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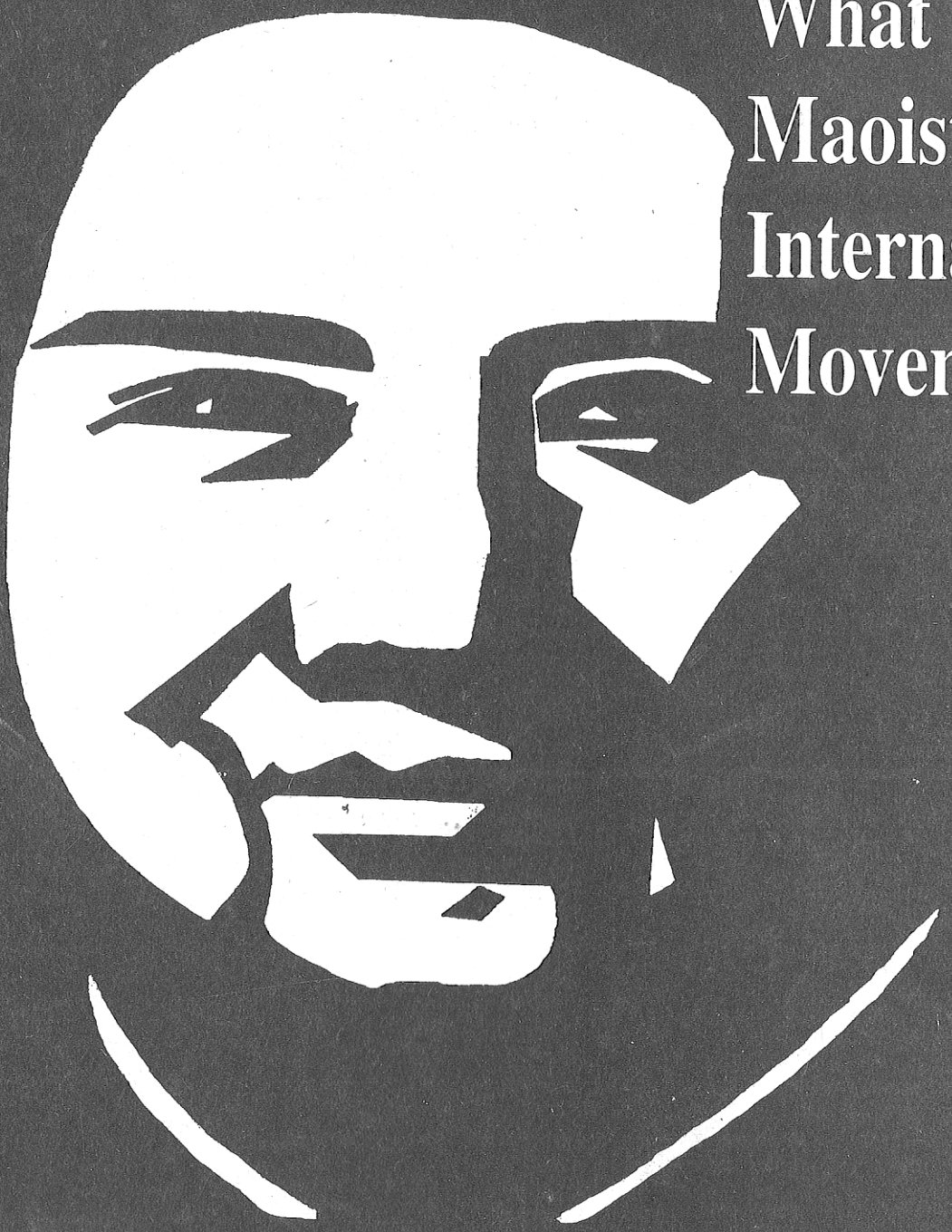
What is the Maoist Internationalist Movement?



Contents

Program of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

October 1995

What we want - What we beleive

1. **We want communism.** We believe that anyone who opposes all oppression—power of groups over groups—is a communist. This includes opposition to national oppression, class oppression and gender oppression.

2. **We want socialism.** We believe that socialism is the path to communism. We believe that the current dictatorship of the bourgeoisie oppresses the world's majority. We believe that socialism—the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry—is a necessary step towards a world without inequality or dictatorship—a communist world. We uphold the USSR under Lenin and Stalin (1917-1953) and China under Mao (1949-1976) as models in this regard.

3. **We want revolutionary armed struggle.** We believe that the oppressors will not give up their power without a fight. Ending oppression is only possible by building public opinion to seize power through armed struggle. We believe, however, that armed struggle in the imperialist countries is a serious strategic mistake until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless. Revolution will become a reality for North America as the U.S. military becomes over-extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony.

"We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun." —Mao Zedong

4. **We want organization.** We believe that democratic-centralism, the system of unified application of majority decisions, is necessary to defeat the oppressors. This system includes organization, leadership, discipline and hierarchy. The oppressors use these weapons, and we should too. By building a disciplined revolutionary communist vanguard party, we follow in the tradition of comrades Lenin, Mao and Huey Newton.

5. **We want independent institutions of and for the oppressed.** We believe that the oppressed need independent media to build public opinion for socialist revolution. We believe that the oppressed need independent institutions to provide land, bread, housing, education, medical care, clothing, justice and peace. We believe that the best independent institution of all is a self-reliant socialist government.

6. **We want continuous revolution.** We believe that class struggle continues under socialism. We believe that under socialism, the danger exists for a new bourgeoisie to arise within the communist party itself. We believe that these new oppressors will restore capitalism unless they are stopped. We believe that the bourgeoisie seized power in the USSR after the death of Stalin in 1953; in China it was after Mao's death and the overthrow of the "Gang of Four" in 1976. We believe that China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) is the farthest advance towards communism in human history, because it mobilized millions of people against the restoration of capitalism.

7. **We want a united front against imperialism.** We believe that the imperialists are currently waging a hot war—a World War III—against the world's oppressed nations, including the U.S. empire's internal colonies. We seek to unite all who can be united under proletarian and feminist leadership against imperialism, capitalism and patriarchy.

We believe that the imperialist-country working classes are primarily a pro-imperialist labor aristocracy at this time. Likewise, we believe that the biological-women of the imperialist countries are primarily a gender aristocracy. Thus, while we recruit individuals from these and other reactionary groups to work against their class, national and gender interests, we do not seek strategic unity with these groups. In fact, we believe that the imperialist-country working-classes and imperialist-country biological-women, like the bourgeoisies and petit-bourgeoisies, owe reparations to the international proletariat and peasantry. As such, one of the first strategic steps MIM will take upon winning state power will be to open the borders.

We believe that socialism in the imperialist countries will require the dictatorship of the *international* proletariat and that the imperialist-country working-classes will need to be on the receiving end of this dictatorship.

8. **We want New Democracy for the oppressed nations.** We want power for the oppressed nations to determine their destinies.

We believe that oppressed people will not be free until they are able to determine their destinies. We look forward to the day when oppressed people will live without imperialist police terror and will learn to speak their mind without fear of the consequences from the oppressor. When this day comes, meaningful plebiscites can be held in which the peoples will decide for themselves if they want their own separate nation-states or some other arrangement.

9. **We want world revolution.** We believe it is our duty to support Marxism-Leninism-Maoism everywhere, though our principal task is to build public opinion and independent institutions in preparation for Maoist revolution in North America. The imperialists think and act globally—we must do the same.

10. **We want politics in command.** We believe that correct tactics flow from correct strategies, which flow from a correct ideological and political line. We believe that the fight against imperialism, capitalism and patriarchy goes hand-in-hand with the fight against revisionism, chauvinism, and opportunism.

"The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power." —Mao Zedong ★

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What is MIM?

The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) is a revolutionary communist party that upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. MIM is an internationalist organization that works from the vantage point of the Third World proletariat; thus, its members are not Amerikans, but world citizens.

MIM struggles to end the oppression of all groups over groups: classes, genders, nations. MIM knows this is only possible by building public opinion to seize power through armed struggle.

Revolution is a reality for the United States as the military becomes over extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony.

MIM differs from other communist parties on three main questions: (1) MIM holds that after the proletariat seizes power in socialist revolution, the potential exists for capitalist restoration under the leadership of a new bourgeoisie within the communist party itself. In the case of the USSR, the bourgeoisie seized power after the death of Stalin in 1953; in China, it was after Mao's death and the overthrow of the "Gang of Four" in 1976. (2) MIM upholds the Chinese Cultural Revolution as the farthest advance of communism in human history. (3) MIM believes the North American white-working class is primarily a non-revolutionary worker-elite at this time; thus, it is not the principal vehicle to advance Maoism in this country.

MIM accepts people as members who agree on these basic principles and accept democratic centralism, the system of majority rule, on other questions of party line.

The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution.

—Mao Zedong, Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 208

Main principles

Published MIM Notes 40, March 4, 1990
Revised July 1991 by MCØ
Revised September 1995

This document was published in MIM Notes 40 (March 4, 1990) and has since been accepted by party-wide vote. It updates somewhat the founding documents and helps distinguish MIM's line from that of other parties. This is also intended to demonstrate, in down-to-Earth terms, what it means to be a communist and Maoist.

As a communist vanguard party, MIM attempts to take a stand on every issue through an informed membership and active discussion in its newspaper and theoretical journal.

MIM knows that it is not possible to change the fundamental nature of the United States without an armed revolution. The ballot box will simply never fundamentally alter the dominance of men over women, the capitalist class over the proletarian class, or the white nation over the Black, Latino and First Nations.

There are several areas, however, which are the main focus of MIM's attack on capitalist Amerika.

The power of oppressor over oppressed groups. In this category the party works to end the oppression of women, oppressed nationals and classes. In the long run, communists also favor the abolition of the state and the distinction between leaders and led, city and countryside and mental and manual labor as well. The destruction of class inequalities will not automatically destroy sexism, heterosexism, national chauvinism or racism and the party must have a separate analysis of these oppressions.

Amongst these issues, MIM focuses on imperialism, social-imperialism and militarism as most strategic at this moment in history. Currently, no movement against oppression can ultimately succeed without the abolition of imperialism and militarism.

Imperialism. Lenin defines imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism within a country characterized by large multi-national corporations that invest abroad. This includes the phenomena of the First World taking from the less developed Third World. The United States, Europe and Japan build factories which employ "cheap labor" in underdeveloped countries such as Mexico, Brazil or Singapore. The industries provide only subsistence wages or less to their workers while turning superprofits on the goods which are then sold to the First World.

The same companies use force and generally enjoy the support of the governments in their home countries—imperialist governments—to keep Third World workers in their place and destroy the economy and environment of these countries. The white people who work for these companies in the United States are satisfied with their high wages and cheap goods while the Third World pays the price. MIM believes that all actions by revolutionaries taken in the United States must be dictated by the interests of the international proletariat, which overwhelmingly resides in the Third World.

Social-imperialism. Social-imperialism is a phrase that refers to "socialism in words, imperialism in deeds." It applies to the former Soviet Union after the death of Stalin which had a history of imperialist practices most obvious in the Soviet bombing of Eritrea, the invasion of Afghanistan and the general maneuvering to secure an international sphere of influence.

Militarism. MIM opposes militarism at all levels, from the police at the grassroots to the U.S. military acting as global cops to enforce the U.S. political and economic agenda. This means moving against military research in universities, mobilizing against police power, and supporting liberation struggles against the U.S. military. Ireland, East Timor and the Philippenes are all countries with liberation struggles which MIM supports against imperialism despite varying levels of agreement on the platform or strategy. In all U.S. imperialist wars, including those against other imperialists, MIM hopes for U.S. defeat.

World War is not in the interest of the international proletariat. The proletariat does the dying and the imperialists make the profits.

The breadth of the current World War III worsening. MIM believes that as U.S. hegemony crumbles as it has been doing since the mid-1970s, the U.S. military machine is likely to become overextended and even trigger a possible nuclear holocaust. The signs are obvious: the invasions of Lebanon and Grenada, the mining of a Nicaraguan harbor, and the invasions of Panama, Iraq, Somalia and Haiti. U.S. troops are involved in maneuvers worldwide and the potential for a multiple engagements which would strain the All Volunteer Forces is easily foreseen. MIM is vigilant against militarism and imperialism and when U.S. troops are fighting in foreign wars even people without a serious interest in revolutionary change may sympathize with MIM. ★

The materialist method:
How to choose an ideology

by MC5
From "What's your line?", a MIM pamphlet

One of the common questions in the left movement is: What work is the most effective? MIM answers this via historical comparison. This is the process of looking at history to see which ideologies most successfully brought about revolution.

It is only by examining the practice of various ideologies over the long run of history that one can decide which ideology is the most effective in promoting the end of oppression of oppressed groups by oppressor groups. In contrast, some people think it is fair to compare an abstract idea with an actual movement. That is not the materialist method. Once one allows ideas to be compared to actual, historical movements one has no way of stopping all kinds of comparisons of ideas to actual practices. One can only compare practices with practices.

It is intellectuals and Trotskyists who compare practices to ideas to see how good or bad the practice is. With this comparison, for example, it is easy to shoot down the practice of Stalinism with the ideas of Trotskyism or the ideas of Madison and Jefferson or any idea for that matter. This method is not wrong because it is Trotskyist or Madisonian. Rather, Trotskyism is wrong because it uses this idealist method to criticize Stalinism instead of comparing Trotskyist practice with Stalinist practice.

In the same vein, it's not fair to compare Mao with Jesus Christ in the abstract. Maybe Mao did not obey the 10 Commandments. But his followers have a better practice than the Christians when it comes to ending oppression.

The only time it is correct to evaluate a practice in relationship to an idea is within that practice. Maoists can determine if there are better ways to be Maoists and tap existing potential by discussing ideas within Maoism. Even then, the only proof of the validity of a new Maoist idea is by comparing one Maoist practice with another Maoist practice.

Hence MIM uses the "where's the beef" taunt to everyone else. There are an infinity of logically consistent ideas ranging from professors' pet economic models to Hare Krishna. Only some ideas, however, have come with practices to end oppression. By choosing the ideology that goes with the most historically effective practice of social change to end oppression, one separates oneself from dogmatism and religion. Dogmatism may take the form of believing in reform no matter what; it may take the form of opposing dogma all the time, but in every case dogmatism and religion really amount to comparing apples and oranges, the apples being ideas and the oranges, practices. Dogmatists of all stripes conclude that oranges should be more like apples. In contrast, Marxist materialists just pick the best oranges.

MIM forms the following conclusions on the materialist method:

1. In debate, we must decide when it is appropriate to compare practices with each other.

2. Then we must decide on when it is appropriate to develop ideas within a practice. ★

Definitions

Maoism. It does little to say that Maoism is the writings of Mao Zedong—or the doctrine which guided the first successful Third World peasant revolution that liberated China in 1949. Complete revolution is fundamental to MIM's view of Maoism. This means that all social, cultural, political and economic relations must be revolutionized and that people will not be liberated by simply breaking the state or smashing capitalism. Groups, individuals or ideologies which choose one issue— imperialism, racism, capitalism, sexism—as central typically cede the other areas to the status quo. Maoism dictates that while struggling against the state, the Party must establish a new and revolutionary culture not based on ideologies of domination and greed. The Party must lead a revolution against class, gender and national chauvinisms within its ranks and against the state. Maoism accepts Lenin's concept of a vanguard party. This means that MIM believes there is a best way to do things given the options at hand and this must be struggled for.

Mao was the first communist leader to argue that class struggle continues under socialism and that such struggle must go on within and against the Party.

In a historical sense Maoism as a doctrine liberated China and influenced many other revolutionary movements including ones inside the United States. MIM draws on the history of other revolutions and other social movements to form its analysis.

Capitalism. Capitalism exists where non-workers control the production of wage-workers, even if private property is officially state property. Under capitalism, democracy for the working classes is undermined through people's lack of control of their own workplace and society as a whole. Workers have little say in how their workplace is organized or what will be produced. In the United States, people in the inner cities have little control over their environment. They do not control the police or the spending of their tax money. And certainly the "justice" system is out of control.

Socialism. This involves organizing societies according to people's needs, not what is profitable. MIM's vision of socialism involves the highest amount of proletarian democracy possible. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the system of power which maintains democracy, means that all the people will be able to control their own environments collectively rather than having them dictated by a more powerful class. In the United States, the rich (the capitalist class) dictate how the government runs and how work and culture are structured. Under socialism, the capitalist class will be disarmed in favor of a dictatorship of the proletariat (the people instead of a few rich pigs).

State Capitalism. Under state capitalism, the state nominally owns the means of production, but production is organized around the profitability of individual enterprises or sectors, not the needs of the people. The Soviet Union became state capitalist under Khrushchev, and China became state capitalist under Deng. In both cases, a new bourgeoisie developed within the state apparatus and the Communist Party itself.

Revisionism. Revisionism refers to political views that claim to be Marxist yet revise Marx's work fundamentally by failing to apply the scientific method of dialectical materialism. Revisionists commonly downplay class struggle, overplay the struggle to increase production and technical progress compared with political matters, don't believe imperialism is dangerous, advocate reformist means of change and don't uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. MIM also calls revisionists phony communists or state capitalists if they are in power.

Labor aristocracy. "Labor aristocracy" refers to the working class that benefits from the imperialist world's superexploitation of the Third World. For example, white workers in the United States benefit from the superexploitation of the Third World so greatly, that as a class, they are no longer exploited at all and in fact benefit from imperialism. ★

Who is a communist?

Communism is the abolition of power of people over people. This means abolishing "oppression," whether the oppression be of nations by nations, classes by classes, women by men or any other division in society. Communism is based on mutual cooperation, peace and justice instead of oppression.

Many people have communist intentions, that is, they want to abolish oppression and claim work towards communism. Because MIM judges political movements based on their long term effects relative to other real-life movements, MIM encourages people with communist intentions to study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which we believe has proved the most effective path towards communism. MIM reserves the term "communist" for those who share our views on the historic attempts in foreign countries to move toward communism and apply the method of dialectical materialism to current problems.

The dividing line questions for communists involve an understanding of the two largest, most socialist experiments: China and the Soviet Union. MIM believes communists must agree on two important questions:

1. **The Soviet Union was a state capitalist country.** This means that while the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution set Russia on the course of communism--and the socialist road was followed under Stalin--the struggle was in the end lost and the bourgeois restoration in the USSR was evidenced as it adopted capitalist methods and economy. The same process of bourgeois restoration happened in China after the death of Mao and the arrest of the so-called Gang of Four. State capitalism means that the state runs the economy according to capitalist accounting such as profitability and markets, not human need. There exists a state class of bureaucrats which controls production, a state bourgeoisie.

2. **The Chinese Cultural Revolution** was the farthest historical advance toward communism. From 1966 to 1976 in China, all of society was placed in a state of internal revolution, mostly the mobilization of the workers, students and peasants against the party bureaucracy to make it more accountable to the masses. It was a restructuring of health care, education, work and cultural values right down to daily life. This ended in 1976 when the "Gang of Four", Mao's successors, were arrested in a coup.

Communists in the First World and in oppressed nations within imperialist borders must agree on a third question:

3. **The imperialist nation working classes** are not exploited and not revolutionary at this time. As a labor aristocracy, their interests are opposed to that of the international proletariat.

In the Third World, this question is important in the struggle to recognize one's international friends as separate from one's enemies. This question is not of dividing line importance in the Third World, however.

Finally, communists believe that a communist party--not just ad hoc or individual organizing--is necessary. MIM accepts people as members who understand and accept these three positions and who will carry out party discipline on all other issues. This means upholding the party line in public, democratic centralism.

People working to end oppression who do not agree with MIM on these three questions or do not believe in the necessity of a party belong in other organizations--organizations MIM believes belong to political trends that are historically proven to be less effective in bringing about the end of oppression.

MIM expresses general unity with all other groups and outbreaks against imperialism: mass movements against oppression have as many forms as forms of power. In this sprit, the party insists on telling people the uncompromised truth and discusses and criticizes the strategy and tactics of any given action.

MIM encourages everyone, communist or not, to be involved in the struggle against imperialism.. ★

Myths about Maoism

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Revised September, 1995 by two RAIL Comrades

Common misperceptions

1. As many as 30 million died in the Great Leap from famine and execution caused by Mao.

2. There was widespread violence perpetrated by Mao in the Cultural Revolution.

3. Mao opposed intellectuals, education and individuality.

The Great Leap - "Mao was a butcher"

Western scholars have estimated that between 16.4 million and 29.5 million people died in the Great Leap Forward.(1) It is a common argument that this was due to executions ordered by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. People who know a little more about the history of China know about the famine, natural disasters and starvation during this period. However, they often attribute these starvation deaths to malicious programs and mismanagement of industrialization and distribution of goods.

The first problem with these myths is that they are based on inaccurate statistics. Such high mortality figures are based on comparing projected population size with actual population size. This method assumes constant population growth, which is far from reality during tumultuous periods in history such as a revolution. The statistics are also based on figures supplied by the bourgeoisie and revisionists, which were enemies of the Great Leap.

In reality, the deaths attributed to the Great Leap (1958-60) are mostly due to starvation, particularly from the Great Leap's aftermath (1960-1), not executions. Flooding and drought seriously affected over half of China's land in that famine. The Soviet Union withdrew its industrial aid in 1960 causing a virtual halt in most of China's industry. The Soviet Union had agreed to provide about 300 modern industrial plants but only 154 were completed by 1960.(2) Thousands of Soviet technicians who were in China to assist with industrial development left within the period of a month, taking with them their blue-prints and stopping supply shipments.(3)

Mao did claim government responsibility for 800,000 executions between 1949 and 1954. These were popularly sanctioned executions done in people's trials against the most hated landlords and pro-Japanese (pro-imperialist) elements who had terrorized the masses.(4)

Neither Mao, nor the Chinese Communist Party claimed that the Great Leap Forward had been without mistakes. Self criticism is an important part of Maoism, and Mao himself wrote self criticisms on some practices of the Great Leap. Unlike the Soviets, the Chinese admitted when the goals they had set for themselves had been too high, and were unreasonable.

It is not surprising that these myths are so actively propagated by capitalist countries, which are far more deserving of the label "butcher." Fourteen million children, mostly from capitalist Asian countries, die each year from starvation.(5) Using the same methods that the bourgeois scholars and media use, in the United States in 1986, 75,980 Blacks died from having inadequate health care.(6) If the United States were the same size as China, that would mean the death of over 300,000 Black people annually!

With a quarter of the world's children, if China hadn't been liberated by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, that situation would be much worse today. As it was, 22 million Chinese died of starvation during World War II, thanks to Japanese imperialism and the U.S.-backed regime. Under Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the life expectancy of the Chinese people doubled from 35 under the capitalist Kuomintang to 69.(7)

The Cultural Revolution - "Mao perpetrated violence"

The Cultural Revolution is another popular target of the imperialists. western analysis commonly attribute all violence that occurred between 1966-76 to Mao.

Although there were only a handful of Western observers in China during the Cultural Revolution, most western observers are willing to attribute hundreds of thousands or millions of deaths to the Cultural Revolution. Usually there are no specifics, as there are few first-hand accounts by westerners. No westerner can claim a comprehensive study. While it is possible that there were millions of deaths during the Cultural Revolution, they were not ordered by Mao. Mao explicitly ordered that the Cultural Revolution be non-violent. Central Committee directives of the Communist Party stated that "When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force."(8) Furthermore, the violence which occurred during civil war was largely the responsibility of factions opposed to Mao.

Mao's enemies in China were more realistic than the western propagandists. They directly blamed Mao and his followers, the so-called Gang of Four, for a total of 34,000 executions or deaths caused by other means of repression during the Cultural Revolution. If Mao's enemies are correct, should the 34,000 have been executed? MIM does not know the facts. Nor does anyone except Mao's imprisoned followers, Mao's high-ranking enemies in the party and the masses at large, who have not been asked in any systematic way.

Mao, in the form of self-criticism, stated that there had been too many executions during the Cultural Revolution. In this writing, Mao expressed his philosophy, which is also MIM's. According to Mao, it may be justified to execute a murderer or someone who blows up a factory, however, in most cases, including all cases in the schools, government and army, Mao believed: "What harm is there in not executing people? Those amenable to labour reform should go and do labour reform, so that rubbish can be transformed into something useful. Besides, people's heads are not like leeks. When you cut them off, they will not grow again. If you cut off a head wrongly, there is no way of rectifying the mistake even if you want to."(9)

If people calling themselves Maoists did not carry this philosophy out, MIM does not defend them. MIM does know for sure, and the statistics are available even in the United States for all to see, that Mao accomplished the most of any political leader this century and probably ever in history in reducing all kinds of violence combined.

Even many of Mao's own enemies who were purged (expelled) from the party survived. Deng Xiaoping, current leader of China, survived being purged as the number two ranking revisionist and was sent to re-education camp. On June 3-4, 1989, Deng ordered the army to fire on hundreds of student demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. This violence is of course a small portion of the violence caused by capitalist restoration in China.

Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, with little outside help, brought about major changes in a developing country while carrying out a revolution and civil war. It is a mistake to hold the Chinese Communist Party, or particularly Mao, an individual, responsible for everything that occurred under their leadership. In the United States, a developed country which is not functioning in conditions anywhere near as difficult as those of Communist China, annually there are 20,000 murders, 75,000 deaths of Blacks because of systematic national opression, the death of a worker from work-related causes every five minutes, and the death of a child every 50 minutes for lack of food or money.(10)

Intellectuals and education were repressed under Mao

Many western people believe that Mao was against "real" education and "intellectuals" during the Cultural Revolution, and that schools were tools for "brain-washing" and "propaganda". These beliefs come from stories about the closing of universities in China, new requirements and regulations for textbooks and research, and new controls over what types of art and theater were to be encouraged or allowed. Some of this information was brought to westerners by Chinese intellectuals who left China before or during the Cultural Revolution—they left because they believed their way of life and status was threatened by these changes.

Westerners define "real" education as that which resembles western educational topics and agendas; i.e. studying history and literature from the point of view of the oppressors and imperialists, mathematics/sci-

ence with the goal of research toward technological or medical advances that increase the wealth and power of the ruling classes, and studying to the point of expertise and academic status but without emphasis on practical experience or usefulness for the community.

Westerners perceive Chinese education under Mao as "propaganda" because it encourages values and goals which contradict the goals of capitalism. These values and goals taught in China during the Cultural Revolution were consistent with the building of socialism. Education in western nations is not perceived as "propaganda" by those who, consciously or not, agree with the goals of capitalism/imperialism and patriarchy. Similarly, advertising for capitalist products, while recognized as very influential on people's opinions and actions, is not perceived as "brain-washing" by those who benefit from capitalism and have therefore decided to tolerate it.

Western perceptions of Maoist attitudes toward education, intellectuals and art were mostly based on information from Chinese who rejected socialism, or from foreigners who examined the events in China from an outsider's viewpoint. You can gain a more realistic picture of the educational revolution in China by reading books by authors who support what's best for the majority of the people, and who were closely involved in the changes going on. For example, William Hinton's *Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University* explains how socialism developed and old oppressive educational ideas were dismantled in the context of a famous institute of science and engineering:

"Students now spend as much time in the factories and on the construction sites of greater Peking as they do in classrooms and laboratories, and professors devote as much energy to developing liaison with the scores of factories and enterprises with which the university is allied as they do to lecturing and advising students. No longer will thousands of privileged young men and women withdraw into the leafy wonderland of Tsinghua to crack books until they are too old to laugh. No longer will they stuff their heads with mathematical formulas relating to the outmoded industrial practices of pre-war Europe and America, sweat through 'surprise attack' exams, and then emerge after years of isolation from production and political engagement unable to tell high-carbon steel from ordinary steel or a 'proletarian revolutionary' from a 'revisionist.'

"In primary school dead serious about reading books.

"In middle school read dead books seriously.

"In the university seriously read books to death!" (11)

Mao did not oppose education. He opposed western-style education because of its use in creating and justifying the existence of self-interested classes that don't necessarily serve the public. Instead, education and intellectuals should only serve the public, and as part of this doctrine, Mao ordered the intellectuals to go live with the peasants to help the peasants, educate the peasants and learn from the peasants.

The majority of China's population was poor and illiterate and had very little access to basic needs, education or medical care. Regarding medical education, Mao said in 1965: "Medical education should be reformed. There's no need to read so many books. ... It will be enough to give three years to graduates from higher primary schools. They would then study and raise their standards mainly through practice. If this kind of doctor is sent down to the countryside, even if they haven't much talent, they would be better than quacks and witch doctors and the villages would be better able to afford to keep them. ... the way doctors are trained is only for the benefit of the cities. And yet in China over 500 million of our population are peasants."(12)

And in fact, one of many socialist programs developed was the barefoot doctors, who were peasants trained for a few months in basic medical care and then worked in their village to prevent disease and injury, improve sanitation, and treat common medical problems. (13)

The following was the order issued by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966:

"As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of unity-criticism-unity." (14)

Vast improvements were made in the educational system in China. Old capitalist-based textbooks were put aside and new textbooks were used to teach the history and politics from the perspective of the majority of the people. For example, *Fundamentals of Political Economy*: a popular introductory Marxist economic text, was published in 1974 (Shanghai People's Press) and studied by schoolchildren. Also, the literacy rate in China increased dramatically.

Despite these major improvements, not all educational reforms were correct. There were people calling themselves "Maoists" who advocated attacking *all* intellectuals and 95% of the Communist Party members during the Cultural Revolution. Mao called these people "ultra-leftists" because they used socialist language and ideas to justify extreme actions without first trying to discuss and encourage these intellectuals to change their ways.(15)

Mao (and the CCP) made self-criticisms for being too violent in the past. Mao learned from the mistakes. Materialists know that we do not have to repeat others' mistakes: we build on their furthest advances and the struggle moves forward. ★

Notes:

1. Leading bourgeois China scholar Roderick MacFarquhar says 16.4 million to 29.5 million died. *Origins of the Cultural Revolution: Great Leap Forward 1958-60* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 330.
2. Wheelwright, E.L. & McFarlane, Bruce.*The Chinese Road to Socialism: Economics of the Cultural Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), p. 35.
3. Ibid, p. 53.
4. "Whom have we executed? What sort of people? Elements for whom the masses had great hatred, and whose blood-debt was heavy." (*Chairman Mao Talks to the People,* NY: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 77. Mao also said fewer executions would be made in the future. (Ibid., 78)
5. According to Ruth Sivard the figure for the whole world is 14,000,000 annually. The vast majority occur in capitalist Asian countries. *World Military and Social Expenditures 1987-8,* p. 25.
6. Comparing the Black and white populations of the same age in the United States, the mortality rate for Blacks was 7.8 per 1,000 in 1986 and 5.2 for whites. (*Statistical Abstract of the United States 1989,* p. 74) There were 29.223 million Blacks in 1986. (Ibid.)
7. Associated Press in Ann Arbor News, 10/1/89, b9.
8. Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 8/8/66 in *People's China: Social Experimentation, Politics, Entry onto the World Scene 1966 through 1972* (NY: Vintage Books, 1974), p. 277.
9. *Chairman Mao Talks to the People,* p. 78.
10. Vincente Navarro, "Historical Triumph: Capitalism or Socialism?" Monthly Review, November, 1989, pp. 49-50.
11. Hinton,William. *Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University* (Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1972) pp. 13-14
12. "Directive on Public Health, June 26, 1965" *Chairman Mao Talks to the People: Talks and Letters: 1956-1971,* Stuart Schram editor, Pantheon Books, 1974, p. 232.
13. The barefoot doctor program begin in the 1950s and grew into the mid-1970s. They used the official Chinese paramedical manual *A Barefoot Doctor's Manual,* Running Press, 1977.
14. CCP Central Committee, 8/8/66, in *Chairman Mao Talks to the People,* p. 281
15. To see examples of essays by ultra-leftists opposed to Maoism, see the 70s, *China: The Revolution Is Dead, Long live the Revolution,* Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1977

National liberation struggles:
The road from imperialism to socialism

by MC12, October 1994

MIM sees the principal contradiction in the world today as that between imperialism and the oppressed nations, including the oppressed internal nations within the United States. Under these conditions, socialist revolution begins with a national liberation struggle led by a communist vanguard party.

Mao Zedong explained this principle: "When imperialism launches a war of aggression against a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a national war against imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction, while all the other contradictions among the various classes of the country ... are temporarily relegated to a secondary or subordinate position."(1)

Nations are a phenomenon of class society. Class and gender contradictions pre-existed nations. Class and gender contradictions determine national contradictions in the same way that they underlay and determine the contradiction of capitalism. National liberation changes the conditions under which class and gender struggles take place; but national liberation cannot itself resolve the class and gender contradictions.

In the era of imperialism, the dual character of nations is this: the principal contradiction on a world scale is between imperialism and the oppressed nations. This contradiction contains within it many other contradictions: principally the contradictions of class and gender. Thus, the contradictions of class and gender determine the contradictions of imperialism. Through national liberation struggles, proletarian and feminist interests are united in opposition to imperialism and national oppression, thus creating the conditions for the eventual destruction of class and gender oppression as well.

Lenin argued: "In the same way as mankind can arrive at the abolition of classes only through a transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, it can arrive at the inevitable integration of nations only through a transition period of the complete emancipation of all oppressed nations, i.e., their freedom to secede."(2)

The people of the oppressor nations construct class and gender alliances that use nationalism to advance their class and gender interests within oppressor nations at the expense of the people of the oppressed nations. These strategic alliances are mainly two-fold: the alliance of the labor aristocracy and the imperialist bourgeoisie, and the gender alliance between dominant-nation women and dominant-nation men.

The people of the oppressed nations, on the other hand, construct class and gender alliances that advance the interests of their nations and attack the foundations of imperialism. Their struggle is the revolutionary nationalist struggle, comprising an alliance of the working masses with the left-wing of the national bourgeoisie and sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and an alliance between women and left-wing men in the oppressed nation.

In the oppressor nations, the bourgeoisie generally leads the national class alliance, and the patriarchy leads the national gender alliance. In the oppressed nations, the level of leadership gained by the proletariat (or its ideology) in the national class alliance, and the level of leadership gained by feminism within the national gender alliance, determines the revolutionary potential of the national liberation struggle.

Class and gender struggles thus propel national liberation struggles: the class and gender contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations are prioritized over the internal contradictions (and the internal contradictions provide fuel for the fire of the overall movement).

This strategy is the best way to finally defeat imperialism and patriarchy, as historical experience demonstrates. In China, the communists' participation in the national war against Japan was specifically internationalist in perspective, as articulated by Mao:

"[O]nly by fighting in defence of the motherland can we defeat the aggressors and achieve national liberation. And only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and other working people to achieve their own emancipation. The victory of China and the defeat of the invading imperialists will help the people of other countries. Thus in wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism."(3)

This has been advanced in practice in the era of imperialism. But the idea predates modern imperialism, as Frederick Engels touched on it briefly in 1882. Engels said of the workers in Ireland and Poland in 1882 that they had "not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic ... they are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic." Ten years earlier, Engels had argued that Irish workers should have their own national organization, because to ask them to join the British Federal Council would have been an insult.(4)

Not all national struggles in the oppressed nations lead to socialism. The second half of the 20th century is full of countries that won independence only to fall into neocolonialism rather rising toward socialism. The academic Juan Gomez-Quinones explains this:

"Historically, when the working class has been led by Marxists and the class struggle linked with the national liberation struggle, there has been a progressive revolutionary development. When the two have been separated or driven apart, national aspirations are captured by the bourgeoisie and right-wing petty bourgeoisie, who use them for power and advantage."(5)

Thus MIM seeks to pursue national liberation struggles led by communists: a Maoist vanguard party. At present MIM is the only such party in North America; we look forward to the emergence of independent vanguard parties among the oppressed nations within the U.S. and around the world. ★

Notes:
1. Mao Zedong, "On Contradiction," *Selected Works* Vol. 1, p. 331.
2. V.I Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination." January-February 1916. From *Selected Works*, One Volume Edition. International Publishers: New York, 1971. p. 160.
3. Mao, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung*, Vol. II, p. 196.
4. Ian Cummins, *Marx, Engels and National Movements*. London: 1980. p. 104.
5. Juan Gómez-Quiñones, "Critique on the National Question, Self-Determination and Nationalism." Latin American Perspectives, Spring 1982, issue 33, vol. IX, no. 2. p. 77.

Revolutionary feminism

Catharine MacKinnon: Settler feminism's best falls short of revolutionary feminism

by MC5, edited by MCB52 and MC206

For the most part, Catharine MacKinnon's work is the best of recent Amerikan feminism. In this essay, MIM develops an argument on how MacKinnon's methodology is patriarchal.

What MIM cherishes about MacKinnon is that she frames the question of rape and harassment correctly, not that she answers it. MacKinnon makes it much easier for Marxism to enter into a dialogue with settler feminism. She notices that women are oppressed as a group and that all sex is basically rape. She also notices the complicity of First World women in their own situation.

What MIM disagrees with is rooted in what MacKinnon herself calls subjective methodology: "What women experience as degrading and defiling when we are raped includes as much that is distinctive to us as is about our experience of sex."(1) This is a right-on point that leads to a materialist critique of First World feminism that MacKinnon never honestly faces, which explains all the lengthy circumlocutions against Marxist method in her book *Toward a Feminist Theory of State*.

MacKinnon cannot answer the questions she poses about women as a group, because her methodological approach is subjectivism, where she sees the truth as what a woman sees. The "truth" is inevitably a truth opposed to the uneducated, workers, peoples of different cultures, and women themselves, at least in Amerika, which is MacKinnon's audience. The dominant culture teaches everyone to devalue the uneducated, workers, oppressed nations and other "deviants." In reality, all men sexually harass women, but only some are labeled as harassers, and only because these men come from sexual cultures different from the accuser's.

MacKinnon comes very close to recognizing this without ever following through on her own thoughts: "Men who were put in prison for rape ... they were put in jail for something very little different from what most men do most of the time and call it sex. The only difference is they got caught. That view is non-remorseful and not rehabilitative. It may also be true."(2) MacKinnon virtually says that all approaches of men to women are harassment: "I think we lie to women when we call it not power when a woman is come onto by a man who is not her employer, not her teacher. What do we labor under, what do we feel, when a man—any man—comes and hits on us?"(3)

In the United States, where subjectivist feminists including MacKinnon attack Marxism, women's subjective truth is created by Hollywood. Subjectivists refuse to overcome Hollywood's class and national chauvinism. As an individual, MacKinnon has grappled with these issues somewhat, but what she advocates for women as a group has nothing to do with her own subjective truth. What pseudo-feminist-

instructed women fail to realize is that treating individual men from oppressed nations the same as individual men from the white nation does not change the systematic oppression these men face—in fact, the claim of "identical treatment" often perpetuates this oppression. MacKinnon's book *Feminism Unmodified* should be subtitled Imperialism Unmodified.

Instead of facing the issue coherently, MacKinnon asks nihilist questions to oppose supposedly evil, patriarchal science–which promotes the view that rape can be objectively determined instead of being determined by any woman with whatever biases: "But what is the standard for sex, and is this question asked from the woman's point of view? The level of force is not adjudicated at her point of violation; it is adjudicated at the standard for the normal level of force. Who sets the standard?"(4) MacKinnon does not answer her own question here, probably because she answers it elsewhere and realizes it is a contradiction. The MacKinnon answer is that Hollywood/pornography sets the standard for both men and women, so Hollywood sets the standard, both from what she attributes to the male view and her own view. Yet according to her own analysis, a person's "point of violation" is determined subjectively. She lapses from talking about groups to talking about "the woman's point of view." She offers no way of assessing what that point of view is for women as a group, a fatal flaw in her attempt to oppose Liberalism with subjectivism.

In practice, MacKinnon correctly targets the profits of pornographers by setting up sex harassment and anti-porn legal suits. Yet her practice gains no support from her theory because if you were to ask Amerikan women the truth, they would not oppose either Hollywood or pornography.

In fact, MacKinnon holds that women are substantially sexist because they belong to a pornographic society and enjoy their own subordination. "I think that the sexual desire in women, at least in this culture, is socially constructed as that which we come to want in our own self-annihilation. That is, our subordination is eroticized in and as female; in fact, we get off on it to a degree, if nowhere near as much as men do ... Such a critique of complicity does not come from an individualistic theory." (5) She holds that having women as judges makes no difference because a biological woman's perspective is still sexist and will be as sexist as a biological man's given the same structural role.

MacKinnon's methodology is so flawed that it simultaneously states that what women see is the truth while allowing that women's perceptions are sexist. Voila, the truth is sexist. Voila, women's views (the truth) of rape are sexist. Rape is not rape and what is not rape is rape.

This is the mess that every idealist (non-Marxist, non-materialist thinker) ends up in. It's just more apparent in MacKinnon because she thinks more consistently than most idealists. By contrast, MIM holds that patriarchy is a pattern of oppression existing in concrete reality that can be changed in concrete reality. The existence and possible overthrow of patriarchy have nothing to do with subjective experience. Women feel violated because underneath their subjective experiences is the reality of economic, military, and governmental coercion. (While biology underlies some aspects of gender, it does not cause gender oppression.)

MacKinnon explicitly rejects the approach of finding visible resistance by the rape victim as necessary for rape to have happened. Nor does she uphold objectively male definitions regarding asking men to stop.(6) In harassment issues, the settler definition is "unwanted advances." As for rape, it is "emotional coercion" and "persuasion" or just feeling "violated," says MacKinnon. Unless MacKinnon and other subjectivists mean to advocate across-the-board asexuality, this is all settler feminism because Amerikan women no doubt feel most violated by approaches different from their own.

First World women do not have to go around wondering, "How am I going to carry forward my time-honored role in the lynching of Black men?" Rather, white women report sex that they feel "violates" them. And being raised in a white-supremacist system, white women feel violated by Black men who do the same things that white men do. What happens when First World women accuse some men of rape and not others? They accuse men who do not fit their Hollywood image of romance. And they join the criminal justice system in perpetrating nation, class and gender oppression.

Actually, MacKinnon states that she just wants more sex counted as rape in court, the same way many workers have good days sometimes but also want higher wages at some fraction of institutions.(7) What MacKinnon fails to notice in her analogy with Marxism ("sex is to feminism what work is to Marxism"), Marx never advocated that individual workers go to court and reach individual settlements of their wage disputes. He wanted a revolution of the oppressed to change the very institutions making decisions on such law suits.

What MIM propagates is a scientific approach to rape and harassment. We tell women the truth: rape and harassment cannot be eliminated without the elimination of power of people over people. That has nothing to do with the feelings of individual women or men.

MacKinnon only goes half-way. She opposes individualism and tells women that rape is a group problem. Then her practices focus on law suits involving individuals, the same way that some opportunist so-called Marxists focus workers on winning individual bread-and-butter struggles instead of political power. MacKinnon avoids the revolutionary implications of saying that all women are oppressed whether they admit it or not. Ultimately, she lacks MIM's confidence that Third World toilers will overthrow the system and bring massive social changes.

This essay is an edited compilation of several essays which first appeared in chapter five of MIM Theory 2/3, Summer 1992.

Not ::
1. Catharine MacKinnon, *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law*, Harvard University Press, 1987, p. 87.
2. Ibid., p. 88.
3. Ibid., p. 89.
4. Ibid., p. 88.
5. Ibid., p. 58
6. Ibid., p. 87-8.
7. Ibid., p. 60-1, 89.

Who are our friends? Who are our enemies?

by MC12
Published MIM Notes 45, October 1, 1990

In 1926, Mao Zedong asked: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends?.... To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution."(1)

To avoid leading anyone down a dead-end road, communists always need to answer these questions.

MIM holds that, at the present, the majority of white workers in this country—skilled workers, trade unionists, paper-pushers, etc.—do not represent a revolutionary class. They do not create surplus value as much as reapportion the surplus which results from superexploitation of the Third World and oppressed internal nations. They are not prepared to abandon bourgeois aspirations and mainly high-paying jobs to drop everything for the good of the international proletariat.

This is not the result of a lack of correct leadership, or from a simple failure to develop class consciousness. For the ideology which leads white workers to seek more VCRs instead of less capitalists has a material basis which is itself a barrier.

Some people accuse MIM of being "anti-Marxist" for "ignoring the working class." But is this a new idea in Marxism?

In 1858 (132 years ago), Engels wrote to Marx: "The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that the most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie. *For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable.*" (Emphasis added)(2)

In his analysis of imperialism, Lenin further analyzed the role of this "labor aristocracy." And he wrote: "In the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, they [the labor aristocracy] inevitably, *and in no small numbers*, take the side of the bourgeoisie..."(emphasis

added).(3)

MIM's class analysis relies heavily on the piercing historical work of J. Sakai in *Settlers: the Mythology of the White Proletariat,* (Morningstar Press, 1983).

The international proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, and is therefore fully prepared—with the correct leadership—to lead proletarian revolution and end class oppression altogether in the long run. ★

Notes:
1. Mao, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," in *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-Tung,* Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1971
2. Engels quoted in Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,* in Selected Works, Vol. 1, New York: International Publishers, 1971. p. 247.
3. Ibid, p. 175.

Democratic centralism

by MC17 & MC11
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"It is, I think, almost universally realized at present that the Bolsheviks could not have retained power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, without the most rigorous and truly iron discipline in our Party..."—V.I. Lenin(1)

Democratic centralism is a principle of organization that can be used (or abused) by any functioning group. The democratic part of the term defines the equal participation and voice expected from all members of the organization. The centralism refers to the mandate that all members uphold all decisions made by the democratic processes of the organization.

In practical terms this translates into real participatory democracy within, but with strict discipline expected from all members. Even if one member disagrees with a decision, s/he is expected to uphold the decision externally while working from within to convince other members that they are wrong. This method of organization is based on the assumption that eventually the majority of the members of a group, presented with conflicting views, will be able to arrive at the best possible decision. This may be a prolonged process, and mistakes may be made, but the democratic element ensures that debate can go on until all members are satisfied.

First, the question of why people organizing for a socialist revolution should adopt structures at all needs to be addressed. To answer this we need to look at groups that exist without structure, in relative anarchy. These organizations can never be truly democratic because they inevitably lead to the formation of informal cliques that translate into power for those more experienced or more connected people—and powerlessness for other members. This is seen in single-issue organizations which almost always have a regular practice of informal decision making that only involves some of the members—usually the more experienced ones. Ironically it is people in these groups who most often oppose democratic centralism, deeming it undemocratic by comparing it to their own practice.

This is not to say that cliques will not exist in a party. The difference between groups that don't follow democratic centralist principles and a party is that the party has the structure and therefore the potential to enact policies that keep individuals or groups from usurping power, allowing true democratic participation from all members. Structurally, democratic centralism disperses power to all the members. This possibility does not exist in supposedly unstructured organizations.

If you accept the need for some kind of organized structure, the next question that inevitably arises (for those who support democracy) is why the discipline of centralism. This can be answered in part by looking at the history of the Black Panther Party (BPP). As an organization that only loosely enforced anything resembling centralism, particularly in the early years, the BPP suffered much infiltration and destruction at the hands of the FBI, CIA and police. It is much easier for these agents of the state to split and wreck a group which is not under centralist discipline. State spies had no problem discovering which BPP members disagreed with which others. They used this knowledge to play one off the other, by sending forged messages to people, and by agitating with those not entirely satisfied with a policy or rule. Rather than fostering healthy debate, the lack of centralism served to stifle it, allowing dishonest elements into destructively powerful and knowledgeable roles within their party.

If all members of a party uphold the party line to the general public it will be much more difficult for agents of the state to create false conflict from the outside. This reduces one potentially destructive force on the party. They may still pursue this destruction from within, and this is where the structure of centralism becomes necessary to fight against the formation of cliques that are aimed at undermining democratic processes.

Of course, party members are not immune from the pressures the dominant capitalist ideology and culture exert on everyone's analysis and behavior. Even without state agents consciously trying to subvert the party, cadres are susceptible to spontaneous actions and incorrect ideas. Democratic centralism protects the party from being discredited by individual cadres following their spontaneous whims—which cannot help but be influenced by bourgeois forces and ideology. Recognizing individualism as a danger, centralism mandates that political lines and the practice that they dictate be discussed and voted on by the membership before the party authorizes an action or statement in its name. Either way, from within or without, centralism provides a structure that enables the party to exist in the face of the powerful and destructive forces of the state.

In any group, a lack of discipline on the part of members of an organization can be destructive to that organization. People need to be counted on in order for work to run as smoothly and efficiently as possible. In an organization whose goal is to seize power from the bourgeoisie, discipline and unity are essential if it is to have any chance of success. The bourgeoisie is itself very organized and disciplined.

Although Marx's material analysis of history proved that socialism is inevitable, bourgeois ownership of the means of production and control over the production of culture clearly puts the ruling class at a huge tactical advantage over those attempting to overthrow the capitalist system. The capitalists can succeed in putting off revolution indefinitely if no organized group arises to overthrow this system. Undisciplined groups have no chance of wresting state power from the current ruling class.

The truly successful revolutions of history were led by revolutionary parties operating under the principle of democratic centralism. There are no examples of success to point to that did not use such a structure. People are dying daily at the hands of capitalism, and to refuse a structure that has been proven to advance the revolutionary cause is to accept more deaths by postponing revolution.

Recognizing that everyone's personal lives have repercussions for the organization as a whole, the discipline of centralism allows the party to make rules to minimize the potential damage to the party. Members regulate their personal activities for the sake of the organization, but working from the assumption of the importance of the organization. This is merely one facet of their devotion to their work. All rules controlling behavior are made by the members and are always up for debate and change internally. If one presumes that the majority of the members will arrive at policies effective in achieving the greatest good for the organization, working for the people of the world, they should be willing to carry out these rules in the interest of the party's success.

People sometimes complain about the freedoms they are giving up for the sake of the party. But these people fail to question what freedom is under capitalism. Certainly MIM does not have the freedom to oppose exploitation and oppression. Black, Latino and First Nation peoples in this country are not free to pursue "the Amerikan dream." People in Amerika's Third World colonies are not free to eat, have medical care or go to school. The freedoms that people in this country are afraid of giving up are privileges. If people really believe they deserve these "freedoms" they should not be fighting for a revolution and do not belong in a revolutionary party in the first place.

Democratic centralism is the only structure of organization proven to advance the revolutionary cause. It is a structure of discipline that enables a revolutionary party to wage the most effective fight against the capitalist system. ★

Note: , "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder,, *Selected Works.* New York: International Publishers, 1971, p.516.

What is a pig question?

by MC5
Second Edition, MIM Notes 52, May 1991

Many well-meaning people ask MIM questions that are frustrating for both sides: "Who is in MIM? How many members are there? Where are they based? What is the political history or "pedigree" of this or that person? Who did this or that action?"

The question is frustrating for the interrogator because someone who is in MIM and not just answering for MIM will not answer the question.

The question is frustrating to MIM because it sidesteps important theoretical questions. And because MIM will not answer these questions, it is subjected to whatever rumors people would like to make.

Many groups suffer from fewer of these problems because they answer them in the open.

The fundamental problem is that MIM has no way of seeing through every FBI, CIA, NSC, military intelligence, Mossad or ex-BOSS agent out there. No one knows who is a pig and who is not. Hence MIM asks for understanding when it does not answer those questions which these pigs would be likely to ask.

Even when a well-intentioned person asks, the question is still a pig question. Sometimes information does not find its way to the pigs. Sometimes it does.

Within MIM, the membership is not entitled to equal or complete information about the membership of MIM. This is a conscious decision by the membership of MIM, not an undemocratic or politically obtuse abuse by MIM leaders.

What is a pig?

Definition of pig: A pig is a police officer or other representative of the government's repressive apparatus, especially one who breaks down people's doors or quietly infiltrates a movement.

People will notice that MIM does not list its names or the most important details of its political practice in the newspaper; although a fraction of MIM activity is implied in the newspaper for those wishing to understand the nature of its influence and willing to read carefully. That is not a policy written in stone, but MIM has chosen to leave people substantially in the dark, especially since 1984.

If anything, MIM is not professional enough in this regard. The party of Lenin and Stalin suffered repeated blows at the hands of police that caused it chaos. MIM takes comfort in the fact that Lenin's party still survived, but at the same time, there is no doubt that MIM has a way to go before equaling Lenin's party at its pre-1917 best in discipline and sustainability.

Pragmatism

As addressed in previous issues of MIM Notes, many people ask about MIM out of pragmatist concerns, not because they are pigs. The question of size in particular is a pragmatist, people-centered approach to the issue of vanguard leadership. MIM rejects this approach.

MIM has already confessed to having a small size in previous issues. People desiring large organizations should join the Democratic Party or the environmentalist movement or something amorphous.

MIM does not want everyone in its membership, especially people who would base their decision on size. MIM comes from Mao's legacy on leadership:

"The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power" (S. Schram, ed. *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, p. 290).

This understanding is much different than the ideology of pragmatism, which says to do whatever works at the time with no direction.

Lenin's Bolshevik party and Mao's communist party were both able to catapult past much larger and better-financed parties and coalitions because of their scientific understanding of history, its motion and present-day realities.

People should ask themselves not about the size of MIM, but whether or not MIM has the most scientific analysis of current history. Questions like who was right about what would happen in World War II—Trotsky or Stalin? The following are some of the significant issues:

- It was the Bolsheviks, not the Mensheviks, who got Russia out of World War I.
- It was MIM that correctly predicted unemployment and economic crisis in the Soviet Union—not the Trotskyists and the other pro-Soviet revisionists.
- It was the Maoists all along saying that Deng Xiaoping wanted to repress the student movement both in 1966 and in 1989 at Tiananmen.
- Ultimately, it was the movements in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao who brought the most rapid progress to society in the last 150 years.

Ironically, it is the pragmatists who substitute people-centered coalitions and wishful thinking for disciplined parties and scientific thinking that have failed to bring progress for the proletariat this century.

Reformism

Some people have a hard time envisioning the repression of the state because they have illusions that they live in a democracy with civil liberties. They have either never experienced revolutionary politics or they are blind to what happens all around them.

MIM has faced numerous and complicated operations by the state, but MIM does not choose to educate people about its own situation at this point because of the desire to remain underground as much as possible.

Instead, MIM distributes literature examining historical repression in the United States, especially examples from the '60s and '70s. The reason for this is that things do not change that much in how the state represses revolutionaries. (Except that the technology for surveillance gets better and better year after year.)

People who do not understand MIM's line on being semi-underground should read False Nationalism, False Internationalism and Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement. People who read a number of "sectarian" papers will be aware of things like COINTELPRO and infiltration campaigns.

The state conducts complicated, expensive and "paranoid" operations. People who do not know this are not ready to work closely with MIM.

Revolutionary sacrifice

Some people do not like to work in semi-underground situations because it means they do not receive the public acclaim they otherwise would. Many potential revolutionaries are also good speakers and organizers and would receive some attention in newspapers or demonstrations if they stayed above ground and did not work with MIM.

Working in a vanguard party also means a constant tension in everyday life. This involves making certain sacrifices on a daily basis.

Going above ground

In certain circumstances it is desirable to be above ground. Although Dennis Brutus is not a member of MIM, his life is an interesting one to consider on this theoretical point.

After winning acclaim as a Black poet and working against apartheid, Dennis Brutus found himself breaking rocks with Nelson Mandela in prison on Robben Island in South Africa. Then the regime deported him.

Where the state has deported someone and it is impossible to sneak back into the country, as Lenin's organizers did repeatedly in Russia, it no longer pays to be underground.

Aboveground, Brutus was able to draw attention to his own situation and then go ahead and publicly spearhead the movement to kick South Africa out of the Olympics. His activities in the open and abroad brought joy to the hearts of those struggling within South Africa.

Then in the United States, the Carter and Reagan administrations

tried to deport Brutus. Once again Brutus could not afford to work secretly. He had to bring public attention to himself.

MIM worked extensively on the campaign to keep Brutus in the United States.

The grounds the prosecution used to try to deport Brutus were classified for national security reasons, so important was the surveillance work done on Brutus.

An agent from the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) in South Africa also wrote that Brutus was one of the top 20 opponents of the apartheid regime, in BOSS's estimation.

Various Western governments cooperated in their intelligence efforts on Brutus. Occasionally, these agencies made their surveillance public knowledge.

Is it unreasonable to suspect that those who work with Brutus are also the object of surveillance? It seems likely that people working to keep Brutus in the United States inevitably come under at least some observation as well.

Why should MIM make the job of the repressive apparatus any easier by being completely above ground? ★

The focoist revolution

by MC5 & MCØ
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Revised December 1994 by MC234

Focoism is a popular theory that says that small cells of armed revolutionaries can create the conditions for revolution through their actions. Demonstrated revolutionary victories, the successes of the foci, are supposed to lead the masses to revolution. If conditions are ripe, according to focoists, a single spark can start the revolutionary fire.

Focoism often places great emphasis on armed struggle and the immediacy this brings to class warfare. Maoism, on the other hand, warns that taking up the gun too soon, and without the proper support of the masses, will result in fighting losing battles.

Focoists look to spectacular actions and tactics such as building takeovers, special demonstrations and flag burnings to grab media attention to rouse the masses to rebel. Maoism is the more steady, methodical process of developing the most advanced theory and raising the mass consciousness through struggle and seizing power one calculated battle at a time.

Amerikan focoism

In the United States, the line between focoism and Maoism is partly blurred because the focoists often possess a correct class analysis while supporting spontaneous tactics. Some focoist groups, for example, understood that the white working class in Amerika was not a revolutionary class, but still held that their revolutionary violence directed against specific targets would unleash mass uprising.

Ultimately, focoists are scornful of analysis of concrete conditions except those of military struggle. "Conditions will never be altogether right for a broadly based revolutionary war unless the fascists are stricken by an uncharacteristic fit of total madness.... Should we wait for something that is not likely to occur at least for decades? The conditions that are not present must be manufactured," writes George Jackson.(1, p. 14)

Jackson gives the example of the 1930s as a case where conditions for revolution were present in Amerika, but "the vanguard elements betrayed the people of the nation and the world as a result of their failure to seize the time. The consequences were a catastrophic war and a new round of imperialist expansion."(1) Therefore, the Communist Party (CP) of the 1930s bears responsibility for the enormous crimes of U.S. imperialism committed since the 1930s. The CP supported the U.S. government's involvement in World War II.

There are two levels at which revolutionaries must deal with Jackson's argument. First, is it true that revolutionary conditions will not appear for decades unless the bourgeoisie makes a mistake? MIM maintains that revolutionary situation may arrive, even suddenly, as the U.S. empire becomes over-extended abroad.

Weatherman, a focoist revolutionary group formed in the 1960s agreed: "Winning state power in the United States will occur as a result of the military forces of the United States overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal; struggle within the United States will be a vital part of this process, but when the revolution triumphs in the United States it will have been made by the people of the whole world."(2) U.S.-Soviet competition to divide up the world supplements the pressures of Third World liberation struggles. Weatherman said the primary contradiction at the time was between U.S. imperialism and the Third World.

Second, Jackson, Revolutionary Youth Movement I and author J. Sakai in Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat all point to the alliance between the bourgeoisified workers and the imperialists as one of the main reasons for the failure of revolution in the United States. The focoists explain why there are no conditions for mass armed struggle, but then proceed to engage in armed struggle.

When it is pointed out that their tactics don't match their analysis, the focoists typically have two replies. One is a purist argument which says the U.S. masses are part of the enemy and will never support revolution, at least not until the revolutionaries force the state to bring down repression on everybody. All that Amerikan revolutionaries can do is serve as an isolated detachment of the Vietnamese, Filipino, Salvadoran, etc. proletarian revolutions. Individual revolutionaries will fail in the United States but they will take some of the enemy forces with them and, thus, make some contribution to the success of revolutions elsewhere.

This argument smacks of Judeo-Christian ethics because it basically says do what is morally pure even if the real world impact is slight. Focoists initiate armed struggle, not because they think that armed struggle offers the best chance of success now, but because they as individuals can feel morally correct for making the greatest sacrifices to fight imperialism now.

These people are not much different than those who leave the United States to demonstrate moral distaste for U.S. policies or to join Third World revolutionary movements to which they can make no contribution. People like these, who do not employ the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in order to win state power, actually endanger the revolution for their own selfish, moralistic ends.

The other rejoinder that focoists have is that subjective conditions create the material conditions for revolution. First, the focoists say that the mere example of seeing one bullet down a helicopter will shatter the invincibility of the enemy. The defeat of the U.S. military is shown to be a reality: "How would they have felt (the pigs and the people) if the nameless, faceless, lightening-swift soldier of the people could have reached up, twisted the tail of their $200,000 death bird, and hurled it into the streets, broken, ablaze!! I think that sort of thing has more to do with consciousness than anything else I can think of."(1, p. 19)

Second, the focoists say that the bourgeoisie will necessarily wreak repression on the masses in order to attack the revolutionaries.

The Maoist reply to these two arguments is two-fold. First, because the focoists ignore the material conditions, they will not demonstrate the weakness of the imperialist state; instead they make themselves martyrs who are useful to the imperialists in search of public proof of their invincibility. That is to say the focoists will unintentionally convince the masses, more than ever before, of the myth that the imperialists cannot be defeated—by losing decisively to the imperialists.

Second, the imperialists will not have to impose heavy repression to oppose a failed revolution of martyrs and media stars. Where it does impose repression, the ruling class may gain the popular support of the bourgeoisified workers in favor of "law and order."

The crux of the issue is this: Do conditions exist for successful armed struggle in Amerika? If not, starting the armed struggle too soon will only taint armed struggle in the minds of those who would otherwise favor armed struggle when conditions *are* conducive. That is to say premature armed struggle sets back the onset of successful armed struggle.

Maoists do not regard focoism with a liberal eye. Lin Biao, second-in-command to Mao at the time, put it this way in 1965: "If they are to defeat a formidable enemy, revolutionary armed forces should not fight with a reckless disregard for the consequences when there is a great disparity between their own strength and the enemy's. If they do, they will suffer serious losses and bring heavy setbacks to the revolution."(3)

One of George Jackson's favorite quotations from Chairperson Mao is "When revolution fails ... it is the fault of the vanguard party."(1, p. 27) However, this can be interpreted to mean that revolution may fail if the vanguard party starts armed struggle too soon or too late. The focoists still need to deal with Mao's own analysis of the situation:

"Internally, capitalist countries practice bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist or not at war; in their external relations, they are not opposed by, but themselves oppress other nations.... In these countries, the question is one of long legal struggle ... and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military) ... the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries; if such wars occur, the policy of these Parties is to bring about the defeat of reactionary governments of their own countries. The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing. But this... should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless."(4)

Grounds for unity

Although Maoists need to demarcate from the focoists' military line, the focoists' class analysis of the United States is often right on target. There is nothing in the RYM I class analysis that corresponds to its military line. Likewise, the Weatherman's class analysis of 1969 (and Sakai's class analysis today) demonstrate why armed struggle is out of the question at the moment:

"As a whole, the long-range interests of the non-colonial sections of the working class lie with overthrowing imperialism.... However, virtually all of the white working class also has short-range privileges from imperialism, which are not false privileges but very real ones which give them an edge of vested interest and tie them to a certain extent to the imperialists, especially when the latter are in a relatively prosperous phase."(2, p. 65)

Jackson, too, formulates the question of the middle classes in the United States in 1971. "A new pig-oriented class has been created at the bottom of our society from which the ruling class will be always able to draw some support."(1, p. 49) Jackson adds that with victory in World War II, the bourgeoisie was able to offer Euro-Amerikan workers "the flea market that muted the workers' more genuine demands.... The controlling elites have co-opted large portions of the lowly working class." (1, p. 102)

Since these class analyses do not correspond to the military tactics their proponents advocate, MIM adopts the analysis without accepting that armed struggle is the best way forward at this time.

Engaging the masses

While it is a hallmark of focoism to attempt to gain the greatest amount of media exposure in its mission to ignite the masses in the here and now, in reality this is one area where focoism has a hard time.

First, there is nothing to say that the masses inherently understand the focoists' spectacular actions, armed or otherwise. And if the foci rely on the bourgeois press, the masses are shown a distorted account of what actually happens and the tactic backfires. Here the methodical, Leninist strategy of building the party through building the newspaper, its organ, pays off. The Maoists stand ready with the most advanced theory and cogent explanations of the facts.

Second, while the spontaneity of the moment might delight some of the masses—those advanced enough to be in sympathy with the focoists—this remains largely in the realm of feel-good activism. Spectacular actions do not necessarily correspond with the most advanced theory and the best way forward, but focoists conceive of no other method to arouse the masses. Focoist-type demonstrations of force are thus substituted for the actual building and taking of power.

In the long-run focoism has never created socialism or communism, while in the short run it has gotten many of its proponents killed or imprisoned for their actions. There is no substitute for organizing around the most advanced line by convincing the masses and supporting their own initiatives. ★

Notes:
1. George Jackson, *Blood in My Eye* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971) p. 10.
2. Harold Jacobs, ed., "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows, " *Weatherman,* (Ramparts Press, Inc., 1970) p. 53.
3. K. Fan, ed., "Long Live the Victory of People's War!" *Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao* (New York: Anchor Press).
4. Mao Zedong, "Problems of War and Strategy" *Selected Works,* Vol. II. 1975, p. 219-220.

The pitfalls of single issue organizing:

Why revolutionaries should work with MIM and not with reformist organizations

by MC5 and MC17
Revised September 1995 by MCB52 and MC234

In recruiting anti-imperialists, anti-militarists and other activists to the party, MIM encounters a very common set of questions, especially among students. Many ask about the "effectiveness" of putting out MIM's line when only the most politically advanced will join the Party. Because they do not see work within MIM as effective, often activists will not want to work within MIM when they can work within reformist single-issue groups or other mass organizations.

First, we need a definition of terms. A single-issue group is a political organization that focuses on one issue — e.g., apartheid or abortion. Sometimes MIM uses the phrase "single-issue group" interchangeably with "mass organization." Members in single or multi- issue mass organizations support a range of political views and do not specifically uphold a worked out universal ideology, such as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In other words, a mass organization is not a front group for another political organization, such as a supposed communist party or the Moonie Church.

Another type of organization accepts the leadership and the line of a different organization. MIM started two such Party-led organizations: the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist League (RAIL) and MIM Supporters Group (MSG). Different than the Party, RAIL and MSG members are not required to uphold MIM's three dividing line principles; voting members must not have a worked-out line against them. People join RAIL because they want to do general anti-imperialist work, and they join MSG because they support our politics but are not yet ready politically or they refuse to make the personal sacrifices necessary for MIM membership. MIM considers it opportunist and dishonest not to explain openly that an organization is led by another or its line. Leadership and influence from another organization should not be hidden from the membership of the organization or from the masses.

The terms "mass organization" and "single issue group" are used to connote organizations that are part of mass movements. The distinction is important because while MIM may lead mass movements, MIM does not seek to lead mass organizations.

Do revolutionaries hold back mass orgs?

Questions of MIM's role and leadership in mass organizations tend to arise in the context of volunteer mass organizations as well as organizations having professional leadership like NOW or the NAACP. The argument given is usually that revolutionaries will be able to exert pressure on the organization, moving it further to the left. Thus, through the organization, they will be gaining greater concessions from the existing power structure, while at the same time, by pushing the organization to the left, they hope to slowly radicalize its membership as well.

There are several problems with this argument. First, if the goal is to gain greater concessions from the government or power structure without changing who's in power, the strategy is usually to build a group with the greatest numbers and most funding possible. Certainly the best way to do this is to create as broad a coalition of people as possible and, just as certainly, radical politics are going to reduce the number of people willing to work for or donate to a given cause. This is not to say that revolutionaries and radicals do not play a significant role in influencing

mass movements, but rather to argue that their role should be outside of these more liberal- minded organizations.

Some people working in these groups recognize this problem but argue that radical politics put more pressure on the government and so radicals should still stay in these groups. But when working within the system in these organizations a radical voice is not one that gains popular support. Non-revolutionaries often correctly perceive that their single-issue goals are middle-class in nature and are in fact obstructed by the revolutionaries in the mass organizations. Because the Amerikan government does respond sometimes to middle class unrest when it feels threatened, what reformist mass organizations need to say on television is not that we need a revolution, but that the government is not playing nice and it needs to give us this little concession and then things will be OK.

Selling your revolutionary politics short

No one is disputing that reforms can and do improve the lives of some people. But by working in these organizations for these reforms, potential revolutionaries are forced to sacrifice their politics or risk alienation. In making this sacrifice they are supporting, dishonestly, politics they truly do not endorse. Telling people to Boycott Folgers (once boycotted in connection to the struggle in El Salvador), for example, says to people that all you have to do is make this sacrifice and people will stop dying in El Salvador, never even mentioning the larger role imperialism plays. By supporting these principles, they are missing the opportunity to present to people what truly needs to be done to improve the living conditions of all people. People who could have become revolutionaries instead work for dead-end politics or drop out of politics because they were never adequately challenged to move on to a more worked-out position on how social change is possible.

Many still argue sacrificing revolutionary goals is necessary to radicalize people one step at a time. The idea that people need to be exposed to politics in slow, increasingly radical stages unfortunately holds true for many in this country at this time. This view amounts to white middle-class chauvinism, as white middle-class people may be slow to develop politically, but that is not the problem with all people. Some revolutionary-minded people, particularly from oppressed groups, will not take a second look at a group mixed up in dead-end reformist politics.

Revolutionaries who choose to support reformism instead of working with MIM sell themselves and the masses short. In addition to weakening the reformist movement from within, they also fail to strengthen the real incentive for government concessions—a strong revolutionary movement. At this time, MIM isn't as strong as we could be, precisely because people who should be in MIM devote themselves instead to reformism.

Many of the demands of mass organizations are correct, but those who already recognize the systemic nature of problems and are revolutionaries should step up to revolutionary work. That's the best way to radicalize the masses as we make strides forward.

Why MIM and MIM members don't join mass organizations

MIM and it's members are often invited to join various mass organizations. We refuse, because membership in other organizations leads in only two directions: watering down our politics for the sake of unity, or risking splitting the mass organization over political issues it wouldn't split over by itself. Mass organizations may have less worked out politics, but they do a have a progressive role to play, bringing people into politics, letting people explore issues, taking leadership roles, radicalizing people, and so on. MIM wants to preserve this progressive quality while influencing the group and its members in the most productive way possible.

The most important reason MIM has not worked in leadership roles in mass organizations is its understanding of the historical experience of the most important student organization in the 1960s, Students for a Democratic Society.

SDS

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which once included hundreds of thousands of white students, offers relevant experiences in the question of mass organizations and their relationships to supposed vanguard parties. Although SDS was a multi-issue organization, it came to focus on the Vietnam War and had the classic single-issue approach of not insisting on a completely worked out line within its organization. SDS was also vastly more successful in terms of size, energy and radicalism than all the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist organizations of today put together. For all these reasons, it is important to draw conclusions from the experience of SDS, principally it's collapse into factions. This disintegration offers activists in North America the most important negative experience in the history of relationships between vanguard organizations and mass organizations.

What was in the early 1960s the vanguard party in the United States, Progressive Labor Party (PL) infiltrated SDS. It was partly a secret process and largely an open process. PL members became full members of SDS, taking up many of the important leadership roles. PL eventually split and destroyed SDS and then destroyed itself. By pushing its agenda on the group, PL scared off many people and forced those who remained into factional infighting. This effectively kept the group from bringing any more new people into politics while at the same time scaring off or dividing those who were already involved.

One fear MIM regularly encounters from radicals is that quitting leadership roles in the mass organizations hurts the mass organizations and the movement. MIM members have quit leadership positions in many mass organizations. None of the mass organizations collapsed afterwards. On the contrary, in some cases it appears that MIM members held back certain mass organizations because sometimes a year or two after the MIM member quit leadership roles, the ideas that MIM originally espoused become much more widely held within the organization and masses at large. It is very important for radicals and revolutionaries to look out for incipient leaders and to get out of their way.

From this lesson and the lessons of SDS, MIM from its beginning has refused to assume crucial leadership roles in mass organizations. Mass organizations need to exist, but the reformist ones are more effective in these pursuits without communists working from within. Radicals belong in communist-led mass organizations or in a communist party. Revolutionaries should not occupy the time, resources and opportunities of mass organizations except in very special circumstances:

1. When MIM is asked without solicitation to make a presentation on MIM, it might.
2. When MIM sponsors an educational event, demonstration or the like, MIM can go ask for help from a mass organization for that one project taking special care not to eat up too much of the organization's time and making it a point to identify the project as MIM- led so that no question of secret infiltration may arise.
3. MIM members may attend mass organization meetings to inform themselves, but not to attempt to exert political leadership within the meeting.
4. MIM members may join mass organizations and exert leadership within carefully specified and time-limited roles when MIM has made the determination that only a communist will be able to detonate a necessary mass movement. In this case, MIM members must make it clear that they are Maoists as they do their work and seek to get out of a leadership role as soon as the mass movement created generates people who could serve the role of mass organization leaders.
5. MIM members may seek to influence members of mass organizations, but not on the time of the mass organization. In other words: before or after meetings of mass organizations, MIM may talk to members of mass organizations in order to persuade them of the necessity of Maoism.
6. MIM may create groups, such as RAIL and MSG, but it may not deceive the masses about it's politics.
7. When MIM is in a position to lead a movement, it might. That will mean using the MIM organization to lead a movement without occupying leadership roles in specific mass organizations. Ultimately, MIM hopes to lead a successful revolution that will involve numerous organizations.

Sources: Black Panthers Speak, SDS, "American Leninism," Weatherman.

MIM history:

How it all began

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October 1, 1993, marked the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Maoist Internationalist Movement's predecessor—the original Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

May 1, 1994 is the 10th anniversary of the changing of the RIM's name to MIM—after our original name was appropriated. These anniversary dates were consciously chosen in 1983 and 1984 to celebrate the Chinese Revolution of 1949 and International Workers' Day, respectively.

The basic principles which caused the original RIM to form are as valid today as they were 10 years ago. In 1983, the organization announced that anti-imperialism and anti-militarism are the two most important revolutionary principles and that proletarian internationalism is our guiding ideological vision. Since that time MIM has deepened its line considerably.

In 1983-84, the comrades in Peru rejected the "Marxist-Leninist" unity that the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA was trying to forge internationally.(1) At this time, MIM also made a series of decisive breaks with the RCP, USA, though MIM's members were never members of the RCP, USA—and had no contacts with the Communist Party of Peru.

In 1984, we changed our name to MIM to reflect that while the RCP, USA/RIM might claim its "Marxist-Leninist" unity internationally: MIM contains the real Maoists. As was typical at the time, spokespeople for the RCP, USA consciously denied that they were Maoist. This reflected the RCP, USA general line as expressed in Revolution #50, 1981—the infamous "Conquer the World ...," in which Chairperson Bob Avakian eschewed Maoism for crypto-Trotskyism.

The origins of MIM are inextricably bound up with the phenomenon of the RCP, USA. Before 1987, MIM did not assess the RCP as consciously revisionist—even though MIM criticized the RCP for Trotskyite tendencies. To this day, there is confusion as to why MIM founded itself and the difference between the RCP, USA/RIM and MIM. We take our 10th anniversary as an opportunity to explain this difference generally, with emphasis here on the pre-1987 period.

The founding documents of the original RIM describe the RIM as a "pre-party." The reason for the "pre-party" label is that these documents were a qualitative advance in the struggle between Maoist elements as yet unorganized into a party—and the RCP, USA—which had not yet adopted its current Maoist veneer.

The founding documents solved two problems simultaneously.(2) They laid down the basis for membership in the original RIM and delineated the relationship of the new Maoist forces to the RCP, USA in practice. Ideological, political and organizational riddles solved themselves simultaneously when a comrade close to the RCP, USA used our document "Manifesto on the International Situation and Revolution" as an application for membership in the RCP, USA. The comrade explained that if the RCP accepted the comrade on the basis of this document—then the other comrades would also commit to joining.

The RCP, USA rejected the application and a decisive break ensued. The issues entailed the nature of vanguard parties, Maoism versus Trotskyism and many smaller matters.

The RCP then raised a number of criticisms of the new-born Maoist forces—which had existed for a long time as an organization named the RADACADS before changing its name to RIM and finally to MIM. Likewise, the new-born Maoist forces criticized the RCP.

Pre-1983

The RADACADS had openly worked with various organizations claiming vanguard status—but principally with the RCP. The RADACADS had consciously worked with parties that descended from the Maoist or Maoist-influenced elements of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and had consciously refused to work with Trotskyists or the CP, USA. At RADACADS events, surviving splinters from the SDS could all be found tabling and distributing literature.

Contrary to mistaken impressions circulated by enemies, the foundation of the organization was with a majority of national minorities and a majority of women. This was not by conscious design but through the natural pace of events and the political line promoted by the organization. The RADACADS were leaders in struggles concerning Azania, Central America, the Middle East and anti-militarism. Not surprisingly, the RADACADS attracted the corresponding social base with its line and work.

As time went on, the RADACADS crystallized into more developed poles. Although we can only raise this objection in retrospect—because we did not raise it then—the RCP, USA played a role in dividing the forces within the RADACADS, despite the overall Maoist tilt of the RADACADS from its very foundation.

The clearest Maoist pole within RADACADS defended Mao and the Cultural Revolution and opposed Soviet social-imperialism. This pole constantly had to defend Maoism from attacks by those who associated Maoism with the RCP, USA. Many activists with a solid impression of the RADACADS did not favor the RCP, USA. The clearest Maoist pole within the RADACADS was forced to defend the RCP, USA—and usually pretend that there was no difference between the two. Indeed, the conscious political differences were often not clear enough to say that there was a fundamental ideological difference—though there was clearly an organizational difference.

Conscious struggle and a decisive political break had preceded even the formation of the RADACADS. The question raised was why the new-born Maoist forces did not work with the Revolutionary Communist Party's Youth Brigade (RCYB).

Actually, the new-born forces had worked with a number of organizations—but principally the RCYB. A period of strong unity with the RCYB gave way on the issue of El Salvador.

The official RCP position was that the FMLN was "not objectively anti-imperialist" and that it "struck no blows against U.S. imperialism."

While the RCP admitted that the masses in oppressed countries always rise up against imperialism, it held that without a vanguard party formed on Marxist-Leninist principles, the masses could land no blow. This was a sticky point within the RCP itself and the RCP was not always clear on whether or not the masses could land any blows spontaneously. For this reason, the words "objectively" and "are not anti-imperialist" and "strike no blows" were very important.

The RCP gave as reasons for the "strike no blows" assertion that the FMLN was not led by a genuine vanguard party and was influenced by Soviet revisionism. The role of Soviet revisionism was emphasized because—in practice—the RCP believed the FMLN was led by a party, a revisionist party.

The new Maoist forces did not disagree that the FMLN was influenced by Soviet revisionism or, more importantly, that Soviet revisionism was fatal. When the new Maoist forces asked to go over this question in detail, the RCP obtained some FMLN/FDR documents for discussion.

In this crucial discussion, the RCP comrade attacked as revisionism those aspects of the documents that were correct. In particular, the new Maoist forces defended the need for a new democratic revolution against imperialism and semi-feudalism.

In contrast, the RCP was not sure that El Salvador needed a revolution against semi-feudalism and criticized the documents for talk about capitalism and the necessity of a two-stage revolution. The RCP was more perceptive on the question of imperialism, however, than were the new Maoist forces. The RCP correctly labeled the conflict as a disagreement over the principal contradiction in the world. The RCP view was that the principal contradiction between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism ruled even in El Salvador. The RCP seemed to soften this view at times, while honestly asking us: "How can you expose U.S. imperialism while simultaneously attacking Soviet revisionism?"

The key to this lies in objective versus subjective conditions. In other words, MIM was saying that despite subjective leaders like the FMLN, the masses were landing anti-imperialist blows, because the masses were objectively revolutionary in El Salvador. In contrast, the RCP could not imagine objectively revolutionary conditions existing

without a motivational subjective factor. This is a kind of 19th century philosophical idealism which says that the conditions are not revolutionary unless there is a Marxist there to perceive them as revolutionary—and form the vanguard. In essence, the RCP was saying that, "You can't support the FMLN and the Salvadoran people against U.S. imperialism without supporting Soviet revisionism."

Some time after the break on the question of El Salvador, the RCP summed up the new Maoist forces as having a line that the oppressed nations versus imperialism was the principal contradiction. The RADACADS did not deny this, but at the same time, to be quite frank about our theoretical weaknesses, the RADACADS were not clear on this point and openly debated the question, while the RCP had a worked out position and correctly labeled a practical difference. The RCP also correctly stated that this difference should not be considered a big deal and the Maoist forces agreed to co-exist.

The real tell-tale difference between the RADACADS and the RCP was that many activists considered the RADACADS to be substantially more involved in leading and influencing mass movements. RADACADS people also received the compliment of speaking more concretely than the RCP. Even those who swore they would never join any organization like the RCP—because of their reputation for sectarianism and dogmatism—quickly joined the RADACADS and the original RIM and took up leading roles.

The biggest weakness that the RADACADS had was not being able to put together the nature of the white working class and the question of imperialism and the principal contradiction. This worked itself out in practice.

One of the things that slowed down the developing break between the new Maoist forces and the RCP was that the RCP frequently lost itself in the mists of formalism and it was difficult for the RADACADS comrades to pin down the RCP. For quite some time, the main question appeared to be the necessity of a vanguard party. Whenever the RADACADS raised a political issue, the RCP would retort: "You must not understand the need for a vanguard party."

This got so bad that one comrade in the most Maoist pole of RADACADS said we should join the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) en masse, "Because, at least, I can understand what they are saying!" This was a joke, because the PLP used simplified language like "bosses." (PLP had informed RADACADS that they were deemed "centrist" forces by the PLP.)

The RADACADS labored for a while under the illusion that maybe they had not tried hard enough to understand the RCP. But practice quickly proceeded and the differences became more and more difficult to cover up. The new Maoist forces were to learn their differences with the RCP principally through practice. In retrospect, it is clear that some Trotskyists masquerading as Leninists with a confused respect for Mao were the ones who did not understand these real differences.

After the fall-out over El Salvador, the RADACADS formed and its comrades resumed work with the RCP from something of a distance—but in some ways on a larger and more diverse scale. The RADACADS held a quick succession of political education lectures and demonstrations over a period of years. Many events came off in a matter of days, and created a large impression.

The RADACADS summed up that their experiences were drawing forth thousands of people as well as the attention of numerous revisionist and more genuine forces—yet RADACADS lacked a consolidated organization. The questions that pressed to be answered continually became more advanced; and those claiming themselves as vanguard organizations seemed unable to capitalize on the work that the RADACADS was doing so closely with them.

The RADACADS concluded that the RCP had a problem in understanding the mass line relationship between the vanguard and the masses. When the RADACADS and elements of sympathetic organizations renamed themselves the RIM, the suspicion that the RCP was stuck in formalism and Avakianist mysticism was quite strong.

As described above, the RIM comrades went to the RCP after years of joint work and told them that they were definitely not agnostic and wanted to join or form the vanguard party. Even then, the RCP comrades said that the RIM still did not understand the need for a vanguard party. On the other hand, the RCP spokesperson said that the application would be evaluated and that it had some merits.

When the RCP came back with their response another decisive break ensued. Criticism number one was that the document did not recognize the RCP, USA as the vanguard. Criticism number two was that the RIM's criticisms of Trotsky were really criticisms of the RCP! (To which MIM says, "If the shoe fits, wear it!") Criticism number three was a series of opportunist doubts raised that the comrade was a cop for making the application.

The RIM responded that if the RCP accepted the principles in the written document—then certainly the RCP was the vanguard party. If not, the RIM hinted, then the RIM was the vanguard. This point still causes confusion here and internationally. MIM believes there is a vanguard in every society—even if it does not consciously recognize itself as such. The vanguard is simply the scientifically most advanced element. It exists materially. Failure to recognize this truth creates excuses for agnosticism and liquidationism on an idealist basis—which amounts to criticizing reality with ideas only.

The RIM consciously set out to test: who is the vanguard? Should the new Maoist comrades struggle within the RCP or form their own party? The founding documents of the RIM answered this question. By writing these documents and using them as a test, MIM's predecessor, the RIM, followed Mao, who said: "Ideological and political line is decisive."

A symbolic example of the basic difference between the two organizations was in how they conducted their work on the street. While RADACADS/RIM was supposedly soft on party-building, it was RADACADS/RIM that did the most on the street to demarcate Marxism-Leninism-Maoism from Trotskyism and other revisionist variants.

The RCP line was that it did not know what its actual differences with other organizations were—and that it was up to concerned individuals to find out for themselves. Despite this agnosticism, RCP comrades intervened in one instance to physically remove a RIM comrade from conflict with the Spartacist League at a literature table. The RCP referred to us as "Spart-killers" and laughed—because it was RIM practice to stand up to the Sparts and repel their ideological nonsense in front of the masses.

After a certain number of political defeats, the Spartacist League learned not to confront the RIM on the street—a lesson that MIM must teach such revisionists anew from time to time. But to this day, MIM maintains that the majority of RCP members do not comprehend the dividing line differences between Trotskyism and Maoism.

After the break over the membership application, the RCP started treating the RIM as half enemy, half friend. It started telling the RIM some lies for the first time (of notice) and it indulged in formalist cop-baiting.

Nonetheless, relations continued and some joint work was done with RCP organizations, under their own names, and RIM, under its own name. Then the RCP consciously stole the RIM name for its international mutual aid society.

After MIM hoisted its current name and declared itself as the Maoist vanguard in North America, the RCP's formalism and anger eventually cooled down and overtures at substantive unity were made.

Seeds of further division

MIM observed that the RCP's relationship to the masses was formalist and obscurantist. Even on MIM's weakest point at the time—the nature of the white working class—there were telling differences in practice.

Some time after the original RIM's break with the RCP in 1983, the two sides had come together again to discuss deep differences. One thing the RCP did not like was the way RIM's founding documents ended: "Neither before nor after the revolution will RIM wait for class relations to change. RIM will not even wait for the proletariat itself. 'Workerism'—worship of the workers whatever they do—and 'economism'—waiting for economic conditions to dish up revolutionaries on the silver platter, especially through wage struggles—are not only not ways of advancing the revolutionary line now, they are also good ways to blow a revolutionary opportunity."(3) The RCP said, "We'd like to see you say that shit to the workers!" The RCP also had us pinned as seeing "youth as a class," which we denied.

Ironically, the RIM had previously criticized the RCP newspaper for

having nothing to say about the workers' struggles—nothing concrete at all. In response, an RCP comrade made one of his better statements: "You're right; we should [have something to say], only to criticize them!"

By 1984, MIM held a confused duality of views:

1. That the white workers were exploited—a view rarely acted on—except in vague ways—because of the confusion shared with the RCP about "economism";

2. That the RCP had Trotskyist tendencies; and that maybe the principal contradiction was between the oppressed countries and imperialism.

It was not until 1987 that the pieces really started to come together with MIM's study and circulation of *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat,* by J. Sakai, and *Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base for Social Democracy,* by H.W. Edwards. In accord with this new spiral development in theory, MIM made the question of the non-revolutionary, bourgeoisified white working class a dividing line question in practice for U.S.-based Maoists.

Looking back—on this 10th anniversary of our founding—we see that the most ironic struggle the original RIM had with the RCP concerned the class nature of the new bourgeoisie formed under socialism in the Soviet Union, China, Albania, etc.

In an argument over this point, the original RIM discovered that an RCP spokesperson did not know who Liu Shaoqi was![4] This argument did much to persuade the RIM that the RCP was not on any real Maoist footing. In discussions with an associate in 1983, one RIM comrade said, "If they are going to force us to choose between Lenin and Mao: who are you going to pick?" Our associate (not a RIM member, but active in RCP circles) replied, "I don't know about that." The RIM comrade continued, "Don't you think you would pick Mao?"

In a subsequent series of arguments, MIM learned that the RCP held the productive forces as principal under socialism and that the RCP had no idea that inside the Party leadership under socialism a "new" bourgeoisie was created through the various components of "bourgeois right," the division of labor, and other internal contradictions. The RCP believed it was class remnants from the old system and the external force of imperialism that created the bourgeoisie in the party.

One irony of these old struggles from the early 1980s is that in 1993, Raymond Lotta, a theoretician for the RCP, criticized a conference of Maoist parties held in Germany, principally with regard to its lack of a line on the "new bourgeoisie." On the other hand, Avakian's recent works still support the constantly recycled RCP productive forces and external causation theories. Meanwhile, the RCP has also adopted the label "Maoist" under pressure from the Shining Path, and we believe—though unacknowledged—MIM's continued existence and growth.

While the RCP has moved forward on a number of issues, it stands confronted on many other issues that remain unresolved. The touchstone unresolved issue between the RCP and MIM is the nature of the Amerikan working class.

One vanguard

In 1992, after years of struggle, MIM finally concluded that the RCP is, in reality, a revisionist party—a Trotskyist blend. The RCP has proven unable to resolve the key ideological and political issues confronting it and has not benefited from articulate, organized explanations over the years. These issues range from the RCP's absurd, anti-proletarian line against homosexuality to their continued, patently erroneous stance on the principal contradiction the world.

On the international scene, comrades should cast aside the RCP slogans and rhetoric and carefully study recent RCP writings on the role of democracy under socialism; the "revolutionary" nature of the bourgeoisified working classes; the political economy of super-profits; the basis for the emergence of a new bourgeoisie in the party under socialism; the ideological tailing after pseudo-feminist movements; and the theoretical liquidation of the role of revolutionary nationalist movements in the new-democratic revolution.(5)

Unlike some imperialist countries' parties that claim the banner of Mao, the RCP has no excuse for its dogmatism. Material reality—practice—including struggle with MIM—has shown the RCP a number of correct analyses that it has consciously rejected. In some countries, RCP-like parties and affiliates are actually the most advanced elements available. Founding vanguard parties on correct principles in those societies is a struggle dawning on the horizon as Maoism continues its modern resurgence.

In more objectively revolutionary societies, the vanguard parties are more advanced in practice than MIM. As MIM enjoys its 10th anniversary, it resolves for the new year to become an increasingly international force and a political factor in the imperialist countries for the advancement of internationalism on the touchstone questions: the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and China; upholding the lessons of the Cultural Revolution; and the political economy of the imperialist country working classes. ★

Notes:
1. *El Movimiento Comunista Internacional/El Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista, El Pensamiento Gonzalo,* Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru, 1991, p. 318-324. English translation available from MIM for $2.
2. Founding documents available in this pamphlet.
3. See "Manifesto on the international situation and revolution," in this pamphlet.
4. Liu was the leading revisionist proponent of the capitalist road in China, before he was purged during the Cultural Revolution.
5. Order MIM's RCP Study Pak, revised 1994, $15.

Manifesto on the international situation and revolution

Issued Fall 1983
Revised July 1991 by MCØ

In the fall of 1983, the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), at that time called the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), had its equivalent of a founding congress. All members participated in putting together three documents which became the first official literature of the organization.

The original documents name MIM as a "revolutionary communist pre-party" which is "struggling to find the line that must lead revolution." Seeing no way around Lenin's contributions regarding a vanguard party (see What is to be done?*), the documents state MIM "will either join or form a party with the necessary political and ideological line to lead revolution." After much experience both in leftist mass organization and other communist parties, MIM has formed its own party, now considerably more complex than those early days.*

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

Since this document was published, MIM has changed its official line from trying to prevent World War III, to ending the current WWIII.

The name of MIM's direct predecessor was the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement or RIM. When another communist group took the same name, RIM renamed itself MIM.

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

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

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

building up for war in a material sense.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

All this differs from Trotskyism in a number of ways. First, U.S. imperialism with its modern technology is not good for the people. The export of capital does not lead to development of so-called Third World countries, rather a drainage of their resources. Indeed, profits are so high because labor is so heavily exploited. Of the Soviet Union under Lenin's and later Stalin's leadership, Trotsky said, "the most modern achievement of American technique transplanted into all branches of economic life—that indeed would be the first stage of socialism." U.S. imperialism is no more progressive in South Africa, despite all its technical aid, than the rape of Afghani women by Soviet troops.

Secondly, this slavish worship of foreign technology, surpassed only by that of the current leadership in China, is rooted in Trotsky's belittling of the peasantry. According to him, "many sections of the working masses, particularly in the countryside will be drawn into the revolution and become politically organized only after the advance-guard of the revolution, the urban proletariat stands at the helm of the state.... [N]othing remains for the peasantry to do but to rally to the regime of the workers' democracy. It will not matter much even if the peasantry does this with a degree of consciousness no larger than that with which it usually rallies to the bourgeois regime." Characteristically, Trotsky advocated waiting for the proletariat to industrialize all of society. Rather than push for the collectivization of Soviet peasant agriculture, he wished for a socialism of the proletariat alone. According to Trotsky, the peasantry was too incapable to understand modern production organization. He discounted the potential of the peasantry in building socialism and making revolution and expected the proletariat to impose militarized labor on the peasantry as "the basis of socialism" or fight a civil war against the peasantry.

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

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

In fact, Mao and the so-called "Gang of Four" led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in which the line of waiting for experts and technicians to build socialism was crushed. Mao saw that if men like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping had state power they would promote economism so that workers would not concern themselves with the state while it was stolen from them; adopt a commandist line and lord over the supposedly stupid masses and squelch the potential of the masses to build socialism. This is just as their counter parts Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov have done in the Soviet Union.

To avoid a Soviet-type restoration of capitalism, Mao and the "Gang of Four" launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against the high-ranking party officials on the capitalist road. Relying on high school and college youth in the Red Guard movement, Mao initiated and spread the Cultural Revolution nation-wide. The GPCR offers the world the most advanced lessons available in fighting economism, workerism, commandism and the line of experts in control. Of his lifetime accomplishments, Mao said his most important were "driving Japanese imperialism out of China and overthrowing Chiang Kai-shek, on the one hand, and, on the other, carrying through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." That Mao saw the GPCR as so important shows that proletarian control of the state is the first and foremost objective of advancing the revolution and preventing regression to the old and oppressive ways of life.

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

What all revisionism has in common is the replacement of the decisiveness of class struggle with that of things and technology. Accordingly, in both Soviet and Chinese society, experts in production and technology are accorded the highest positions. Revisionism—for example, the theory by which the productive forces are the most revolutionary element of society—in the hands of the top ranking people in the party amounts to a class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. That is to say that revisionist party officials, if they succeed, take control of the state and establish social-imperialism. Then, the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is no longer important

in determining how the economy is arranged. Just as in the capitalist economies, anything that increases production—bigger wage differentials, the establishment of a larger and more anti-proletarian technical elite and the reduction of opportunities for the broad masses—becomes imperative. Profit criteria are restored and production becomes totally tied to the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. However, with the restoration of the anarchy of production, social-imperialism's days are numbered.

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

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

MIM Constitution

Revised January 1995

Membership in the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) boils down to one thing—Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). The fundamental focus of MIM's outlook is internationalism. All revolutions are to be understood through the eyes of the majority of the world's people: the international proletariat. Struggles against patriarchy, capitalism and national chauvinism or any other essential revolutionary struggle begins with internationalism.

Those who uphold MLM belong in MIM. Those who do not, do not. MIM values the political dialogue and work of all people in the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist movements.

One major difficulty with this requirement is that many people who claim to uphold MLM, such as Deng Xiaoping and his U.S. supporters (such as the ex-League of Revolutionary Struggle), are phonies.

To distinguish phony MLM from genuine MLM it is necessary to list some of the features of MLM.

1. Belief that the Soviet Union became social-imperialist after Stalin died. That it was a state-capitalist country which was socialist in words and imperialist in deeds.

2. Belief that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents the most advanced experience of humanity yet in matters of politics and economic construction.

3. Belief that the Amerikan white working class is primarily a non-revolutionary worker-elite at this time; thus it is not the principal vehicle to advance Maoism in this country.

Comrades who uphold MLM and side with MIM on the Cultural Revolution, the Soviet Union, and the white working class belong in MIM.

Comrades who are not sure if they uphold MLM are reminded that it has the following features among others:

1. Belief that a vanguard Party is necessary at this stage in history to lead the struggle for proletarian revolution and against imperialism, militarism, and patriarchy.

2. Willingness to uphold Party discipline. That means comrades abide by majority decisions to the best of their ability.

3. The "right" and "duty" to struggle with the majority view and change it where it is incorrect, while carrying out the will of the majority until it changes unless the will of the majority is not merely incorrect but outright bourgeois.

4. The "duty" to make a break with or away from the Party in action if the Party is taken over by revisionism—i.e., if it takes up revisionism of the post-Stalin Soviet variety, the post-Mao Chinese variety, any of the various forms of social-democratic opportunism popular in the West or any other form of bourgeois ideology. Ultimately it is the responsibility of individual comrades to decide whether or not the Party is making merely minor and tactical errors (which all parties will make) or fundamental revisions of or breaks with MLM.

5. Belief that as long as there is imperialism, there will be war.

Unity

1. Comrades may not be rejected from Party membership for reasons not written in the Constitution.

2. Comrades have the duty of ensuring the maximum unity of the vanguard of the proletariat. They must struggle to ensure that no one is excluded from active Party life over minor faults, differences, personality conflicts etc. Comrades must be Maoists on the whole, not perfect.

3. Comrades may be expelled for actions detrimental to the unity of the international proletariat, but only for actions which fall into one of the written categories below.

(a) Comrades will not practice national chauvinism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, or other discrimination. In addition, comrades must refrain from insulting, harassing or discriminating against people for their group status, when the group status is not a conscious choice.

For example, a woman is born female. She cannot decide to be male. A Palestinian is born to Palestinian parents. Comrades who would insult women, Palestinians, disabled people etc. do not belong in the Party.

Naturally comrades may criticize Judaism or Zionism, but not Jews as a group for all eternity because of their supposedly inborn characteristics or genes or some such ahistorical metaphysical nonsense. On the other hand, it is permissible to generalize about Americans, white South Africans, Israeli Jews within a given historical context. For example, comrades may state that these groups of people are on the side of imperialism for the most part right now, but they may not attribute any fixed characteristics to these groups for all time.

(b) dishonesty, cheating or stealing without regard for the people.

(c) Failure to distribute MIM literature or generally aid the MIM press.

4. Comrades warned, suspended or expelled for their actions detrimental to the unity of the international proletariat may be reinstated depending on the severity of their actions and the completeness of their self-criticism. Once again, comrades must be evaluated overall.

5. Comrades are not allowed to belong to or endorse other organizations which claim to be general socialist, revolutionary, communist or anarchist groups. ★

1996 MIM Literature List

Prices include shipping. Prices may change. All prices and materials subject to availability.

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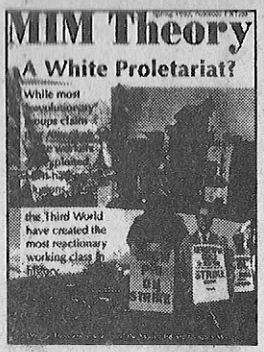

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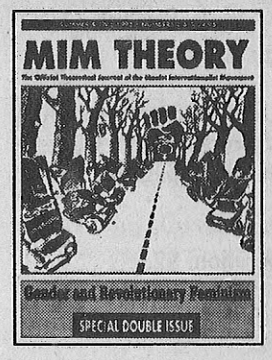

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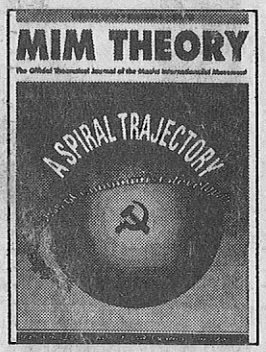

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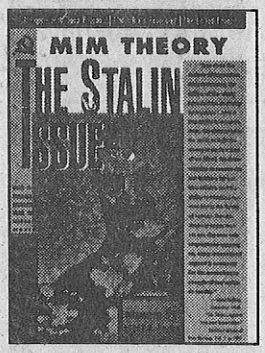

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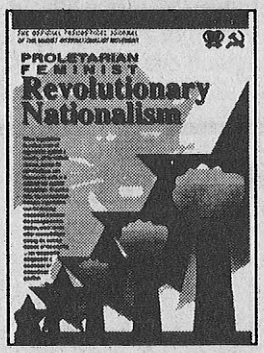

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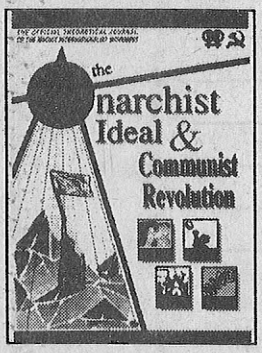

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