets were issued exhorting "all revolutionary people" to "Crush the PKI," "Eradicate the PKI and its Lackeys," "Root Out the PKI and Destroy it" and raised the rallying cry, "Long Live the Unity of the Armed Forces and the People" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 28 October 1965):

Sukarno exterminates "rats"

On October 14 Sukarno appointed Suharto head of the army. Four days later the PKI and its affiliated mass organizations were banned in Djarkarta, then in all Java and South Sumatra.

The grisliest massacres occurred in the villages, where the Muslim Party and the Muslim religious leaders declared a Holy War (*mujahid*) against the Communists:

"The Ulamas—the Religious Teachers—ruled that devout Muslims should regard Communists as *kafir habir*—infidels of war—who, according to tradition, had to be put mercilessly to death.... The victims would be tied to a tree under the eerie yellow light, and the executioners would stand round them and drive knives into their jugular veins.... The bodies

were left to rot against the trees or were thrown into the nearest open ditch or stream."

—Vittachi, *The Fall of Sukarno*

As the anti-PKI massacre escalated, Sukarno dispensed with his "neutrality" and on December 1 attacked the PKI as "rats that have eaten a part of a big cake and tried to eat the pillar of our house," concluding, "now let us catch these rats... and I will punish them." PKI leader Aidit was captured and executed by a firing squad on December 18.

Even though the PKI leaders and cadres were being hunted and exterminated like "rats," the Stalinist betrayers continued to pledge their undying support for Sukarno and the "progressive national bourgeoisie." PKI leader Njoto, shortly before his execution, declared to an *Asahi Simbun* journalist from his prison cell,

Result of
"bloc of four
classes":
leftist workers,
herded into
mass grave,
about to be
executed.



TAPOL

"The powers of President Sukarno, in combination with the forces of the people, shall determine Indonesia's fate and future.... The PKI only knows one Head of State, supreme commander, great leader of the revolution, namely, President Sukarno, and knows no other."

—quoted in *New Left Review*, March-April 1966

The "great leader of the revolution" Sukarno wrote the epitaph for half a million mutilated, rotting corpses. The "first stage" of the "national democratic" revolution was over.

The strategy of the "bloc of the four classes" against imperialism and for a strictly "national democratic revolution" thus led to the same betrayal by the Stalinists in Indonesia as in China four decades earlier. In 1927 Trotsky denounced the Menshevik/Stalinist accommodation of the national bourgeoisie as a blueprint for defeat:

"Foreseeing the inevitable departure of the bourgeoisie, Bolshevik policy in the bourgeois revolution is directed towards creating an independent organization of the proletariat as soon as possible, to impregnate it as deeply as possible



TAFOL

**Soldier
bayoneting
prisoners.**

with mistrust of the bourgeoisie, to embrace the masses as soon as possible in the broadest form and to arm them, to aid the revolutionary uprising of the peasant masses with all means. The Menshevik policy in foreseeing the so-called departure of the bourgeoisie is directed towards postponing this moment as long as possible, while the independence of policy and organization of the proletariat is sacrificed to this aim, the workers are instilled with confidence in the progressive role of the bourgeoisie and the necessity of political self-restraint is preached.... But this postponement is utilized by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat: It seizes hold of the leadership thanks to its great social advantages, it arms its loyal troops, it prevents the arming of the proletariat, political as well as military, and after it has acquired the upper hand it organizes the counterrevolutionary massacre at the first serious collision."

—*Problems of the Chinese Revolution*

Betrayal haunts Peking

With the Indonesian revolution drowned in blood and the PKI smashed, the surviving leadership remnants of the outlawed PKI issued a "self-criticism" from exile. In late 1966 two statements were published (reprinted one year later in *Peking Review*, 14 July and 21 July 1967) which criticized the PKI leadership for failing to adopt "an independent attitude toward Sukarno" and for placing the proletariat "in a position as a tail-end of the national bourgeoisie." But this cynical "self-criticism" for opportunism, which comes so cheap when the Stalinists no longer enjoy the opportunities to betray, upholds the fatal "two-stage revolution" strategy:

"By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our Party must work to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the revolution."

Likewise, the Chinese bureaucracy simply unloaded all responsibility for the PKI's disastrous opportunism upon the pro-Moscow "revisionists" in the PKI leadership and added that defeats are salutary!

"In the final analysis, the many kinds of persecution against the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people by the Suharto-Nasution Right-wing military clique will only [...] serve to speed [!] the upsurge in the Indonesian revolution and hasten its own doom."

—*Peking Review*, 14 July 1967

Far from detecting "revisionism" in the PKI leadership before its "persecution," the Chinese bureaucracy for years

uncritically hailed the PKI's course, Mao himself declaring on the eve of the counterrevolution that the PKI leadership had "creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism in the light of the revolutionary practice in its own country" (quoted in Simon, *The Broken Triangle*). And following the September 30th purge, *Peking Review* (5 November 1965) reprinted a statement from the Albanian press lauding the PKI "as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle against the Krushchev and Tito revisionists," declaring its "unreserved support for its [the PKI] correct and principled position."

The Chinese bureaucracy, moreover, covered for Sukarno before, during and after the September 30th affair...until it was impossible to cover any more. The first mention of any disturbances in Indonesia appeared in the Chinese press only on 19 October 1965, almost *three weeks* after the Suharto coup! Then the Chinese press grossly understated Sukarno's role in the repression, failing to as much as mention his "rats" speech declaring war on the PKI.

A Chinese government letter to Sukarno dated October 3 declared, "We have learnt from the radio broadcasts from Djakarta that Your Excellency is in good health. We hereby extend to you our cordial regards and heartfelt wishes" (*Peking Review*, 8 October 1965). A China-Indonesia joint statement issued the next day praised "Indonesia's confrontation against 'Malaysia'" but ignored Sukarno and Co.'s "confrontation" with the PKI (*Peking Review*, 15 October 1965).

And after high-level discussions between Sukarno and Chinese ambassador Yao Chung-ming on October 26, when the bloodbath was raging, the Chinese embassy announced that "the relations between China and Indonesia remain firm although there are elements [!] trying to alienate [!] China and Indonesia" (quoted in Kosut, *Indonesia: The Sukarno Years*).

Most despicable was the performance of the Chinese Stalinists at the World Conference Against Foreign Bases convened in Djakarta on October 17, in the midst of the counter-revolutionary terror against the PKI. The Indonesian security forces demonstratively arrested PKI militants within the very conference hall. And the Chinese delegation remained silent!

Maoist strategy was put to the test in Indonesia. The largest Communist Party in the capitalist world confronted a fragile bourgeois regime in the strategically central country of Southeast Asia. Yet the revolution was strangled by Stalinist class collaboration. Like Stalin, Mao and Co. are the grave-diggers of the proletarian revolution.

-Reprinted from Young Spartacus Nos. 36 and 37, October and November 1975

Maoism in Ceylon:

"Unite the Few to Defeat the Many"

From the Sudan to Pakistan to Ceylon the Maoist "united front against imperialism" actually has "united the few to defeat the many." In Ceylon tens of thousands of militant youth led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) launched a mass revolt in April 1971. The "anti-imperialist" Sirimavo Bandaranaike regime—a coalition government comprised of her bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party—crushed the rebellion with ferocious retaliation, slaughtering over 15,000 and imprisoning 14,000 "suspected guerrillas."

Earning their keep as watchdogs for capitalism in the kennels of the coalition government, the pro-Moscow Ceylonese Stalinists not only licked the sandals of Bandaranaike and slobbered denunciations of the revolt, but also loyally served in the Counter-Insurgency Unit established by the armed forces! Backing the butchery, the bureaucratically deformed workers states of Russia, East Germany and Yugoslavia also rushed military aid to the Ceylonese government.

Only the Peking bureaucracy rivaled the USSR in condemning the JVP uprising and lauding the Bandaranaike gang. When Peking was challenged to put its money where Mao's mouth is, Chou En-lai responded:

"We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control. We believe that as a result of Your Excellency's leadership and the co-operation and support of the Ceylonese people these acts of rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese people are bound to fail.

"We fully agree to the correct position of defending state sovereignty and guarding against foreign interference as referred to by Your Excellency....In the interests of the friendship between China and Ceylon and in consideration of the needs of the Ceylon Government, the Chinese Government in compliance with the request of the Ceylon Government,

agrees to provide it with a long-term interest free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange.... As for other material assistance, please let us know if it is needed."

—reprinted in full in *Ceylon Daily News*, 27 May 1971

"As for other material assistance," the Ceylonese ambassador reported:

"[Chou En-lai] had also expressed regret that China was unable to provide military aid to Ceylon as Chinese ships carrying arms to Tanzania had left Colombo before Ceylon's request was made. Mr. Chou En-lai had said that China could give both financial and military aid to the Ceylon Government. The Chinese Premier in conclusion had promised wholehearted support to the Ceylon Government, saying, 'Whom else can we support in Ceylon except the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike.'"

—quoted in *Ceylon Daily News*, 24 June 1971

Simply to enhance its diplomatic standing with the Ceylonese bourgeoisie the Maoist bureaucracy, which rules in the name and place of the Chinese workers, spits on the JVP youth as "a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists,'" denounces "acts of rebellion" against "Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government," solidarizes with mass execution as "the correct position of defending state sovereignty" and promises weapons for the counterrevolutionary slaughter!

To deodorize the stench of this perfidy, the Chinese mis-leaders ventilated the odious slander that the JVP represented only a "handful of persons" allegedly manipulated by "foreign spies" and other unnamed "reactionaries at home and abroad." What "reactionaries"? Not one bourgeois government backed the JVP uprising; in contrast, the U.S., Britain, West Germany, India, Pakistan and Egypt all provided military aid to Bandaranaike during the uprising. Moreover—and most important—Bandaranaike conceded that in fact no foreign power aided or fomented the JVP rebellion (see *Ceylon: The JVP Uprising of April 1971*, Solidarity London pamphlet). Even Ceylonese Maoist leader N. Sanmugathasan felt compelled to admit that "whatever be the questionable nature of the leadership, the rank and file seems to have been honestly revolutionary minded, with a sense of dedication that must be admired and a willingness to sacrifice even their lives" ("An Analysis of the April Events in Ceylon," *Indonesian Tribune*, 1972).

The "questionable nature of the leadership," however, derived primarily from its Maoist-inspired petty-bourgeois politics. Although attracting youth disaffected with the parliamentary reformism of the traditional workers parties, the JVP rejected the revolutionary role of the proletariat (and even ridiculed strikes) and espoused only vague "people's war" rhetoric. Glorifying the peasantry, the JVP accommodated

Sinhalese chauvinism directed against the super-exploited and nationally oppressed Indian plantation workers, the strategic sector of the Ceylonese working class.

Unquestionably the JVP uprising was adventurist; it was launched without any propaganda preparation, without any established links to the proletariat and without any objectives beyond seizure of police outposts. Communists, of course, trenchantly expose the petty-bourgeois Narodnik and Stalinist conceptions of the JVP and would counsel against any such ill-fated uprisings, which can lead to only the destruction of subjectively revolutionary and dedicated youth. But once the JVP rose up against the bourgeois state, all socialists and workers were obliged to solidarize with the anti-capitalist struggle of the JVP and defend the oppressed against the oppressors.

The apologists for Mao, on the contrary, seized upon the political errors of the JVP only to despicably justify supporting the clerico-chauvinist Bandaranaike government. In its pamphlet *Unite the Many, Defeat the Few*, the *Guardian*, notorious for uncritically endorsing even the most vile and murderous bourgeois nationalists, offered the following gloss on Mao Thought for Ceylon:

"It does not seem likely that Chinese revolutionaries would have supported such an uprising under any conditions, containing as it did elements of adventurism and ultra-'leftism' without a mass base, led by a non-Leninist party influenced by Trotskyism."

Similarly, the Revolutionary Union (now strutting as the Revolutionary Communist Party) in its *China's Foreign Policy* adds,

"Of course, some sections of the Ceylonese people took part in this rebellion, because there are real injustices, real op-

SOLIDARITY LONDON PAMPHLET



Mao applauded, volunteered military aid to Bandaranaike, whose slaughter of JVP rebels turned the rivers of Ceylon red with blood.

pression in Ceylon. But once again, this movement in Ceylon would not have weakened, but strengthened imperialism and so China could not have supported it, but had to oppose it."

But these new-found "principles" place the *Guardian* and Revolutionary Union in opposition to numerous popular and anti-imperialist revolts! The 1916 Irish rebellion, for example, contained "elements of adventurism," lacked a proletarian "mass base," was "led by a non-Leninist party" and even received the support of German imperialism. Nevertheless Lenin vigorously defended the Irish revolt, rebuking in particular those Zimmerwald Leftists who dismissed the uprising as a "putsch" and a "purely urban, petty-bourgeois movement, which, notwithstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing."

Lenin retorted that such "heroic revolts" always involve "petty-bourgeois slag" and "masses imbued with the crudest prejudices, with the vaguest and most fantastic aims of struggle." Yet Lenin concludes:

"To imagine that social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty-bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc.—to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution."

— *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 355 [original emphasis]

Indeed, Maoists must "repudiate social revolution" to rationalize the Chinese bureaucracy's *betrayal of social revolution*. In Ceylon the "peaceful coexistence" overtures of the Chinese regime have been indelibly written in the blood of thousands of JVP youth. ■

"Self-Reliance"—

China's Bombast vs. U.S. Bombs in Indochina

Just as the recent monetary agreements codify the collapse of U.S. *economic* hegemony, so the recent "ceasefire" agreement in Vietnam signifies the collapse of U.S. *military* hegemony....

The collapse of the American empire leaves it the strongest among competing imperialist powers. The collapse takes place within the context of the global sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries—the trade wars which, unless stopped by social revolution, must inevitably culminate in a third world war. Sensing this as far back as 1965, an increasingly large section of the U.S. bourgeoisie wanted to sacrifice the U.S. intervention in Vietnam in order to strengthen other U.S. competitive positions. Exemplifying this group is U.S. Senator Vance Hartke, the darling of the peace movement, who was the first senator to support unilateral U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Yet the same Hartke stands with the most racist, jingoist reactionary section of the U.S. capitalists on the issue of economic protectionism.

The war must go on

Behind all "peace" agreements, from the 6 March 1946 accords between Ho and the French, to the 1954 Geneva accords, to the most recent [1973] Nixon-Thieu-DRV-NLF "agreement" lies the fundamental question of *who will rule* Vietnam. It is precisely this political question that is not answered by the cease-fire.

On the surface, the cease-fire provides an exchange of POW's and the removal of U.S. troops. Supposedly then having found peace, an NLF-Thieu organized "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord" is to organize "genuinely free and democratic general elections," and to consult in "a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect and mutual nonelimination [.]"—this based on the fact that neither Thieu nor the NLF recognize each other! While

preparing to "collaborate," Thieu's police have been given orders to shoot "Communists and collaborators" on sight, and the torture of captured political prisoners in South Vietnam will continue. NLF-Thieu "collaboration" is to develop, despite the fact that even such South Vietnamese anti-communist parties which wish only to get on the U.S. gravy-train have been driven underground. The machinery to implement the agreement using the apt description of I.F. Stone (*New York Review of Books*, 30 November 1972) "is like a delicate watch, intricately fabricated to make sure it doesn't work."

Unlike the earlier 1954 accords, the present agreement does not provide for a regroupment of military forces. DRV-NLF troops remain in the South—U.S. bases in Thailand and Guam and its Seventh Fleet remain. Even assuming that the details of the cease-fire are carried out in a formal manner, the agreement simply sets the framework for a renewal of the civil war to determine who will rule. With an army as corrupt as the Kuomintang of 1949, Thieu's real base is U.S. fire power. And Nixon's speech, recognizing Thieu as the sole legitimate government in Vietnam, leaves open the threat of a U.S. re-intervention.

Soviet desires—Soviet role

The capitalist press has been full of praise for the "responsible behavior" of the Soviet Union and China. The ability of the DRV to knock out 20% of the U.S. Far Eastern B-52 fleet with obsolete SAM-2 missiles shows what they could have done with the more modern SAM-3's and 4's. Instead the Soviet bureaucracy squandered these weapons on capitalist Egypt, which repaid the USSR by driving the Egyptian Communist Party underground, purging pro-Russian elements from the army and state apparatus, and finally giving the Soviets the boot in hopes of a China-like rapprochement with the U.S. on the basis of anti-Sovietism. At the time a quarter of the Soviet Air Force and Army was tied up defending the "fatherland" of frozen islands and tundra from the competing territorial claims of the Chinese. As the Vietnamese bore the brunt of U.S. imperialist assaults, the Stalinist bureaucrats of the USSR and China argued over who—ancient Chinese emperors or Russian tsars—had first laid claim to the contested desolate islands upon which, apparently, "socialism in one country" depends.

The record of Soviet betrayal in Vietnam is well documented—from Stalin's Teheran proposal to place Indochina under Chiang Kai-shek's "trusteeship," to the 6-year period following the foundation of the DRV and the anti-French struggle where the Soviets withheld both military aid and

diplomatic recognition, to the Geneva accords of '54 and '62, to the present period. Throughout, the Soviet bureaucracy has demonstrated that the Vietnamese revolution is at best a pawn to be sacrificed to protect Soviet bureaucratic interests.

While Moscow has loudly denounced the Chinese as "splitters and wreckers of the anti-imperialist united front," it was Moscow that nearly wrecked the Chinese economy by its precipitous and complete withdrawal of technical and military aid. It was not accidental that the Sino-Soviet split came immediately before increased U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Anticipating heavy bombing of the North, President Johnson cabled U.S. Ambassador Lodge in Saigon on 20 March 1964: "...we expect a showdown between Chinese and Soviet Communist parties soon and action against the North [Vietnam] will be more practicable after than before the showdown."

Even the February 1965 visit by Kosygin to Peking was little more than a formal (and empty) attempt to restore Soviet-Chinese harmony. Shortly after the visit China's arch-enemy, Premier Shastri of India, was given a royal welcome and high-level tour of the Soviet Union. Afterwards, India was rewarded by a \$900 million "honorarium" (more than double Soviet aid to the DRV in any one year!).

In short, the Soviet role has continuously been to use the Vietnamese as a bargaining tool to "restore the spirit of Camp David" and continue the Soviet-American detente.

Chinese role no better

The Maoist bureaucracy has sharply criticized the Vietnam policy of its Russian counterpart. But the role of the Chinese themselves has been no better. Neither Mao nor his international supporters have broken from the counterrevolutionary tenets of so-called "Khrushchev revisionism": peaceful coexistence; the various recipes for class collaboration (bloc of four classes, "New Democracy," people's fronts); the "two-stage revolution" (itself a Menshevik theory against which Lenin polemicized in his April Theses); and the theory of "socialism in one country" which is at the core of all these Stalinist schemas. This theory led inevitably to the Sino-Soviet border clashes and the maneuvers of both bureaucracies with the imperialists as the Russians and Chinese each sought to defend the "socialism" of *its own country* at the other's expense.

China has been no more generous in materially aiding the DRV than has the Soviet Union, nor has it been motivated any differently. After the "Tonkin Gulf incident" China rushed planes to the DRV, sent 30-50 thousand Army engineers and construction brigades to North Vietnam, and began construction

of airports in Yunan and Kwangsi to provide air sanctuary for DRV planes. By 1966, however, the troops were withdrawn, airport construction ceased, and other aid dwindled despite U.S. escalation. What was the cause of this?

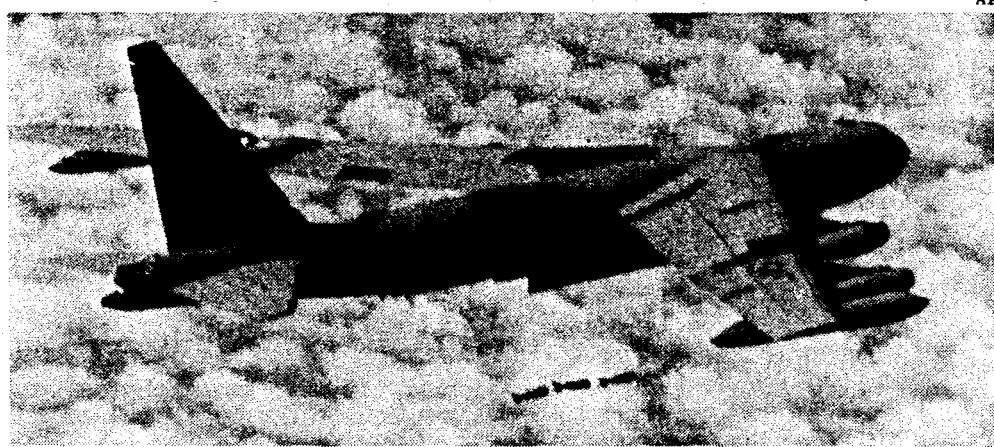
China's foreign policy in the early 1960's was based on the proposition that the "fundamental contradiction in the world is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples." This denial of the primacy of the *class* contradiction dictated that Chinese policy was based on the attempt to construct an "anti-imperialist united front" of bourgeois-nationalist regimes. Even in its own terms, this policy was untenable and collapsed as these "progressive" bonapartist regimes collapsed—Nkrumah in Ghana, Lumumba in the Congo. The final payoff of this policy was the slaughter of the three million member pro-Chinese Indonesian Communist Party.

The Chinese bureaucracy had been engaged in an internal economic debate following the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the cessation of Soviet aid. The Tonkin incident raised the further questions of Chinese defense policy, the character of its armed forces, and, finally, the nature of Soviet aid to the NLF-DRV and other similar groups. It was during these debates that the Cultural Revolution occurred. What emerged from the Mao-Lin factional victory was the "3 No's Policy" (i.e., no Soviet aid; no military confrontations with the U.S. over Vietnam; no peace negotiations) and the revival of the "People's War" strategy.

"People's War" has been heralded by Maoists and even ex-Maoists like Progressive Labor as the road to victory for the Vietnamese revolution. But in fact People's War was a strategy of retreat and betrayal as was apparent even to the DRV-NLF leadership. It is no accident that Lin Piao's "Long Live The Victory of People's War" was published in September 1965, after massive introduction of American troops and fire power into Vietnam. Lin Piao's emphasis on "self-reliance," on the evils of depending on foreign military assistance "even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution" (which could only mean China), was the pontifical fig-leaf behind which Mao and his "Great Comrade in Arms" withdrew their military aid to the DRV-NLF. "Self-reliance," like "socialism in one country," is simply the slogan behind which China can renege on her duties to the Vietnamese revolution. The other side of People's War is class-collaborationism and conciliationism. Thus, Lin makes much of the Chinese Red Army's "United Front" with the bourgeois-led Kuomintang (KMT) and her wooing of the "national bourgeoisie and enlightened gentry," i.e., in the late 1930's the Red Army was formally liquidated into the KMT, confiscated land was returned to the landlords and peasant-soldier councils were eliminated



UPI



AP

Nixon and Chou En-lai toasted in Peking in 1972 as U.S. B52's rained terror down on North Vietnamese cities.

and replaced with the "three-thirds system" in which all classes were allegedly represented. In reality, KMT-Red Army collaboration was never viable, nor was the "three-thirds" system. Finally, "People's War" projected a guerrilla war-peasant war-protracted war strategy which was literally a recipe for retreat for the DRV-NLF forces, namely to abandon attacks on the cities, go into the countryside and up the mountains, fight little skirmishes for many years, i.e., avoid Dien Bien Phu-like decisive victories over the enemy.

The response of the DRV-NLF to Lin Piao's arguments for a strategic retreat were both sharp and negative. For example, at a DRV Army conference in May 1966, Le Duan, Secretary-General of the Lao Dong party (DRV's Communist Party) stated:

"It is not fortuitous that in the history of our country, each time we rose up to oppose foreign aggression, we took the offensive and not the defensive.... Taking the offensive is a strategy, while taking the defensive is only a strategem. Since the day the South Vietnamese people rose up, they have continually taken the offensive."

While China never cut off the flow of *Soviet* aid to the DRV it had, at times, seriously disrupted the aid by refusing to allow Soviet planes to fly over China and refusing Soviet ships the use of Chinese ports. Since the Cultural Revolution, the Soviets had become "social imperialists" which could be even more of an enemy to the "third world" than U.S. imperialism. Such "Mao-thought dialectics" opened the way to a new "united front" of the U.S. and China against "Soviet imperialism."

Perhaps no more telling statement can be made of how the U.S. eagerly joined the "united front" to "exploit the contradictions" among the deformed workers states than the statement made by the Assistant Secretary of the U.S. State Department, William H. Sullivan:

"...when Mr. Nixon decided May 8 to mine North Vietnam's harbors, 'he produced a situation in which North Vietnam became 100% dependent upon China for the provision of its equipment. Everything coming from the Soviet Union had to transit Chinese territory....Nothing could go through the waters and come into Haiphong overseas. This means that China's preoccupation with Soviet encirclement came into play. This means that China's feeling that it would rather have four Balkanized states in Indochina rather than an Indochina that was dominated by Hanoi and possibly susceptible to Moscow came into play."

—New York Times, 31 January 1973, quoting Sullivan on "Meet the Press"

Thus the mining and bombing of Haiphong harbor actually facilitated the Sino-American detente and the Nixon visit. The Chinese bureaucracy was only too eager to accept continued U.S. presence in Vietnam, as long as the Soviet presence could be weakened.

North Vietnam: pawn captured by its past betrayals

The North Vietnamese bureaucracy was caught in a double contradiction. As Stalinist bureaucrats, they were prepared to betray the interests of the international proletariat just as fully as their counterparts in Moscow or Peking, capable of defending the working people's gains only in a deformed way and only when an implacable imperialism seemed imminently to threaten the very existence of the workers states upon which the bureaucracies themselves rest. But for the Vietnamese Stalinists, the "one country" to whose "socialism" they owed their power was Vietnam. As bureaucrats, they rested on a genuine social revolution where the masses had expelled the imperialists, nationalized property and established a monopoly of foreign trade. Yet in the absence of workers democracy,

soviet and a revolutionary party, the state upon which the privileged bureaucracy rests represents both the *economic expropriation of the capitalists* and the *political expropriation of the workers*.

The North Vietnamese bureaucracy never questioned the "theory of socialism in one country" even when poised as a dagger at their throats by "socialist" Russia and China. Just as the North Vietnamese bureaucracy had in the past invited the French back into Indochina after WWII and exterminated the Trotskyists who controlled Saigon's trade unions, so also in 1954 they showed themselves quite willing to "build socialism in one-half a country." As late as April 1960, on the eve of the NLF's formation, Le Duan stated:

"...in the present conjuncture, when the possibility exists to maintain a lasting peace [:] in the world and create favorable conditions for the world movement of socialist revolution and national independence to go forward we can and must guide and restrict [:] within the South the solving of the contradiction between imperialism and the colonies of our country."

The Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth [predecessor of the SYL] stands for the unconditional defense of the gains of the social revolutions which have taken place in the deformed workers states. Insofar as the bureaucracies in these states, motivated by their own self-interest, and in their half-hearted, partial and deformed way, are willing to defend these gains, we will fight beside them. Thus we stand for the unconditional military victory of the DRV-NLF.

A social revolution is going on in South Vietnam. South Vietnamese capitalism has collapsed. The withdrawal of American troops deprives the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie, such as it is, of its last two sources of private accumulation: prostitution and the heroin trade. Saigon generals can continue to fatten their Swiss bank accounts by selling the sophisticated military hardware the U.S. left behind (and which they do not know how to use anyway) to the NLF. But the prospect for this kind of lucrative business, as the KMT generals discovered in 1949, is very short-term! The sole social base of the Thieu regime is American fire power. Without massive U.S. bombing of the South, the 4 million refugees will flee the "strategic hamlets" and provide the NLF with the social base and new recruits of which the nine-point program deprived them.

This is not to say the recent settlement is not a betrayal. Indeed, it is but part of a *strategy of betrayal*. It abandons 100,000 political prisoners, most of whom are NLF cadre or supporters, to the fate of tiger cages, Phoenix Programs and prison islands. It leaves the Thieu regime, police, army, and prisons intact. It permits the U.S. to maintain Vietnam ringed with bases while it agrees to do what American military power

couldn't accomplish: it cuts off troop movements between North and South Vietnam. After decades of heroic struggle, the Vietnamese working masses have been betrayed into a truce which is at best a dangerous gamble....

Two duties for U.S. revolutionaries

For the U.S. and its puppet allies in South Vietnam, the war is an imperialist colonial one—for the DRV-NLF its character is both civil and revolutionary. This dual character places before any tendency claiming to be socialist the duties of both *revolutionary defeatism* and *revolutionary defensism*.

The duty of revolutionary defeatism is the duty to link the struggle against the war to one's "own" government and ruling class. The imperialist war must be turned into a civil class war for the proletarian dictatorship. The vehicle for such a struggle is the creation on an international scale of revolutionary vanguard parties of the type which the SL/RCY is constructing. Workers must be mobilized on the basis of the transitional program which links the historical tasks of the class with its objective needs. The struggle is waged also against alien ideologies within the working-class movement and their organizational embodiment in the "Sign Now"—"Peace Now"—"Cease Fire Now"—"Anti-Communist Imperialist Labor Party Now" varieties of both the ostensibly revolutionary groups in the U.S. and the trade-union bureaucracy. Only the SL/RCY has consistently fought for a *revolutionary-defeatist class-struggle position* against the Vietnam war under the banner of turning the antiwar movement into an anti-capitalist movement — "Labor Political Strikes Against Imperialist War!"

Revolutionaries have the further obligation to call for *revolutionary defensism* toward North Vietnam and the NLF/DRV-held territory. The general tendency on the U.S. left has been to adapt to Stalinism, or, conversely, to view the war as a civil war only, where two (generally equally bad) sides are competing.

For these fake-Marxist tendencies "revolutionary defensism" has meant either wrapping oneself in an NLF flag while looking sanctimoniously at any who dare criticize, or pretending that there is no revolution.

Once again, only the SL/RCY has carried out a consistently revolutionary defensist position. While calling for the *unconditional military defense* of the Stalinist-led DRV-NLF we have not allowed petty-bourgeois radical public opinion to stand in the way of our *political attacks* on that leadership. We have consistently pointed out the contradictory nature of Stalinism as a parasite which saps the strength of social revolution but which is forced to defend the gains of the social revolution

when its own existence is in danger.

Furthermore, we have always made a rigid distinction between the specific political party of the South Vietnamese Stalinists (the People's Revolutionary Party) and the popular-frontist NLF. Equally, we have pointed out the dual-front nature of the Provisional Revolutionary Government as composed of both NLF and non-NLF bourgeois forces.

We have consistently pointed out the dual-power situation existing in South Vietnam and have called upon the PRP to take power in its own name. We alone have called for a Communist Indochina—a demand which exposes those left groups in the U.S. adapting to petty-bourgeois public opinion and which exposes the Stalinist betrayals of the interests of the Vietnamese toiling masses.

DOWN WITH THE ROBBERS' PEACE!—ALL INDOCHINA MUST GO COMMUNIST!

-Excerpted from "For A Communist Indochina!," Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter No. 16, April 1973

Guerrillas Sacrificed On Detente Altar

On numerous recent occasions the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has expressed its interest in the maintenance of U.S. militarism in Asia. Several months ago Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping indicated during a meeting with American newspaper editors that U.S. forces stationed in Japan should not be withdrawn (*New York Times*, 3 June 1975). The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (13 June) with unconcealed satisfaction has observed, "Peking no longer objects vociferously to U.S. military bases in Japan (or indeed in other parts of the region into which the Soviet Union might move should the U.S. withdraw)." Likewise, the *New York Times* (12 July) reports approvingly that China has voiced its support for a strong U.S. military force in Asia, and "For that reason China has carefully avoided criticism of American bases in the region." And one high-ranking U.S. diplomat in the Philippines bluntly "summed up" the Chinese policy, as follows: "China and every other Asian country want the U.S. here" (quoted in *New York Times*, 19 April)....

When Malaysian Prime Minister Abdul Razak traveled to Peking to negotiate diplomatic agreements, the Chinese press praised this reactionary swine, who has waged bloody campaigns of extermination against the Communist Party of Malaya/Malayan National Liberation Army, for "safeguarding national independence and sovereignty" (*Jen-min jih-pao*, 28 May 1974). During the discussions the Chinese Stalinist leaders assured Razak that their "support" for the desperate pro-Peking guerrillas was "only verbal and moral" (reported in *New York Times*, 30 May 1974).

When the Malaysian insurgents recently began to acquire small numbers of U.S. arms, apparently through the Thai black market, the Chinese ambassador in Malaysia several times publicly reiterated that China gives absolutely no support to the guerrillas (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 July). The Chinese protestations were confirmed by a correspondent in Malaysia for the *Wall Street Journal*, who reported on June 16 that the insurgents "surprisingly never before have been supplied by Communist allies."

In the Philippines the Maoist Communist Party/New People's Army for years has sustained armed struggle against the military dictatorship of the Marcos gang, although advocating a multi-class, "people's democratic" bourgeois regime sub-

ordinating the exploited to their exploiters. But the Chinese are prepared to abandon the Philippine rebels as a gesture of their reliability as an ally of a stable bourgeois Philippines. Thus, the China-Philippines pact signed in Peking amidst unprecedented fanfare condemns "subversion and all attempts by any country to control any other country or to interfere in its internal affairs."

According to the Philippine Foreign Secretary, the Chinese informed Marcos in Peking that his military dictatorship "should be free to deal with any insurgency, subversion or rebellion" and that "revolutions would not be exported" (quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 11 July). Upon his return to the Philippines the butcher Marcos publicly declared that his previous "doubts" concerning China's willingness to cease supporting the guerrillas had been dispelled completely in Peking (*New York Times*, 12 June)....

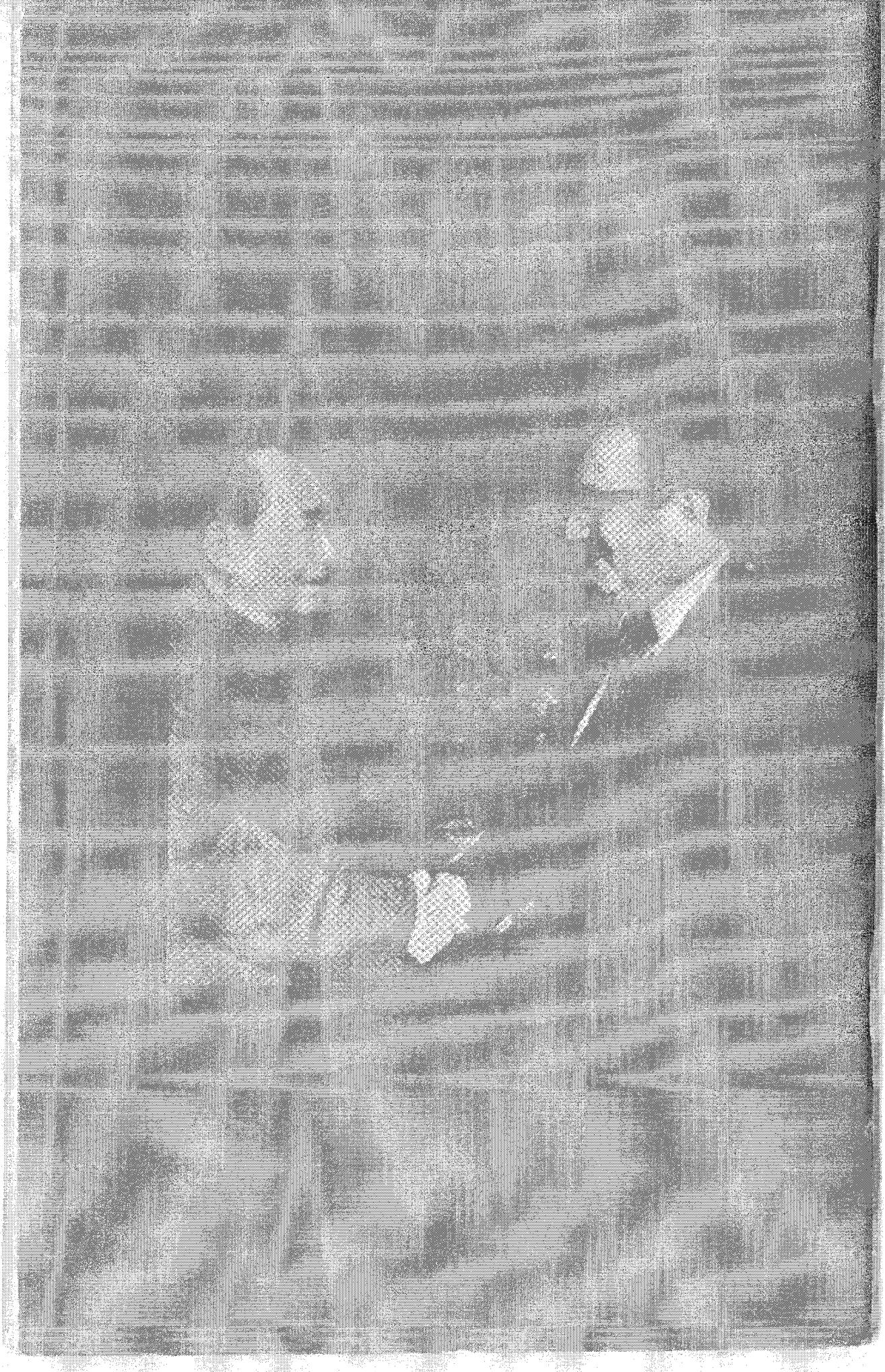
Last year Chou En-lai assured the Thai Defense Minister that "China had stopped supporting insurgents in Thailand, Laos and other Southeast Asian countries" (reported in *New York Times*, 17 February 1975). Furthermore, the day after the China-Thailand accords were signed, Thai Premier Kukrit Pramoj acknowledged that China did not support the Thai guerrilla forces (*New York Times*, 3 July).

When Pramoj raised the issue of the four U.S. bases and 19,000 American military personnel in Thailand, the Chinese delegation, he reports with surprise, remained "neutral" on the question. On the "guerrilla problem," however, the Chinese were not at all neutral.

According to Pramoj, Mao himself offered unsolicited advice on means to "solve the problem of Communist insurgents in Thailand" (quoted in *New York Times*, 10 July). According to Pramoj's account, which has not been disputed or denied by the Chinese government, Mao suggested that the Thai government not engage the guerrillas in combat ("If you send in soldiers, the insurgents will run away into the jungle, and when the soldiers leave the insurgents will return") and not conduct propaganda campaigns or reprisals against them ("You will make martyrs of them"). Mao is concerned with the stability of the fragile bourgeois regime in Thailand; as for the guerrillas, let them rot in the jungle!

Mao renounced the guerrillas knowing full well that his advice would be publicized and employed by the Thai government to discredit and demoralize the insurgents. Indeed, following Pramoj's return from China, the leading Thai English-language press, *The Nation*, headlined: "MAO TELLS HOW TO PUT DOWN REDS."

-excerpted from Young Spartacus No. 35, September 1975



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