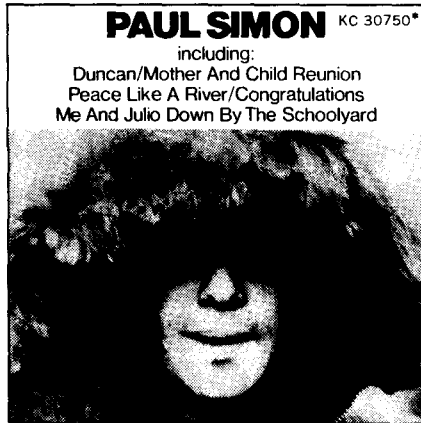


# For some people, the biggest news of the week is on this page.

© "COLUMBIA" MARCAS REG. PRINTED IN U.S.A.  
Monument and Spindizzy  
distributed by Columbia Records.  
\*Also available on tape

If you love music, and if you didn't know about the new albums by Paul Simon and Kris Kristofferson until just now, this is the big story of the week.



The Paul Simon album has already been acclaimed as the most important release so far this year. It's Paul's official solo debut, filled with meaty, new tunes by the composer of all the great Simon & Garfunkel songs; "Bridge Over Troubled Water," "Mrs. Robinson," "Sounds of Silence," and so on.



The Kris Kristofferson album is the third collection of new tunes by one of the most influential songwriters around. The first two albums contained "Me and Bobby McGee," "Help Me Make It Through the Night," "Sunday Mornin' Comin' Down," "For the Good Times," "Loving Her Was Easier," all international hits. The new album contains Kris' hit "Josie," and nine other songs people will be discovering in months to come.

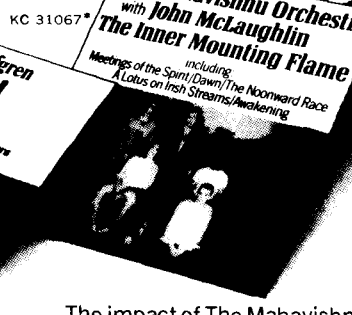
## New releases by tomorrow's newsmakers.



David Bromberg has played on albums by Bob Dylan, Jerry Jeff Walker and countless other "names." Don Heckman in *The New York Times* said, "He is a major talent with all the qualities of a star." This is his first solo album.



Nils Lofgren, the lead singer and songwriter of Grin, can play nearly any instrument well. In his review of "I+I," Greil Marcus of *Creem* wrote, "Lofgren plays a vicious, brash guitar working around the choruses. There is a searing, wonderful intensity in each of his Rockin' Side songs. I'm raving because of the rock and roll, but I love the other side too."



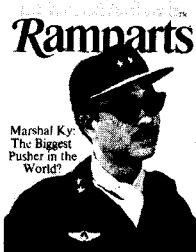
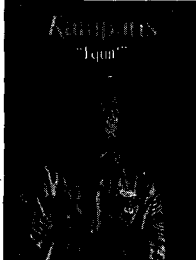
The impact of The Mahavishnu Orchestra with John McLaughlin has been compared to the early days of Cream. And Lester Bangs writing in *The Village Voice* said, "John McLaughlin is the most important guitarist making records right now. (His) influence may ultimately surpass that of Hendrix and Clapton." On their first album the orchestra sounds like they do live.



Kenny Loggins is a new singer/songwriter from California who wrote the hit, "House at Pooh Corner." Jim Messina played with and produced Buffalo Springfield and Poco. This album brings these two giants together . . . "their two voices blend with such ease that you'd think they'd been harmonizing together all their lives. Together they've made a polished, melodic album packed with good material and inventive musical touches," Bud Scoppa, *Rolling Stone*.

**Important releases on Columbia, Monument and Spindizzy Records**

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We grew up when America's innocence was ending. The 60s were hard times, and we found ourselves involved in a series of stories that shocked us about as much as they did the rest of the country.

- In 1964, when the FBI and other investigating agencies were unable to bring the killers to justice our reporters recreated the brutal murders of three civil rights workers in a lone Mississippi field.

- In 1965, as waves of American troops and napalm were washing over the Vietnam countryside, we editorialized in behalf of an NLF victory, documented the horrible mutilations suffered by the children of Vietnam, and tried to give aid and comfort to the militant anti-war movement here at home.

- In 1966, as the Great Debate was beginning over whether or not the U.S. should be in Vietnam, Ramparts showed that it was already a fait accompli: the CIA, the semi-official Vietnam Lobby, and universities like Michigan State having conspired to get us involved there long since.

- In 1967, Ramparts printed an expose on the CIA which if it didn't shake the Johnson administration at least caused it to tremble perceptibly. We showed how the Agency had subverted the National Student Association and kindred institutions and reached into almost every other aspect of American life as well.

- And in 1968, we described the way that US agents had directed the manhunt leading to the capture and execution of Che Guevara, and one of our editors brought home from Cuba the authoritative version of the Guevara Diaries.

We have, in other words, marked our coming of age by crisis in American history. We are 10 years old now, and still raising hell with those out to destroy America. This year, for instance while the President and Congress were filling the air with confusing and misinformed talk about heroin, we showed how the epidemic now afflicting this country was due directly to the opium trade cultivated in Southeast Asia by the CIA, South Vietnam vice-president Ky, and other symbols of the US presence there.

Like any 10 year old, we are proud of ourselves. If a magazine's job is to change things however, we've probably failed, for there's no denying that the 70s are proving as tragic as the 60s. But if journalism is supposed to shake up the powers that be, then Ramparts has done its part. "A gadfly to the establishment"—this is what the New York Times called us. The trouble is that a gadfly doesn't sting hard enough. We prefer to think of the magazine as part of the movement for social change that will some day turn things around in this country.

But whatever we are at the ripe old age of 10, growing up to be an important journalistic voice, having an impact on the times, hasn't been easy. The national advertisers who subsidize most magazines have found our stories too controversial.

But our independence is crucial: on top of the rest of this society's problem is the question of whether there will be a "free press" and diversity of opinion by the end of the 70s.

In a time when magazines like Look have been dying or being gobbled up by conglomerates (Psychology Today by Boise Cascade, for example) and when Nixon, Agnew and Their Gang have been seizing on excuses to assault this diminished press, Ramparts has kept the faith. If we have our way, we'll keep it for another 10 years as well.

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## Et tu China?

THE TWENTY-YEAR IMAGE of China, as the Asian menace and America's implacable enemy, dissolved under the smiles and toasts of Nixon's Peking pilgrimage. It was an abrupt transfiguration. For most Americans it relieved the mythic terror of the fanatical Chinese aggressors. For much of the American Left it compromised the mythic inspiration of China's revolutionary purity. In either case a fixed political point, an element of certitude, was lost.

In its isolation China had long presented itself to Americans as inaccessible to ordinary experience, otherworldly, self-contained, absolute. With all our impressions distorted by their rhetoric and ours, we came to experience China as an abstraction, a pure form, whether of heroism or villainy.

Thus, recalling the first televised pictures of the February visit, it was uncanny to see the gross familiarity of Richard Nixon superimposed on the idealized reality of China. The shock of recognition was perhaps hardest to bear when Nixon, face beaded with feverish ambition, rose to speak and soiled, with his resonant banality, phrases coined in sacrifice by the revolutionary veterans he addressed. To our radical sensibilities it was an obscene, insupportable insult. But a second impression followed that was disturbing in a different way. In our minds, Nixon was an insufferable intruder. But the smiles, cordiality and acquiescence of his hosts registered the fact that he was no gate-crasher there, that these same revolutionary veterans had invited and welcomed him, and were ready to do business with him; that after all they shared his world—and ours.

Bringing our conception of the Chinese revolution down to earth has a tremendous significance, not merely for those who call themselves Maoists, but also for those who would never even consider such a designation. For the China that we supported or opposed was an illusion, and we allowed that illusion to define for us a model of true revolution, barely realizing how deeply we internalized that definition or how much it dominated and distorted all our

perceptions of revolutionary politics. Certainly China has much to answer for today: embracing Nixon while the bombs still fall on Vietnam, after years of the most unrestrained and divisive attacks on the Soviet Union for its own policy of *détente*; supporting West Pakistan's ruthless suppression of Bangladesh, and counter-insurgency in the Sudan and Ceylon. But if the American Left is to advance beyond a vacuous moral revulsion at Chinese policy or a contorted apologia in its defense, we also have to take ourselves to task for our own credulity. And we need to look behind the shifting revolutionary rhetoric to the actual revolution, the reality of China, the immense achievements and perilous weakness of this vast, revolutionary state, moved by national imperatives, capable of chauvinism, and the usual hypocrisy and deception of great power politics in an international situation over which it has little significant control. The article by Jim Peck on page 34 makes a major advance in the understanding of the development of China's policy by setting the contests of political principle in the historical conditions that defined and resolved them. In retrospect it seems remarkable that we ever could have taken the Chinese rhetoric of ideological struggle at face value, as if the policies governing 800 million people could be arrived at by some dialectical algebra from the eternal axioms of Marxist thought, as if political forces really were defeated by abstract refutations, or devastating quotes from Chairman Mao.

Today the Chinese emphasize the utility of tactical compromise, pointing to the fluid interplay of forces in the WWII period. In recent years, however, they evoked the Maoism of the Long March. Of course, we have had only the vaguest notion of the actual workings of Chinese society and foreign policy. And few indulged in scholarly readings of Mao's thought. But we drew upon the slogans emanating from China and from local Maoists, and on the slanderous animosity of our own government, and, largely independent of the objective reality of their politics, we internalized a most compelling conception of the significance of China and Maoism.

Maoism established itself as the politics of direct assault, armed struggle,

power from the barrel of a gun. Whether daring or reckless, it signified militancy.

Maoism represented militant internationalism, support for wars of national liberation, whether realistic or quixotic; it signified solidarity.

In general Maoism came to be understood as revolutionary "extremism," as an extreme expression of uncompromising revolutionary principle; whether resolute or intransigent, it signified determination.

Maoism's persuasive definition of itself, shaped in advance the judgments that could be made about it. Obviously a politics that succeeded in laying claim to the ideals of militancy, solidarity and determination could only with great reluctance be opposed. Even the epithets it evokes: reckless, quixotic, intransigent, all imply a grudging respect, almost as if they were just too good for this world. Set off against the Chinese model, meanwhile, were the Russians. Even for those who felt more comfortable with their policies, the Russians by contrast were quite easy to despise. Timid, self-interested, pragmatic, they were the Babbits of socialism.

This dichotomy worked its way into our own politics, as did the Maoist model of the revolutionary, not necessarily pro-Chinese *per se*, but super-militant, utterly dedicated, fluent in the cryptic and exotic catchwords of Marxism. Some people tried to live out this ideal. At best, like the Progressive Labor Party, they were drawn into the involuted ritualism of the sectarian Left. At worst they were moved, like the Weather-people, to tragic adventures in political violence.

At the same time that we adopted the Chinese model of revolutionary purity as a political touchstone, in a different way we drew upon it as a source of energy and hope. China served as proof that the revolutionary process can make a difference, that it can realize a vision of fundamental social change. Whatever one thought of the principles of the Chinese revolution, they seemed to stick to them with a religious zeal. Their unbending hostility to the West and to backsliders in their own camp showed how unshakable they were.

These irreconcilable oppositions created a sense of radical diversity in the world, a political environment in which

by David Kolodney

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the possibility of revolutionary alternatives came to life. China's intransigence gave us hope.

Now events in China have compromised the spring of revolutionary purity for much of the American Left, and we are faced with a serious dilemma. The immediate impulse is to move in one of two directions, both of which merely compound the error of our original illusion. One is to feel "sold out" and surrender to puerile indignation and despair. The other is to try to cover up, to paper over the cracks in the ideological façade, and replace a naive illusion with a more sophisticated one.

As to the first, indignation at China's abrupt and irresponsible rapprochement with the United States is very much in order. But to see it as a fall from grace merely adds another chapter to the China myth. We have learned little from these developments if we simply see them as a "sell-out" in the sense of a descent from principle to pragmatism in China's foreign policy. The posture of irreconcilability towards a policy of coexistence with the U.S., which has now been abandoned, was never based on an abhorrence of contact with imperialist corruption. Its roots lay in the fact that no equitable accommodation had been offered to China when the U.S. and Russia established their *détente*. China was not invited in, and its rhetoric of intransigence had a strong self-defensive flavor.

Even the emphasis on calls for wars of national liberation was somewhat *faut de mieux*, coming at a time when the fall of Sukarno-type regimes had reduced the prospects of useful relations with incumbent regimes almost to zero. And to the extent that the exhortations to armed struggle were qualified by the doctrine of self-reliance, they had the character of incantation as a substitute for weapons, just as diplomacy substitutes for weapons now.

The attitude of naive disillusionment with recent changes in Chinese policy does not face up to its basic continuity or to the role in it that calculation and self interest have always played. The second dead-end route out of the China dilemma takes these elements as its starting point: Their policies are subject to enormous pressures and constraints, the burden of underdevelopment and encirclement by potential en-

emies. China's leaders are not saints, nor should they be. The survival of the Chinese revolution is of critical importance and, when its leaders are driven to compromises of principle in order to secure its preservation, we should appreciate that overriding necessity and support the position they have been forced to take.

**T**HERE ARE IMPORTANT insights in this sort of viewpoint, but there are pitfalls as well. For one thing we are dealing with leaders of a nation as well as a revolution. They are likely to be influenced by motives of traditional Chinese nationalism, quite independent of the interests of the Chinese revolution as such. The high priority given to the issue of Taiwan surely is in part based on nationalist sentiment, and not solely on defense of the revolution. Taiwan shows how real the danger is of revolutionary principles being subordinated to nationalist prerogatives. One of China's prime motives for inviting Nixon was the potential for a breakthrough on Taiwan. How urgent and essential this prospect was to the defense of the Chinese revolution may be considered problematic, but there is a strong case that it is pursued at the expense of Vietnam. To see this it is not necessary to speculate about under-the-table agreements reached in Peking, or to guess at changes in the flow of aid. At a time when the American people were anxious and impatient with the international atmosphere of continued war, when influential voices were arguing against the war, precisely as an obstacle to rapprochement with China, the Nixon invitation took the pressure off. It undermined opposition by creating an atmosphere of hope, international understanding, relaxation of tensions. From Nixon's point of view it was as good as peace, or better. China certainly had the option to put pressure on Nixon by making U.S. concessions on Vietnam a condition of the visit. Had they responded to the week of full-scale air strikes launched last Christmas by publicly threatening to cancel the invitation unless all bombing of the North was stopped, there would have been political pandemonium in the U.S. The hopes Nixon raised would have been turned against him.

Issues like Taiwan, in which the nationalist element can be somewhat clearly distinguished from the revolutionary interest are rare. Normally such a distinction is extremely difficult. The primary task of a successful revolution is consolidation and defense against enemies more powerful than itself. The case can be made that the best security lies in encouraging fraternal revolution in other nations, so that enemies and neutrals become allies. But historically people arguing for that position haven't had much luck. There is the fear that new attempts at revolution will move the enemies to action. Developing allies through revolution is a long-term process, but the requirements of security and the exigencies of economic underdevelopment won't wait. So the new state tends to seek alliances and *détentes* with the governments of the *status quo* order. When revolutionary movements threaten to disturb these relations, they come into conflict with the revolutionary state which, as an inducement to their government for friendly relations, may oppose the insurgents or influence them to hold their struggle back. In any case the friendliness of the revolutionary state to a government discourages the potential for revolution against it.

There is a notion that the successful revolution, having proved itself in victory, should set itself up as a model and other less advanced movements should follow its leadership. But in fact the successful revolution, with great internal problems still to overcome, is in a very poor position to carry out that task. Its weakness and vulnerability and its need for economic and technical aid makes it a poor candidate for the job of upholding the international revolutionary standard.

When a revolutionary state compromises principle, one may argue whether the compromise was really necessary. But even so, that is a reason to understand and sympathize with its duress, not for us to compromise the same principle ourselves. If the state finds it necessary to lie, it is not necessary for us to believe the lie, or to repeat it. Even if one argues it was necessary for China's security to support the massacre of Bangla Desh, or the suppression of insurgents in the Sudan and Ceylon, that in the historical

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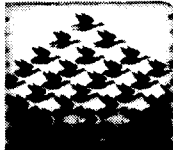
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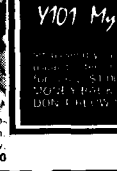
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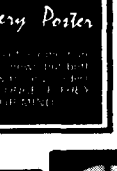
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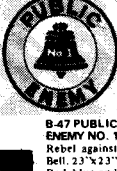
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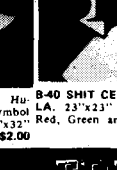
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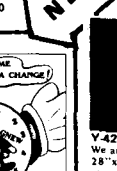
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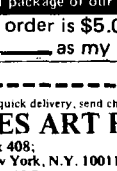
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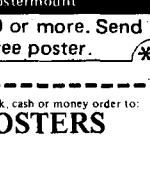
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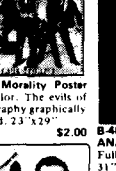
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balance the good outweighed the bad, are we to follow in China's lead, or praise the endorsement of reaction as revolutionary internationalism?

The impulse to cover up for the compromises of the Chinese revolution is compelling for many reasons. They command our profound respect for their achievements and our sympathy for the obstacles they face. But their departures from principle bear a heavy political cost, and the damage is compounded when people around the world who are engaged in struggles in which the clarity of the revolutionary vision is their most precious resource, are called upon to follow after the lines of national policy as they zig-zag with the shifting exigencies of power.

It is a bit ironical that radicals of the New Left should find themselves drawn to the role of apologist. We can recall the easy contempt with which we viewed the desperate attempts of the old line Communists to keep pace with the wild veerings of the Russian party line. It now seems they weren't such complete morons after all. We never realized how plausible a rationale they followed: "Defense of the socialist fatherland." Russia after all stood three decades absolutely alone, subject to embargo, encirclement and intervention, the only existing base for revolutionary possibilities in the world. No one wanted to play into the hands of its enemies. But the results of the grinding hypocrisy, the whole subjection of the revolutionary interests of the entire world to those of a single nation, were a tragic disaster. And in the long run the "yes man" is not even the most devoted servant. The international Left had a responsibility to voice the criticisms which could have strengthened the arguments for socialist principles internally and at least called a halt to the worst excesses.

The cosmetic impulse toward the image of an established revolution is not the product of a merely altruistic concern. The need for a model of revolutionary purity goes deep, even for those who are aware that the reality doesn't measure up. An apologist is engaged in the continuous reconstruction of that lost illusion, until the necessary compromise of principle takes on the moral purity of principle itself. In literature, it is called the willing suspen-

sion of disbelief. But in politics it is double-think.

Adopting as one's own the policies of the Chinese revolution has a particular appeal with which no attitude of sympathetic understanding can compete. When one can internalize motivations of Chinese policy to the point of saying "*We found this necessary*," one can become a vicarious Chinese revolutionary. An act of will, an existential leap, transforms the most minute and ineffectual sect into an outpost of the revolutionary masses of the world. Internationalist consciousness elevates them from an insignificant minority of America to a vast majority of the world.

But it was Richard Nixon who was shaking hands last winter with Mao Tse-tung.

**T**HE PROBLEM NOW IS NOT to turn from China and scan the continents for another revolutionary model, a purer one whose policies are deduced with greater rigor from more elevated principles. Nor should we turn our backs altogether on internationalism and isolate ourselves from the developing forces of revolution in the world. We can value and learn from China's revolutionary experience without setting it up as a model and defining our politics by its acceptance or rejection.

The real importance of the Chinese revolution to the American Left was not so much in those who consciously endorsed it, much less those who fancied to enlist, but in the widely held conviction that, whether you agreed with it or not, this revolution was really revolutionary. Now it is felt that it wasn't really that different after all. The revolutionary process was an arduous struggle towards a vision of society that was indefinably remote. We could take it seriously because the Chinese revolution showed it could be done; it gave us hope. We thought we could look back and see the revolution achieved. Now we have been abandoned by history.

The sense of disappointment is fundamentally misplaced. It was unfair in the first place to measure the achievements of Chinese society against a vision of the full scale of revolutionary possibilities. And it is unfair to measure the revolutionary vision by the

limits which that society has reached.

It is absurd to think that the liberating promise of socialism could be fulfilled on the basis of the hopeless misery, famine, disease, social disintegration which prevailed when revolution came to China. Should we be surprised that, in 20 years of economic embargo, diplomatic isolation, military aggression, they have not transcended the constraints of material necessity? Can we really measure the socialist ideal of internationalism against a society in which the welding of a national consciousness out of the social fragments of colonialism, warlord fiefdoms, decades of foreign and civil war, was a gigantic stride? And should we be surprised that an acutely vulnerable nation retaining the most minimal control over its external environment should be tempted to break out of a closing circle of threatened aggression?

It is, after all, our failure to make our own revolution which has imposed the encumbering burdens of imperialism on theirs. China is not the test of the socialism that will come only when a revolution can be built up on a highly advanced economic and technological base and liberate society from the coercive distribution of scarcity. There has been no such test. That is why our efforts to borrow our revolutionary vision from China or any other existing society is bound to fail. We are forced to create a vision of our own. In that sense our revolution will be the first.

But if the Chinese revolution cannot serve as a model to guide our way, we can still look to it as an extraordinarily vital source of political inspiration. The transformation of Chinese society in the last 20 years remains an unparalleled vindication of the revolutionary process, of the power of a liberating idea, of unity and action, of the creative energy released as people discover in themselves the determination and the capacity to make their own history. To look at the Chinese revolution, so rich in adversity and meager in sustenance, to consider its achievements and then to realize that in our society we have the mastery of material abundance within our grasp, reveals to us the dimensions of the revolutionary opportunity that lies ahead. ■