

"The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earthshaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." 1

In this document, we present the analysis of the PRRWO on the International Situation. This report is divided in the following way:

I. General Report. This part will provide an overview of the world situation. The first section will review some of the history behind the present shape of the world, beginning with the post-W.W. II period. The second section gives the general picture today.

II. Particulars of the Present Situation. In this part, we will go into more detail on some major burning questions facing the world's proletariat, and current areas of struggle.

III. The Communist Movement in America. We conclude with an analysis of various opportunist lines and the Marxist-Leninist line in our movement on the international situation.

We begin this collection of reports from our organization with the international report because as communists, our world view is proletarian internationalism in scope. It is based on and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, which knows no national boundaries. From the analysis that we make of the world situation, we then take up the task of resolving the concrete problems of the American Revolution. As American Communists and workers, we are a detachment of the international communist and workers' movements, rising up on various soils in common struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism.

1. General Report: Historical Development of the Present Situation.

A. The Situation After World War II

In the immediate post-war period (1945-1953), the world contained two armed, hostile camps, squaring off at each other, with a broad intermediate zone between them. On the one hand stood the capitalist camp, headed by the sole superpower, U.S. imperialism. On the other stood the socialist camp, headed by the land of bolshevism, the Soviet Union, with the Great Joseph Stalin at the helm. During this period, the contradiction between the socialist and capitalist camps assumed principal importance among the basic world contradictions. This was a recent development in the alignment of class contradictions on a world scale. In the first phase of the second World War, the principal contradiction was among the imperialist powers. With the German attack on the Soviet Union, the principal contradiction

revolved around the struggle between fascism and democracy. And in the early 60's, with the rise of the national liberation movements -- along with the split of the socialist camp, as we shall see later -- the principal contradiction became that between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.

The Second World War left the capitalist countries with the notable exception of the United States, in a shambles; these countries were faced with the problems of reconstruction, though not along socialist lines. In the capitalist world, the U.S. assumed hegemony over England, France, Japan and Germany. The U.S. policy towards these countries had a dual character: re-establish the domestic bourgeoisies on the one hand to stop the rising proletarian wave and fight off "The Red Menace" internationally; and use the superior U.S. position to make further inroads into the lesser powers' economies via heightened U.S. capital "investment". (Note further: this process had already begun. During the war, the Rockefellers and Morgans, among others, were the behind-the-scenes owners of a large part of the German industrial war machine). The U.S. used its top dog position to grab the colonies and "spheres" of the lesser powers as well. Long battling yankee imperialism, the people of Latin America were now joined in common struggle with the peoples of Asia and Africa. The United States was on its way to becoming the chief target of hate by the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

Diametrically opposed to the capitalist camp, was the mighty socialist camp. The example set by the socialist camp was finding welcome acceptance by workers in capitalist countries and peoples of the colonies, and this caused the imperialists nightmares. The Soviet Union in particular had shown the bright future that lay ahead. While the capitalist world was in the midst of its "Great Depression", the workers' state was building its economy by leaps and bounds; prices were stable and unemployment was unknown. Try as the capitalists did to change history, the masses knew it was not the much-ballyhooed "D-Day" that turned the tide in World War II, but the heroic stand of the Soviet workers and peasants, climaxing in the battle of Stalingrad, that broke Hitler's back. The Soviet Union showed how to correctly resolve the national and colonial question; it was a multi-national state where national oppression had become a thing of the past.

Now a full contingent of 13 countries, representing a significant portion of the earth's people, land and resources made up the socialist camp-- Albania, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, the People's Republic of China, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This camp, building along mutual economic, political, military and cultural lines combined with the rising national liberation movements in the colonies and revolutionary

workers' movements headed by communist parties in the capitalist countries, combined to make up so powerful a force as to shake the capitalists to their knees.

2. The "Cold" War

Immediately following the "close" of World War II, the capitalist world, headed by U.S. imperialism, put its plan of counter-revolutionary action into effect. They called this period, the "Cold War". In reality, it was very hot. To clear the decks for action, internally the capitalists subverted the communist parties. In the U.S., this "McCarthy Period" hit at an already weakened CP that had just purged Browder, (but not the essence of revisionism). Rather than boldly fighting back, the CP adopted an almost strictly "legal" defense. Such capitulation in the face of attack was one of the blows from which it never recovered during this time.

Abroad, the immediate danger to the U.S. imperialists was the imminent loss of China. Steeled Communists and aroused masses, led by Mao Tse-Tung and the CPC, were fixing to drive Chiang Kai-Shek, the U.S. puppet, into the sea. A people's revolution in China would mean the loss of a market of 600 million for the capitalists -- staggering. Once Japan no longer posed a threat, U.S. war materials and "advisors" arrived in China to aid Chiang to no avail. The People's Republic was established in 1949. Frantic, the U.S. engineered aggression in Korea to "save Asia" (for capitalism). The Korean people, aided by one million Chinese volunteers, beat the dogs to a standstill. Thus, almost as soon as it had reached hegemony, U.S. imperialism began to decline. Korea set the pattern for subsequent U.S. losses in wars of national liberation in the years to come.

In the 1950's, a movement of oppressed people within a capitalist country assumed such significance that it became the center of worldwide attention, linked as it was in the struggle of the national liberation movements and supported by the socialist camp. The U.S. propaganda machine, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, U.S. Information Agency, etc., had no way of explaining the contradiction raised by the Black liberation struggle. The heroism of Afro-Americans, overcoming fascist repression in the "land of the free", dealt blows to U.S. imperialism's "democratic" posturing. By 1963, Mao, in the name of communists and oppressed peoples delivered a firm message of support to Black people in struggle against U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism's further exposure as the enemy of the world's people began to show itself in case after case, wherever it raised its ugly head. An important example was its holding of Puerto Rico as a colony, in the face of a U.N. decision "outlawing" colonies.

The picture was indeed bright. Oppressed and exploited everywhere were being united by communists, and had the beacon

of a socialist camp to look to, in revolutionary battle against a common, naked-in-its-savagery enemy.

Then a temporary, but harmful setback occurred. A new bourgeoisie restored capitalism in the Soviet Union and split the socialist camp.

3. Split of the Socialist Camp

In the history of the international proletariat, there probably has not been so great a setback as that caused by the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, and the subsequent split of the socialist camp by the Soviet revisionists. With the takeover, completed by 1956 of the Khrushchev revisionist clique in the Soviet Union, "... a "second front" has been opened in the world against socialism and communism." (Hoxha, in his "Report to the Sixth Congress", p. 23)

The traitors' plan unfolded in stages, first they gained control of an efficient socialist economic, state and party machinery, and conducted an all-round restoration of capitalism, backed by a fascist dictatorship. Next, they sought hegemony in the socialist camp. If they could manage that, the revisionists would move into their first phase of social-imperialism. "Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds" - by manipulating the prestige of the socialist camp to make the revolutionary workers' movements in capitalist countries (where revisionist communist parties were to be their agents) and most especially, the national liberation struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America, subordinate to and in service of their aims.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists began immediate struggle against the designs of the revisionists. In the forefront of the struggle which unfolded immediately after Khrushchev's report at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, were the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. Until then, the chief revisionist country had been Yugoslavia. Now, the Khrushchev clique was calling for readmittance of the "Yugoslav comrades" into the socialist camp. They attacked Stalin as a "monster", declared that wars under imperialism were not inevitable, and said socialism could be achieved in "peaceful transition" from capitalism. Their neo-colonialist plans began to be seen in Poland in 1956. In the face of popular struggle against Soviet hegemony, the Soviet clique threatened a military invasion. Heading off the crisis, Chou En-Lai worked out a compromise between the two states. A few weeks later, the Hungarian counter-revolution, instigated by the CIA and Tito's agents, occurred. Now the revisionists vacillated in using force to put down this attempt at capitalist restoration. The Chinese and Albanians gave the Soviet party much criticism over this.

As CPSU Congresses continued, the revisionist line had further developed. An attempt at unity was made in 1957 in Moscow at a meeting of Communist and Workers Parties. Chairman Mao led the Chinese delegation, and in a speech, put forth this famous thesis, "The East wind is prevailing over the West wind",

an indirect criticism of the softening Soviet stand towards U.S. imperialism. Such tactics on Mao's part and that of other genuine Marxist-Leninists should be seen as attempts to give criticism within the spirit of unity, and must not be misconstrued, as some would have it, of a "weakness towards revisionism". The year before, at a speech delivered at the second plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC, Mao said:

"I think there are two 'swords': One is Lenin and the other is Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been abandoned by the Russians. As for the sword of Lenin, has it too now been abandoned to a certain extent by some leaders of the Soviet Union? In my view it has been abandoned to a considerable extent. Is the October Revolution still valid? Can it still be the example for all countries? Khrushchev's report at the 20th Congress of the CPSU says it is possible to gain political power by the parliamentary road, that is to say, it is no longer necessary for all countries to learn from the October revolution, Once this gate is opened, Leninism by and large is thrown out." ²

Trampling on the 1957 Moscow Declaration of Unity, which re-affirmed revisionism as the main danger, the Soviet revisionists stepped up their counter-revolutionary activity. They stepped up economic pressures against Albania, trying to force them to the revisionist swamp. Albania held firm, telling the Soviets they'd "starve first". In 1958, in response to imperialist invasion of Lebanon and preparations to attack revolutionary developments in Iraq, the Soviet clique showed more of its social-imperialist nature by proposing a summit conference of the "major powers", at the expense of the Arab peoples, and without first consulting the parties of the Socialist camp. That year, in response to U.S. occupation of Taiwan and aggressive remarks about "Retaking the Mainland", China shelled the islands of Quemoy and Matsu (held by reactionaries). The Soviets took a "neutral" stand, in essence supporting the U.S. In 1959, after the imperialist-backed Nehru government attacked China, the Soviets took another of those "neutral" stands. Finally, at the Rumanian CP's Congress in June 1960, Khrushchev called Mao (by name) "...An ultra-leftist, an ultra dogmatist and indeed a left revisionist". Albania was the only party to defend the CPC in Bucharest. Pressure was now applied to the Chinese, as Soviet technicians were pulled out of China.

In November of 1960, the last full meeting of the socialist camp took place in Moscow. The "closed" debate that had begun in 1956 came into the open. Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the PLA, delivered a major speech attacking modern revisionism in general and Khrushchev in particular. In the face of lies by party after party, Comrade Teng Hsiao Ping, head of the CPC delegation, called this opportunism out for what it was: "... The purpose behind the condemnation... is intended to place a bomb under the

Chinese Party... We shall not yield!"

Out of this meeting came the Moscow Statement, which the CPSU leaders proceeded to treat as so much paper. In 1961, Khrushchev, at the CPSU Congress vehemently attacked Albania. Chou En-Lai defended Albania there. In 1962, the Vietnamese and Korean parties, among others, worked hard against the imminent split. In this spirit, the CPC wrote the letters contained in 'A Proposal Concerning the General Line'. The Soviet attitude was to increase pressure- and make friendly overtures to a U.S. imperialism that was escalating its aggressive war in Vietnam. That the Soviet leadership was ready to go to bed with the imperialists, they made clear. When in late '62, India attacked China again, shaking its "neutral" stance, the social-imperialists promised jets-- to India.

Now the Soviets instructed their lackeys in other "Communist Parties" to step up the Anti-Communist campaign. The French, Bulgarian, American, Czechoslovakian, Italian and other parties, in Congresses and Editorials, attacked Albania, China and the proletarian line as the "danger of dogmatism, sectarianism, and ultra-leftism which 'now became' the main danger in our movement."

At the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in 1963, the Chinese delegate was actually booed and otherwise interrupted for criticizing Yugoslav revisionism.

By 1963, the split was complete and China published its "Great Polemic"-- a series of 9 articles against modern revisionism, headed by the USSR. What the imperialists failed to do, their indirect allies succeeded in doing: breaking up that camp for which the international proletariat had so long labored.

We make this space to go into so much detail on the split in socialism, because, one, the rise of social-imperialism changed the alignment of class forces in the world, and two, we must forever lay to rest the twin lies that China and Albania caused the split, or that a 'socialist camp' still exists.

4. Rise of the National Liberation Movements

The principal contradiction in the world prior to the split in socialism was between the socialist and imperialist camps. But even before the split, the staunch communists were arguing that a shift in the principal focus of world contradictions was occurring, that the struggle for national liberation against imperialism was forming the principal contradiction. The Soviet revisionists argued against this. But genuine communists analyzed the shift and its impact correctly. At its Ninth Congress, the CPC put forth this correct estimate, shared by the world's Bolsheviks. The principal role of the national liberation movements, as well as the recent social-imperialist danger, were taken into account, as the basic world contradictions were clear-laid out:

1. "Between the oppressed nations on the one hand and the

imperialists and social-imperialists on the other."

2. "Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revolutionary countries."

3. "Between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among imperialist countries."

4. "Between the socialist countries on the one hand and imperialist and social-imperialist on the other." 3

The Soviets used the '50's mostly for internal consolidation and gaining hegemony in the socialist camp. This policy was one of biding time while U.S. imperialism caught hell and fell into decline around the world. One oppressed nation after the other whipped U.S. or an ally's butt as link after link in the imperialist chain has broken. Egypt and the Suez Canal incident in 1956; the Vietnamese victory at Dien Bien Phu; Algeria's battle against France; Cuba's liberation in 1959; the spread of the liberation struggle in South East Asia from Vietnam, to Laos, and later throughout Indo China; Syria's stand against U.S. subversion; mass uprisings of protest against yankee imperialism throughout Latin America; student demonstrations throughout the west; the fight in the Congo; all this and more caused the Third World rightly to be termed "the stormcenter of revolution."

Imperialism frantically tried to regroup through its deceptive neo-colony program; but these puppets are only enmeshing their masters in deeper contradictions. And though many of these struggles were led by national bourgeois elements, on the "Balance Sheet" that Stalin spoke of, they represent popular blows against imperialism. Further on, we will expose the opportunist line, particularly CL's, which eliminates the revolutionary aspect of national liberation struggles, because they are not "revolutionary enough".

Similarly, U.S. "economic aid" programs were exposed, for the traps they were, as Soviet "military aid" is being exposed today.

5: Revolution is the Main Trend in the World Today

The political report to the CPC Ninth Congress spoke to another question of international significance: that capitalist restoration is not inevitable. The Chinese experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has proved that while class struggle is inevitable in the period of socialism, a Bolshevik Communist Party which employs a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, can turn the struggle into a proletarian victory and further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The setback which was brought about by the opening of the

"Second Front against Socialism and Communism" has been more than offset by the deeper understanding of modern revisionism as the main danger in the communist movement. During the '60's, the forces of Trotskyism, dormant since their bankruptcy was exposed thirty years earlier, gained a temporary rise in standing, (particularly in the North and Latin America, and Western Europe) concurrent with the growth of modern revisionism. But as the ideological fight against revisionism exposes opportunism generally, the peak of the brief Trot rise has passed. The struggle against both "left" and "right" forms of bourgeois ideology within the communist and workers' movement has brought the Marxist-Leninists of the world closer together in struggle.

The world today, as our Chinese comrades say, is in a state of "Great Disorder" and for the revolutionary forces, this can only mean an "excellent situation". U.S. imperialism no longer maintains the degree of hegemony over other capitalist countries it once did, let alone over the colonies. There are now two superpowers contending for dominance, and this can only mean their mutual defeat. New alignments are being formed, in the Third World and among capitalist countries (with the exception of the two superpowers) opposed to the superpowers. This provides a favorable factor for socialist revolution.

Diplomatically, China and Albania have used such forms as the UN to further isolate the superpowers. Within the capitalist and revisionist countries, the workers' movement grows. Each year sees an increase in the number of days lost to strikes, and the number of workers involved in a greater number of demonstrations on the first line struggles against rising prices and lowered wages. The general crisis of capitalism moves inevitably towards its second "Greater Depression", while the socialist countries continue to build planned economies free of the ravages of inflation, unemployment, destruction of natural resources and cultural decadence.

The national liberation movements in the colonies continue to push forward, toppling governments and regimes once thought invincible.

In these capitalist countries where the revisionist parties long held sway, young Bolshevik Parties are exposing the sell-outs and opportunism, and are dealing with the concrete problems faced in taking state power. In the revisionist countries, the Soviet clique can barely maintain hegemony over its neo-colonies, while successors to the Dimitrovs of Eastern Europe and Sverdlovs of the Soviet Union build clandestine circles against the social-bourgeois usurpers of power. The march of revolution can be heard in Oceania, as the staunch Australian Party leads the workers and laboring masses against the bourgeoisie.

We are living in a great time, a historical time; the days of imperialism are numbered. So long as we "persevere in struggle and are good at struggle", no force on earth can stop us. This is a time of true emancipation, a time when

"Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution." 4

Summing up world experience since World War II, in his statement of May 20, 1970, Mao said: "Revolution is the main trend in the world today." Whoever stands against this trend, no matter what their disguise, is an enemy of the people and will soon be laid to waste by the people. Whoever stands with this trend is for the people, and those who play a leading role-- making mistakes, doing criticism and self-criticism, summing up experience and struggling on a higher level-- are communists.

The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, in joint struggle with and learning from other such communists, stands prepared to help build the main trend into a mighty flood of revolution, to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in America and on to the future socialist world order.

II. Some Objective and Subjective Factors of the Present

Situation

1. The Nature of Present-Day Imperialism and Social-Imperialism.

Our present era is that of "imperialism and proletarian revolution", as Comrade Stalin says in Foundations of Leninism. To understand this era, we first have to understand the nature of imperialism and social-imperialism.

"Imperialism", as Lenin titled his masterwork on the subject, "is the highest stage of capitalism". In 'Imperialism and the Split in Socialism', he says: "Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is three-fold; imperialism is (1) monopoly capitalism; (2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism; (3) moribund capitalism." What this means is:

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the capitalist powers has been completed." 5

Beyond imperialism, there is no future capitalist development. Capitalism that has managed to reach this stage has played its string out. The basic contradictions of the capitalist

system are intensified to the bursting point, and, in turn, heighten the tension of the basic world contradictions.

"This intensification of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the final victory of world finance capital." 6

Brilliantly, Lenin summed this up in the formulation,

"Imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution of the proletariat." 7

The phenomenon of social-imperialism, or state monopoly capitalism, differs from "capital-imperialism". (Peking Review #25, 1972: "On Studying Some History About Imperialism") only in the form of ownership of the means of production and appropriation of wealth. In a capitalist country, the form of ownership and appropriation is "private". In a revisionist country, the form used is the state. In both cases, the essence behind the forms is a system of monopoly capitalism ruled by the bourgeoisie.

The world imperialist system is headed by two superpowers--the United States and the Soviet Union. The former has been in a state of decline since World War II; of late, the rate of decline has accelerated, brought on by both objective and subjective factors. The latter is on a temporary capitalist "rise", having consolidated internally (including the set-up of its neo-colonialist apparatus in Eastern Europe) in the '50's before making its bid for hegemony in the '60's. As the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver Hoxha of Albania said in his Report to the 6th PLA Congress:

"Regardless of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world, U.S. imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples..." 8

Further:

"An enemy just as dangerous, just as cunning and aggressive as U.S. imperialism for the peoples and the revolution is the new Soviet revisionist imperialists." 9

Complementing this view is the Chinese analysis of Soviet social-imperialism as "the greater long-range threat" (Chinese official in talks with American delegation, Peking, Fall 1971). Both these superpowers are paper tigers which pose real problems tactically, but in the face of persistent united struggle, are doomed strategically.

The other capitalist powers - Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Britain - are by no means out of the picture. Once dominated by the "dollar empire", these countries have "grown" as U.S. imperialism declines, and no longer follow the American lead. At the same time, the climactic ills capitalism faces today - inflation, unemployment, etc. - is more intense in these countries than in the U.S. * Of course, differences between the bourgeoisies of these countries and the ruling classes of the two superpowers are essentially differences among greater and lesser thieves. But the differences will grow in time, not lessen, and this is favorable in our international situation. The struggle between the superpowers still sets the main tempo among the capitalist countries, as they race for hegemony. In the course of this struggle for dominance, they never reach "detente", which is nothing but a smokescreen for more backstabbing and exploitation of the world's peoples.

"They contend as well as collude with each other. Their collusion serves the purpose of more intensified contention. Contention is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion is relative and temporary." 10

At this time in particular, the world situation is revolving around:

"... the contradictions between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other hand, and of the contradictions among imperialist and social-imperialist countries... This (contention between the superpowers - PRRWO) has resulted in turbulence in the world and aroused strong resistance among peoples everywhere." 11

So, to fully understand the world today, we must dig deeper into the situation of these two super-paper tigers.

Some Facts About Two Doomed Monsters

Let us begin with the older superpower, U.S. imperialism. Another document will go into detail on this sinking ship's explosive domestic situation. Here, let us just note that in the U.S., inflation is raging at a 12% clip and, like the 6% rate of unemployment, growing fast (latest conservative bourgeois statistics). These figures are understatements, as actual unemployment is perhaps 2-2 1/2 times as much when you adjust for those persons who have dropped off the unemployment rolls, or are "underemployed." The figure for Blacks and other national minorities, as well as women, is staggering relative to the whole population.

*We are not able to present an analysis of the economic situation within the lesser capitalist powers. However, the situation in each of these countries, incredible as it may appear, is actually worse than in the U.S. today. Japan and Britain in particular, are in the midst of a grave economic crisis. Throughout the capitalist and revisionist world, economic disasters are building towards explosive confrontations.

In the postwar period, the U.S. was king of the hill, the capitalist hill. It made up half the capitalist world's industrial production, one-third of its exports, and 3/4 of its gold reserves. It was able to use its power to make the dollar the standard currency of the capitalist world (in 1944 through the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund) by making the dollar the only currency that could be converted into gold, and simultaneously establishing parity between other currencies and the dollar (based on the amount of gold backing these currencies). This made the gold the standard for value, and the imperial dollar the medium between the other currencies and gold. What the U.S. saw as a slick business move turned into its opposite; the decay of moribund capitalism meant that the capitalist world was hitched on to a standard with a collapsing future, and the boom fell in the monetary chaos of 1972.

The national liberation movements in particular have been dealing U.S. imperialism death-blows. Each successful struggle represents a market either reduced or removed from U.S. exploitation. Imperialism must, as a basic law of survival, constantly expand; "private" capital exports between 1946-1970 amounted to \$110,000 million, while in the 'public' sector (the various forms of aid), it totaled \$150,000 million between 1945-1971. ¹³ Let us note that the scum in CL who try to bend the importance of capital exports as a prime feature of imperialism would cite these figures just presented and stop so as to build their case for "imperialism (of the 'USNA' stripe) is the main trend in the world today". But this - opportunistically on the part of such "tremendous theoreticians" - fails to note:

1. That these capital exports are going to progressively shrinking markets, which is like consolidating on a bed of quicksand, and

2. That this fantastic outflow of dollars, until recently, has had to be backed by gold. In 1972, \$60,000 million was floating abroad, backed by \$10,000 million in gold. And getting off the gold standard is only feeding fuel to the flames of capitalism's economic contradictions, not resolving it. We are familiar with pre-World War II Germany and the bourgeoisie printing so much money to cover itself that money was worth less than the paper it was printed on; in capital exports and other areas, the U.S. bourgeoisie has proven that, like all capitalists and their lackeys, they are idealist to the bone and incapable of learning from history.

And the dogs in CL who rave about capital exports are faithful capitalist lackeys, for they would have us believe that imperialism is free of contradictions and only benefits from capital exports (the last part of this report will detail the counter-revolutionary line of CL on the international situation, as expressed in its trash "International Report" and article on the U.S.S.R.)

Further proof of this mad outflow of dollars are the \$10,200 million in bank notes issued between 1969-1971. ¹⁴

13

The defeat of the dollar's credibility combined with the "energy crisis" to produce an economic backbreaker which U.S. imperialism cannot recover from. We are witnessing the efforts of bourgeois economists, idealists all, to save a mortally wounded buzzard. Inevitably, the imperialists will get more frantic and foolish to save themselves, shifting more of their crisis on the backs of American workers, increasingly resorting to repression and terror to force the taking of this weight, while multiplying plunder and oppression abroad. An effect of this is the continued growth, in the face of general decay, of the war industry. But the million-plus troops abroad on over 2000 military bases are only another target for the armed criticism of the world's peoples.

Compare the recent statistics here with those cited at the beginning of this section on U.S. imperialism's position at the close of World War II:

"The U.S. share of the capitalist world's industrial production dropped from 53.4% in 1948 to 41.3% in 1970, and its share of the capitalist world's export trade has gone down from 32.4% in 1947 to 16% in 1969." ¹⁵

And the U.S. gold reserve went from \$24,600 million in 1949 to \$10,000 million in 1972. ¹⁶ In light of such facts, who can dispute U.S. imperialism's absolute and relative decline?

"But it follows from this that the sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) will not expand, but contract; that their opportunities for sale in the world market will deteriorate, and that their industries will be operating more and more below capacity. That, in fact, is what is meant by the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system in connection with the disintegration of the world market." ^{17*}

*We would remind comrades that Stalin wrote these words in 1952, at the height of U.S. power. While some Communists made right errors of analysis in overestimating imperialism's strength, Stalin was able to see the essence behind the facade of strength as inherent weakness. Likewise, Comrade Mao, in '47, laid pessimistic fears to waste when he wrote, "The war boom in the United States of America was only temporary. The strength of the United States is only superficial and transient. Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U.S. imperialism every day. U.S. imperialism is sitting on this volcano." ¹⁸

Although CL's analysis of U.S. imperialism's 'strength' is somewhat more in keeping with its postwar status than the present situation, there is no doubt that even with regards to U.S. imperialism's "strength" then, the CL line is essentially the right defeatism Mao and Stalin attacked then.

The situation of Soviet social-imperialism is hardly better.

When the Khrushchev gang took control of the state power in 1956, the socialist revolution that had been led by Lenin and Stalin suffered a temporary, serious reversal. Capitalism was restored in an all-around way. The Brezhnev crew's succession in 1964 merely signaled the further consolidation of the bourgeoisie and an expansion of its imperialist aims. Let us look into this capitalist restoration further.

"In the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the proletariat have been liquidated...The state and the party have been turned into tools in the hands of the revisionists to defend and consolidate their political and economic domination...

"The change in the character of the party and the state, the counter-revolutionary transformation in the field of the political ideological super-structure, could not fail to lead to the changing of the economic base of socialism as well...They (Khrushchevites - our emphasis-) introduced a system of organization and management into the Soviet economy in which the aim of production became the extraction of capitalist profit...

"Having taken the reins of the state and the economy into its hands, the new Soviet bourgeoisie, composed of bureaucrats and technocrats, used them to insure privileges and huge incomes for itself...

"In the Soviet Union, a deep process of disintegration, decadence and degeneration is taking place in all the fields of ideology, morality, education and culture... Bourgeois ideology, with all its consequences, is becoming the dominant ideology. The norms of communist morality for serving the cause of the people with devotion are being replaced with running after personal interests, with individualism and careerism." 19

"How was it possible for the restoration of capitalism to take place in the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, and how was it possible for the Soviet Union to become social-imperialist? If we examine this question from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, and especially in the light of Comrade Mao Tse Tung's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we shall be able to understand that this was mainly a product of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, the result of the usurpation of Party and government leadership by a handful of Party persons in power taking the capitalist

road there; in other words, the result of the usurpation of the political power of the proletariat by the Soviet bourgeoisie. At the same time, it was the result of the policy of 'peaceful evolution' which world imperialism, in trying to save itself from its doom, has pushed in the Soviet Union through the medium of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique...

"Being the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union lacked experience in consolidating this dictatorship and preventing the restoration of capitalism. In these circumstances and after Stalin's death, Khrushchev, a capitalist-roader in power hiding in the Soviet Communist Party, came out with a surprise attack in his 'secret report,' viciously slandering Stalin and by every kind of treacherous maneuver, usurped Party and government power in the Soviet Union. This was a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat which turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie..."

"Comrade Mao Tse Tung points out: 'The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie.'"20

"The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type..."21

"Beset with difficulties at home and abroad, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is resorting more and more openly to counter-revolutionary violence to buttress its reactionary rule... Revolution is a crime, and people are everywhere being jailed on false charges... Large numbers of revolutionaries and innocent people have been thrown into concentration camps and 'mental hospitals!..."

"...Now the Soviet revisionist new tsars have restored the old tsars' policy of national oppression, adopted such cruel measures as discrimination, forced migration, splitting and imprisonment to oppress and persecute the minority nationalities and turn the Soviet Union back into the 'prison of nations.'"22

Thus, in the Soviet Union, a new bourgeoisie arose from unremolded elements maintaining positions of privilege in the Party, government, military, technical and like fields. They managed to cover each other and lie in waiting, with no full-scale cultural revolution to expose them. Under their maneuverings, other elements under their "responsibility" degenerated away from the proletarian standard. It was this degeneration, this softening of the Bolshevik

steel, that paved the way for the subsequent, relatively peaceful (i.e., not at all an "armed capture") takeover.

Such is the present state of affairs within the Soviet Union. Only a rotten revisionist and traitor, who is aware of the facts, could try to pass the U.S.S.R. off as a "socialist" country. Yet this is exactly what both the "CP", and PSP do. CL, trying to pass off capitalist restoration as a "Half-restoration", winds up in the same muck.

Just as the U.S. is finding it increasingly difficult to maintain control over its allies, the Soviets are having the same problems with their neo-colonies of Eastern Europe. They dominate these countries through the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). In recent years, Rumania, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia have publicly criticized Soviet domination of their economies and governments. While such criticism cannot be misconstrued as any tendency on the part of these lesser revisionists towards socialism, given the neo-colonial status of these countries this contradiction is of a type between a national bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of an oppressor nation, which can be used in the revolution's favor. The Brezhnev clique tries to pass off their neo-colonialism with such phrases as a "division of labor," "a specialization of labor," "economic integration" and "limited sovereignty." The Soviets are everywhere building an imperialist empire to match America's. Wherever conflict breaks out, the Soviet Union is ready to "get its pieces of the action." Cuba's increasing indebtedness to the Soviet butchers, whose loansharking certainly doesn't support any Cuban move towards self-reliance, has placed this once "liberated territory of America" under Soviet "limited sovereignty", attempting to match U.S. control in Puerto Rico. At the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Sept. 1973 in Algiers, Premier Fidel Castro was booed by the Third World countries, who know too well what Soviet "aid" means, for attempting to raise the Soviet Union as a "friend" of the Third World. The Cuban Communist Party has been used by the Soviet revisionists to deliver attacks against China and the international communist movement. Clearly, the Soviet plan is to make Cuba its "Latin neo-colony."

In the area of exports, the U.S. deals mainly in consumer goods (most particularly foodstuffs), while the Soviets, due to the inferiority of their consumer products, trade more in arms. These "merchants of death" go everywhere, peddling their weapons in exchange for oil and other raw materials. More importantly, they attach "advisors" and "technicians" to the deal, whose role is to subvert the recipient country's internal affairs. With all the clauses contained in a Soviet arms agreement, the weapons are barely, if ever, used. Such was the kind of "aid" the Soviets gave Cuba in the 1962 missile crisis, or to Egypt in the 1967 war with Israel (a factor contributing to the Egyptian defeat was

was that the Egyptians were not allowed to use the tanks bought from the Soviets until the "advisors" gave the OK. Moscow said they were not to be used, and the tanks were sitting ducks for the Israeli planes). High priority is given to arms export because Soviet consumer goods are of such inferior quality, even compared to Western capitalist products of "planned obsolescence". An enormous proportion of the Soviet economy is tied to war production, even more than America's. In selling their weapons, high prices and usurious rates of interest are charged.

This war-gearred economy has grown at the expense of the living conditions of the Soviet people. Basic needs are not being met. Against the fascist rule, the Soviet workers and peasants have conducted revolutionary acts of sabotage of production, slow-downs, disruptions and even strikes.

The two superpowers stand isolated in their common savagery. Their defeat will mark a glorious triumph for the world's peoples and go a long way towards clearing the path to the socialist order internationally.

The United Front Against Imperialism

It must be kept in mind that the task of communists is to apply the general line of the international communist movement to the concrete conditions of each country. Revolution cannot be exported. In accordance with the quintessence of dialectics, it is based on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. With this understanding, we will examine the United Front Against Imperialism's application, generally, in the different types of countries.

As this document shows, imperialism and social-imperialism, with the U.S. and U.S.S.R. at their lead, is the main enemy of the world's peoples. No revolutionary strategy in a single country or around the globe can be successful unless it tackles the question of imperialism's defeat as an immediate, practical problem. The UFAI has different applications in these 3 general categories of countries: 1) the First World, 2) the Second World, 3) the Third World.

A. The First World

"The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World."²³

We have already examined the situation of these two countries. And, as said before, a later chapter of this pamphlet deals with the UFAI in the U.S. Generally, the same is true in the Soviet Union, i.e., the goal of the United Front strategy is directed at seizing state power and establishing the proletarian dictatorship. However, there are differences: in the Soviet Union, the goal is to re-establish proletarian dictatorship. While the struggle in the U.S. is being conducted under conditions of bourgeois democracy, in the U.S.S.R. the situation facing the people is fascism. With regards to class alignment, within the ranks of "the people", the peasantry is a far larger force in the U.S.S.R. than in the U.S., and has a much greater role to play. These are only some of the differences.

But the revolutionaries in both countries are commonly guided by these words of the "Proposal."

"In the imperialist and capitalist countries, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for the thorough resolution of the contradictions of capitalist society...

The proletarian parties in imperialist or capitalist countries must maintain their own ideological, political, and organizational independence in leading revolutionary struggles. At the same time, they must unite all the forces that can be united and build a

"broad united front against monopoly capital and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war."²⁴

Thus, it is also clear that a key part of the UFAI strategy in other capitalist countries must be directed at the various forms of foreign aggression and subversion practiced by the 2 "super"-bourgeoisies. This will have bearing on the next two cases.

Analyzing the situation of countries in the Second and Third Worlds is far more complex. This is because these countries lie in broad intermediate zones between the two superpowers, and are the object of their struggle. At the same time, the socialist countries are developing countries and therefore part of the Third World; but they are not intermediate, in the sense of being directly subjected to superpower aggression. So it is that the struggle for the intermediate zones is also a class struggle between the capitalist and socialist roads.

Developing the intermediate zone concept further from when Chairman Mao first elaborated it in 1946 ("Talk with the American Correspondant Anna Louise Strong") Comrade Shih Chun explains:

"Thus, between these two overlords and the socialist countries there exist the broad intermediate zones. The first intermediate zone includes the Asian, African and Latin American countries which have suffered from colonialist and imperialist aggression and oppression in the past and are today carrying on a valiant struggle against imperialist and colonialist and especially against the two superpowers. The second intermediate zone includes the major capitalist countries both in the West and in the East except the two superpowers. These countries, too, are subjected to the control, intervention and bullying of the two overlords to varying degrees, and the contradictions between these countries and the two superpowers are daily developing."²⁵

For the success of the UFAI, it is key that the question of class allies be understood. There has been much confusion among revolutionaries as to formulating correct policy towards bourgeoisies of the Second World, or national bourgeoisies "in power" in the Third World. How do we best make use of the contradictions with the superpowers? Are they allies of the proletariat and so members of the United Front?

To answer such questions, dialectics must be employed. So long as the bourgeoisies of Second World countries or ruling national bourgeoisies of the Third World struggle against imperialist

aggression, even to the minimum of only struggling to uphold "their own" country's sovereignty, this action deserves support, for it further isolates the main enemy. However, we must be vigilant with these allies, for although their short range interests (anti-superpower) place them temporarily at the side of the proletariat, their long range interests (pro-capitalism) rule out any chance of strategical alliance with the international working class. It is this very vascillating, dual, unstable, short-term nature of the contradiction both elites have with the superpowers, however, that makes them tactical, not strategic, allies of the proletariat. It is on this basis that they become part of the United Front Against Imperialism.

B. The Second World

"The Developed countries between the two (First and Third Worlds - PRRWO) make up the Second World."²⁶

"The case of the developed countries in between the superpowers and the developing countries is a complicated one. Some of them still retain colonialist relations of one form or another with Third World countries, and a country like Portugal even continues with its barbarous colonial rule. An end must be put to this state of affairs. At the same time, all these developed countries are in varying degrees controlled, threatened or bullied by the one superpower or the other. Some of them have in fact been reduced by a superpower to the position of dependencies under the signboard of its so-called 'family.' In varying degrees, all these countries have the desire of shaking off superpower enslavement or control and safe guarding their national independence and the integrity of their sovereignty."²⁷

The complexity of studying Second World countries can be further seen in the different kinds of Second World countries that there are. The second-string imperialist powers -- France, Japan, Britain, and the Federal Republic of Germany; dependencies both "stronger" (Canada, South Africa, Israel, e.g.) and "weaker" (Portugal, Spain, Greece, e.g.) There are even developed (relatively capitalist countries which have been reduced to neo-colonial status such as the Eastern European countries under Soviet rule.

In addition, varying conditions in all these countries precludes easy formulas with regards to the shape proletarian strategy will take. The degree of superpower subversion or control; the size of the peasantry and feudal remnants; the extent to which the bourgeoisie (if such is the case) practices foreign aggression and the necessary struggle against even limited imperialist policy; the development of the proletariat; fascist or bourgeois democratic conditions -- all this and more must be taken into account.

Ultimately, we will have to study information provided us by the communists of these countries.

As far back as 1928, Joseph Stalin had to wage struggle against a simplistic, undialectical approach of some comrades on the Soviet Central Committee who saw only capitalist and colonial countries (excluding socialist countries). Stalin maintained that, besides the Soviet Union, there were three general types of countries in the world.

"...Countries with a high capitalist development (America, Germany, Britain), countries with an average capitalist development (Poland, Russia before the February Revolution, etc.), and colonial countries."28

Criticizing the conclusions these mistaken comrades were reaching - that (according to their argument), since there were only capitalist and colonial countries outside the Soviet Union, the revolution in capitalist countries proceeds in one stage to proletarian dictatorship while that in colonies goes through intermediate stages -- Stalin showed the importance of making concrete analysis, of making distinctions even among the capitalist countries:

"Besides capitalistically developed countries, where the victory of the revolution will lead at once to the proletarian dictatorship, there are countries which are little developed capitalistically, where there are feudal survivals and a special agrarian problem of the anti-feudal type (Poland, Rumania, etc.), countries where the petty-bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry, is bound to have a weighty word to say in the event of a revolutionary upheaval, and where the victory of the revolution, in order to lead to a proletarian dictatorship, can and certainly will require certain intermediate stages in the form, say, of a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."29

While the proletariat and its allies must struggle sharply against the superpowers which plots against their country, they must simultaneously battle the domestic reactionary elements if the revolutionary struggle is to proceed in a thorough way.

C. The Third World

"The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World."30

Here, too, the situation is complex. The Third World includes the socialist countries (People's Republic of China, Albania, Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Democratic People's Republic of Korea), for, while their social system is qualitatively different, they are still developing. Some of the other countries are colonies, some neo-colonies, and some are relatively, non-aligned nations (e.g. Third World countries). Even among these, some

are capitalist (like Puerto Rico, a capitalist colony), while many are semi-capitalist, semi-feudal. There are some that have little capitalism, if any, and are mainly feudal.

Those countries which are under imperialist rule and which must complete the national democratic revolution will, generally speaking, first have to complete the democratic stage of the revolution before continuing, under persistent communist guidance, to the socialist stage of the revolution.

The Third World is at the storm-center of the revolution today. The national liberation struggles are hammering death blows at imperialism. Chinese and Albanian policy, in particular, has led to an ever-growing unity between the mighty currents of national liberation and international communism. Increasingly, on the diplomatic front and elsewhere, the tightening of Third World ranks against oppression and for independence can be seen. We, in this oppressor country, must fully support all such stances against imperialism and social-imperialism. At the same time, we can harbor no illusions about the strength of stances taken by national bourgeois elements. Here, our support must be to the extent they are anti-imperialist, while further supporting the revolutionaries and people of these countries who struggle against reactionary domestic policies of these rulers.

Likewise, we must also be clear that socialism exists only where a communist party has led the people in the fight for the proletarian dictatorship. Some countries call themselves "socialist" without having these conditions.

One other note on the Third World, and that concerns the significance of the recent elaboration of the term and concept as put forward recently by the Chinese representative at the U.N. Originally, the Third World arose in struggle while there was still a socialist camp. As these national liberation struggles grew in intensity, a shift in the world's principal contradiction - between the socialist and capitalist camps -- occurred. That is, Marxist-Leninists analyzed it as such. The revisionists within the (then) camp, headed by the traitorous leading C.P.S.U. clique, insisted that the principal contradiction had not shifted, that the struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America were "merely" of "regional" importance. Their aim was to subordinate these struggles, in the name of the socialist camp, to the "leading" Party and State of the Soviet Union. This was an imperialist maneuver under "socialist" phraseology, also aimed at giving the Soviet Revisionists more trumps in contention against the United States.

All this is documented in the exchange of letters contained in "A Proposal Concerning the General Line."

Adding more garbage to the heap came Tito of Yugoslavia who tried to capitalize on the developing sense of national identity coming out of struggle against imperialism by claiming the Third

World was "neutral" to both the First World (capitalism) and the Second World (socialism), and had, in fact, embarked on a "new", "third" road. Further, Yugoslavia, under the Tito revisionists -- expelled from the international communist movement since 1948 -- was setting the "model" for this "third way", which supposedly combined the "best" of capitalism and socialism, while being neither. The Albanian Party of Labor, and other firm communists, exposed this nonsense. But it reflected the scramble by opportunists and agents of imperialism to try and separate the national liberation struggles from international socialism.

Their attempts have failed. Led by China and Albania, the Third World grows stronger against both imperialisms. By placing the socialist countries, as developing countries, within the Third World, the world-wide United Front Strategy Against Imperialism has reached new levels of struggle, and gained important victories.

The International Revolutionary Movement

In most countries, there exist activists who lead the various peoples' struggles against imperialism and for the new society. These revolutionaries help pull the various parts of the United Front, within each country and among countries, together into a solid juggernaut. But the glue that binds are the communists, who possess scientific socialist theory. All revolutionaries have made a commitment based on analyzing the objective factors of deterioration of the old order, oppression and resistance of the people, and struggle to birth a new lay, free of exploitation. The communists, employing dialectical materialism, most accurately reflect upon and analyze these phenomenon.

Such understanding alone is not enough. Communists must "spread the word" to other revolutionaries and advanced elements among the people, taking part in the day to day struggles in order to teach scientific socialism and deepen these struggles further. After this crucial test in practice, communists sum up and once again return to practice, continuing the dialectic. On the one hand, communists round the globe base their practice on a correct assessment of the objective (and subjective) forces in society; on the other hand, such an assessment can only be proven correct by practice in mass struggle, consolidating the advanced into a solid core, bringing over the vascillating intermediate, winning over the backward and neutralizing or isolating the hard-core reactionaries.

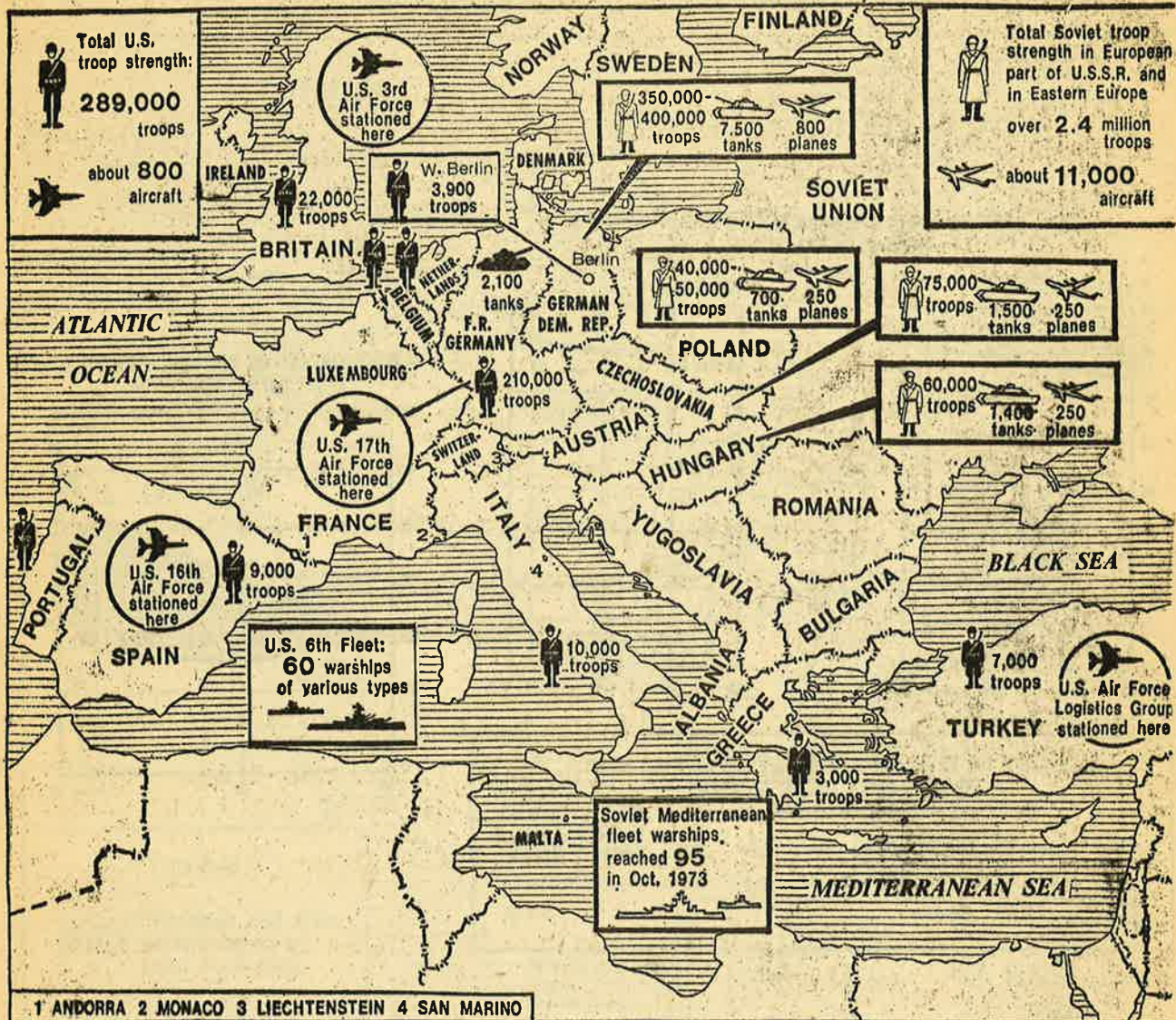
It is such a proletarian style that joins communists around the world, enabling us to learn from each other. While no Comintern guides us today, we can move forward together in the best traditions of that body so long as we maintain these correct principles.

DEATH TO IMPERIALISM!!
 LONG LIVE GREAT MARXISM-LENINISM-
 MAO-TSE-TUNG THOUGHT!!
 OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD,
 UNITE!!

FOOTNOTES:

1. Mao Tse-Tung, 'Peking Review', Jan. 9, 1970
2. "Leninism or Social-Imperialism?", Peking, p. 10
3. "Political Report to the Ninth Congress of the CPC", April, 1969, pp. 53-54.
4. Chiao Kuan-hua, "Peking Review #47", 1971.
5. Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin, Peking Edition, p. 106.
6. Ibid, p. 150
7. Ibid, p. 10
8. Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Enver Hoxha, p. 19.
9. Ibid, p. 22.
10. Chou En-Lai, "Report to the Tenth Congress of the CPC", Documents, pp. 23-24.
11. "World in Great Disorder, Excellent Situation", Peking Review #3, 1974.
12. "On Studying Some History About Imperialism", Peking Review #25, 1972.
13. "Dollar Crisis", Peking Review #29, 1972.
14. "Ibid".
15. "On Studying Some History About Imperialism", Peking Review #25, 1972.
16. "Dollar Crisis", Peking Review #29, 1972.
17. Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, Stalin, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p. 31.
18. "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", Mao Tse-Tung.
19. Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Enver Hoxha, pp. 235-237.
20. "Leninism or Social-Imperialism?" Peking, pp. 11-14.
21. "Ibid"
22. "Ibid", pp. 21-22.
23. Peking Review #16, Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-Ping's Speech at the U.N., April 10, 1974.
24. "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", Peking, pp. 18-19.
25. "Peking Review #45", 1972.
26. "Peking Review #16", Vice Premier's Speech.
27. "Ibid".
28. ---
29. Stalin, Collected Works, Vol. 11, p. 162, "Plenum of the CC, CPSU (B) - Programme of the Comintern".
30. "Peking Review #16", Vice Premier's Speech.

SOVIET AND U.S. MILITARY DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE



(Figures according to foreign press sources)

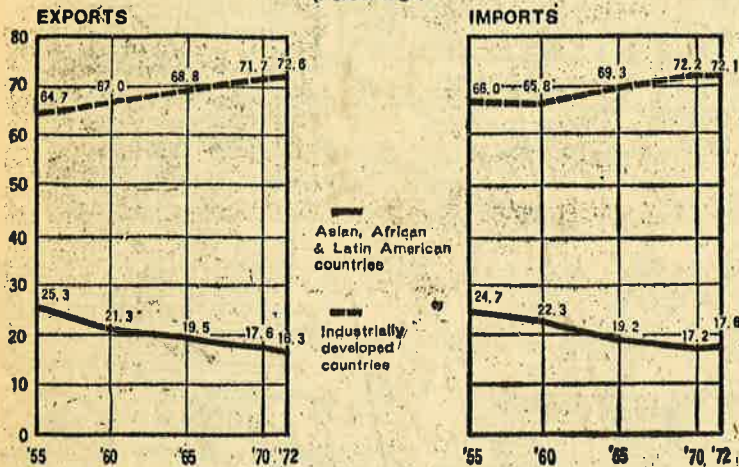
PEKING REVIEW

3

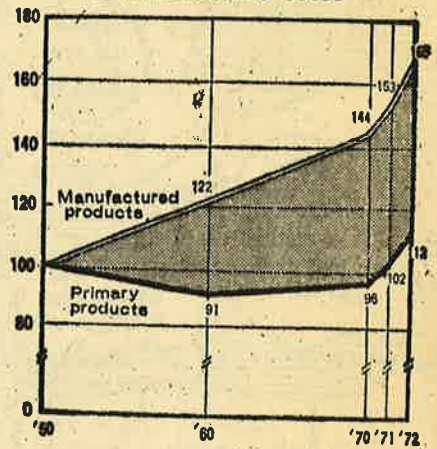
January 18, 1974

reprint

ASIAN, AFRICAN & LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES' SHARE IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE
(Percentage)



PRICE INDICES OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS & MANUFACTURED GOODS



LOSSES BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES RESULTING FROM DETERIORATED TERMS OF TRADE

(Unit: 100 million U.S. dollars)

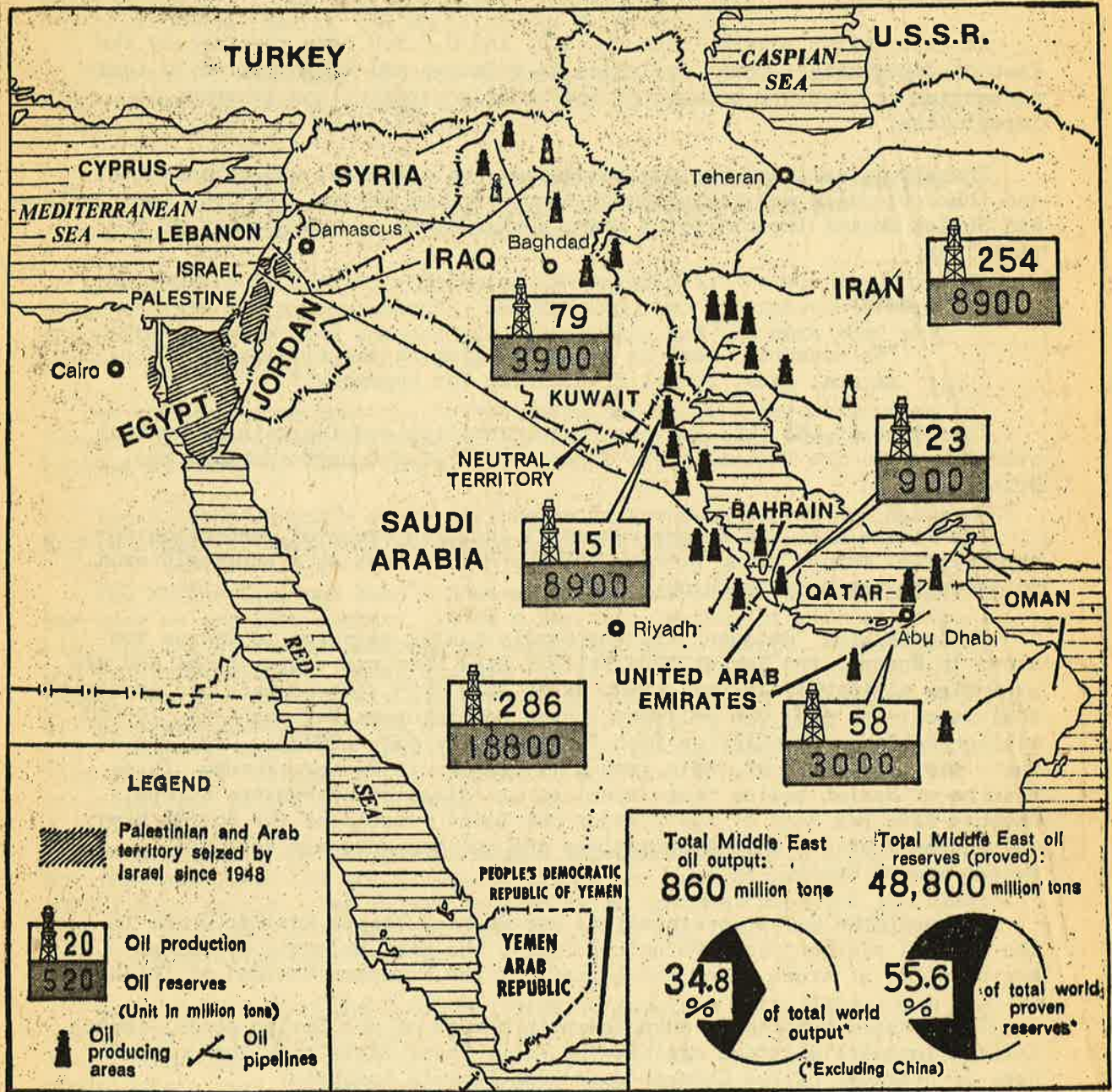
YEAR	1960-63	1964-67	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1960-72 aggregate
LOSS	224.18	277.87	91.18	98.89	111.47	119.18	114.19	1,034.94
AVERAGE ANNUAL LOSS	56.05	69.47						79.61

PEKING REVIEW

20

May 17, 1974

MIDDLE EAST OIL



CONTENTION AND COLLUSION

As imperialist powers, both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are governed by the laws of imperialism. Their collusion is relative and temporary while their contention is absolute because of the basic contradictions inherent in imperialism.

The struggles today for world hegemony, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the contending and colluding by the two super powers, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet Social Imperialists, are a continuation of the history of imperialism.

Lenin said:

"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry₁ between several great powers in striving for hegemony."

The plans of the U.S. and the Soviet revisionists for gaining control over the world are basically the same as their forerunners Germany and Britain.

The Middle East and Europe are still the main areas of contention for imperialism: Europe being primary and the Middle East as a strategic area for gaining hegemony in Europe.

While talking "detente" and supposedly taking measures to reduce tensions in Europe, the Soviet imperialists make more war preparations and are expanding militarily in that area. As of late 1973, the Soviets had increased their troops by 50%. The military budget for European war zones was 10,000 million dollars. (Statistics from Peking Review #51 - 1973). Over 3/4 of their air force, 3/5 of their ground forces are in Eastern Europe. Three fourths of Soviet medium range missiles are directed at Western Europe. Seventy-five per cent of their major sea borne vessels of the Soviet Navy, and one half of its attack submarines and nuclear subs are deployed in waters around Europe.

Although the Soviet revisionists are massing troops against China in the East (1 million along China's border), the vast majority of forces are directed at areas under the control of the European Command of the NATO.

Troop deployment shows that the main thrust of the Soviet social-imperialists is still directed against the West. These facts show the correctness of comrades of the Chinese Communist Party's analysis:

"At present the Soviet Revisionists are making a feint to the east while attacking in the west." 2

Since the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the revisionist clique has demonstrated social-imperialism internationally. Before 1963, the Soviet fleets stayed mainly in their "own territory", the Soviet coasts and the Baltic Sea. By the middle 60's, they were sailing in the passage linking Europe and America. In 1967, the Soviets sent a permanent fleet to confront the U.S. 6th fleet. In the Mediterranean they had made the big time.

At present the U.S. has only about 289,000 troops and about 800 aircraft stationed in Europe. But the U.S. has more capital invested in Europe and Canada than in the whole of the Third World.

The recent Kissinger sojourn to Europe and the ensuing negotiations indicate the desperate struggle between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. for hegemony in Europe, bears out Lenin's thesis:

"the characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialized regions."

The peoples of Europe, victims of two imperialist wars, recognize the signs of imperialist contention. The more the two superpowers struggle for world hegemony, the sharper the contention, and the more they are exposed to the people of the world.

At the same time that the Soviet revisionists have been expanding in Europe, they have been building up in the Mediterranean; they have established a number of bases there.

Total troop strength of Soviet troops in European Russia and Eastern Europe number 2.4 million; add about 11,000 aircraft.

The Middle East has been a bone of contention among the imperialist as far back as the 19th century. It is a key area because of rich oil deposits and its strategic geographical relationship to Europe, Asia, Africa, the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans. The intensification of contradictions between Germany and Britain for control of this area, in their play for world hegemony, was a factor contributing to W.W. I. After W.W. II, the U.S. took over where the British left off in instigating the massive migration of Jewish immigrants into Palestine and used Zionism as a tool for its expansion in the Middle East.

Both the U.S. and the Soviet social imperialists, while in contention for this area also had to collude to squash the just struggles of the Palestinian people. The Palestine liberation movement has been the spearhead in the Middle East against imperialism in all its forms- U.S., Soviet social imperialism and Zionism.

Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. tried to sabotage the liberation struggle of the Palestinians, one overtly and the other covertly. The U.S. used its running dog, Israel to try to gain control over the area. The Soviet revisionists used its phoney revisionist 'aid' and 'support' which translates into betrayal, plunder, political control and interference in the internal affairs of the dependent countries.

After the Third Middle East War between the Arabs and the Zionists, the Soviet Union had been thoroughly exposed by its treachery to the Arab people. In the 4th war (Oct. 1973), the tide had turned; the Arab countries took the initiative and took the situation into their own hands. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. rushed in with a proposal of a ceasefire in place. This exposed them even more. The Arabs united and set their natural resources as a weapon against the U.S.

The U.S. found itself isolated. Its staunchest allies, looking out for their own interest (80% of oil used by Western Europe and Japan comes from the Middle East), refused to co-operate. They closed their ranks against the hegemonism of the U.S. in fear of loss of their oil supply. Members of the Common Market called for the release by Israel of the occupied territories and raised the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians be taken into account". Japan stated opposition to territorial expansion by force.

The Soviets once had the strong support of some of the Arab bourgeoisie. The U.S. "had" Israel and the Soviet revisionists. As the treachery of the revisionists became more blatant, the Arab bourgeoisie aligned with the Soviet Union shifted temporarily to the U.S. and ousted the Russian "advisors". It is clear, though, that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are working to sell out everybody and the Arab bourgeoisie is working to sell out the interests of the people.

The state of Israel is a false state. Created to suit the needs of imperialism, it has no just claims and is not a nation as defined by Stalin. Zionism is the running dog of U.S. imperialism and it is expansionist and a bastion of reaction in the Middle East. The PRRWO is anti-Zionist, but not anti-Jewish. The two must not be confused.

Nuclear Ban - Disarmament

Today the two imperialist super powers are talking about "detente", while at the same time they are both stepping up the development and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and aggression against other countries.

This is not unusual. In 1966, the Soviet social imperialists raised a proposal for a conference on European security and co-operation and proceeded to invade and occupy their ally Czechoslovakia. In 1969, they called again for a conference that would "take concrete action" to relax the situation in Europe, but the same year, they increased Soviet ground forces in Eastern Europe. In 1972, during the Soviet-U.S. summit talks in Moscow, Washington announced reinforcement of their armoured units and air force in Europe. Moscow set up within the Warsaw Pact, a unified army and naval forces made up of those from the Soviet Union and other states.

Today there are two positions on disarmament and nuclear bans. The position of the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. on the one hand. And on the other, is that of the People's Republic of China and Albania, which have the support of the Third World countries and other peace-loving peoples.

The proposal of the Chinese and Albanians demonstrates the principle that Communists must work in the interest of the vast majority of the world's peoples:

1. All nuclear countries must undertake the obligation that at no time and under no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons, particularly will not use them against non-nuclear countries.
2. They must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces and dismantle all their military bases on foreign soil, including nuclear bases.

4

The Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists' position is that the "non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons."

This proposal does not make any distinctions between the aggressors and the victims and betrays the interests of the world's peoples fighting against imperialist aggression. It does not oppose aggression. In essence it says that any "crisis in the world could cause a nuclear holocaust."

This is nuclear blackmail against countries with little or no nuclear armament. It is an imperialist effort to put a stranglehold on the struggles of the oppressed people. Who else at this time besides the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., is able to launch a nuclear war? The Chinese people have stated clearly and consistently "that they are resolved to fight side by side with all the peace loving countries and peoples against the super powers' policies of aggression, expansion and war, for the exposure of the Soviet revisionist scheme of sham disarmament and real arms expansion and for total prohibition and complete destruction of nuclear weapons."

The Chinese representative to the UN made clear that at a time when the U.S. government, Zionists, the Portuguese colonists, South African white racists, as well as imperialist colonialism to put forth such a proposal, as the one of the Soviet Union, is to resort to the use of force to enslave and oppress the majority of the world's people. China has resolutely supported the proposal of the Latin American countries for the establishment of a nuclear weapon free zone in Latin America to counter the nuclear threats and blackmail policies practiced by the two super powers and to safeguard the peace and security of Latin America. Struggles for nuclear weapon free zones are also being waged for the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and elsewhere.

200 Nautical Mile Maritime Rights

The Latin American countries have taken a stand that coastal states have 200 mile nautical rights.

The Third World's steady awakening and growth in strength has created an International United Front against Hegemonism. The coastal states have promised free access to the oceans and sharing of the seas' resources, and have demonstrated mutual understanding and support to protect their national sovereignty and economies. The Third World coastal states are the main force, but the number of Second World countries supporting this position is growing more every day.

The goal is the establishment of an exclusive economic zone. Both super powers attempted to extend "conditional" recognition to the 200 mile economic zone in return for "free passage" of their warships and subs through the straits of sovereign countries. "Free Passage" means the right to plunder the sea beds, spy, collect economic data and retard the economic development of these areas.

Tuna catches by the United States in territorial waters off Ecuador amounted to 15 million dollars in 1971 alone. And in 1970, 86% of Soviet hauls were caught in outer seas and distant waters that belonged to other countries.

Both the Soviet Union and the U.S. uphold the old line of freedom on the high seas which reflects their colonialist interests. This "freedom"

means a 3 mile right for countries and which the dogs are now willing to extend to 12. They oppose the just demands of Third World countries to safeguard national and maritime rights and resources.

The revisionist Brezhnev has put forth his theory of "limited sovereignty". The Soviet's proposal allows coastal states a territorial or fishing zone that does not exceed 12 miles from their coast. The justification of this blatant imperialist proposal, is that these coastal states "are often incapable of fully exploiting the resources within their own territorial seas, let alone in waters distant from their coasts."

They claim that sovereignty over natural resources depends to a great extent upon the capability of the industry of the developing countries to utilize these resources.

The Soviet Union goes so far as to blame the fish for their imperialism. They say "fish don't recognize boundaries imposed by man". But the 200 mile nautical maritime rights is a reality that the two superpowers are going to have to deal with.

Proletarian Diplomacy

One of the things that is very important in dealing with the international situation is the question of proletarian diplomacy between states with different social systems based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence:

- 1) Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- 2) Non-interference in each other's affairs;
- 3) Mutual non-aggression;
- 4) Equality and Mutual benefit;
- 5) Peaceful Co-Existence;

Socialist countries can not exist isolated into themselves; they must have political and economic relations. This does entail the question of compromises. As Lenin pointed out:

"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyze the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise. One must learn to distinguish between a man who gave bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution and a man₄ who gives bandits money and firearms to share in the loot."

In the situation in Russia during World War I, communists were forced to make a compromise with imperialist Germany (the Brest-Litovsk Treaty). During World War II, Communists had to compromise with the imperialists to defeat fascist Germany.

These types of compromises cannot be confused with the compromises of the revisionists, like Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Not does it mean that the peoples of these struggles give up their fight for the abolition of class society.

Chairman Mao states:

6

"Such compromises between the United States and Britain, France and the Soviet Union can be the outcome only of resolute, effective struggles by all the democratic forces of the world against the reactionary United States, Britain and France. Such compromises do not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in these countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions. The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now. Face to face with this situation, the democratic forces of the people should likewise apply the same principle to reactionary forces." 5

Today socialist countries have political and economic relationships with capitalist countries, but this doesn't change the duty of communists to fight all forms of exploitation, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism in their countries.

Portugal

Events in Portugal and in relation to its 3 African colonies have greatly intensified. Undoubtedly, the rise of the national liberation movements and popular struggles internally, combined with an economic crisis, have caused the bourgeoisie to change tactics, adopting a "democratic" face at home, and offering carrots to Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Such a situation speaks to a state of great disorder for the Portuguese bourgeoisie (like those of Greece, Spain, Italy and elsewhere). But we must not be misled into thinking victory has been won.

The comrades in the African colonies must redouble their efforts, as revisionists in their midst (no doubt someone in Portugal has suggested a "victory celebration because the bum has been thrown out"; RU and OL, please take note) call for a laying down of arms and work for neo-colonialism. Revolutionaries in Portugal, as well as in the other capitalist countries facing immediate crisis, must not be fooled by these temporary "reform" tactics. Socialism and liberation can only be won by the masses of working people led by a genuine Communist Party in command of the armed struggle of the masses.

Yet there can be no doubt that 500 years of direct Portuguese domination in Africa has seen its last days. Other puppets and racists, such as those in South Africa, have good reason to be trembling. Nothing will stop the African peoples' drive for freedom. It can be seen that the cowardly assassination of the heroic leader, Amilcar Cabral, did little to stop the revolutionary advance. That is the lesson the imperialists behind Portugal will only learn in their ultimate defeat.

Cyprus

Likewise, the Cyprus situation is still to fresh for complete analysis, but this we know.

7

The Cypriot people are being used as a pawn by Greece and Turkey, and the superpowers- manuevering behind them. The recent Portuguese events- that of a bourgeoisie "returning" to bourgeois democracy- are occurring in Greece, and this phenomenon deserves closer study. Indications are that such a "development" might occur in Spain. As no legitimate people's movement, let alone communist party, has directly assaulted state power in Greece or Portugal, it is clear that these bourgeoisies, though shaken are still intact.

The position of the Communist Party of China on the Middle East, nuclear bans, disarmament and the 200 nautical maritime rights have demonstrated to communists and the world's peoples, what exactly Chairman Mao's instructions to the proletariat to "never seek hegemony" and to "rely on the correctness of its political line and the unity and struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world", means in relationship to the United Front Against Imperialism.

In consistently maintaining that all countries big and small, are equal and in upholding the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence, China and Albania have given important proletarian leadership to the Third World and other countries and peoples of the world in the growing United Front Against Imperialism.

More and more everyday, we see the two super powers being isolated in the wake of a world wide struggle against hegemonism of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin, Foreign Languages Press, Peking,
2. --
3. Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin,
4. Left-Wing Communism, Infantile Disorder, Lenin, Foreign Languages Press, Peking,
5. Selected Readings of Mao Tse-Tung, Foreign Languages Press, Peking,



LEFT OPP.

RIGHT OPP.

JOIN YOUR
NEAREST
NCC TO BUILD
OUR PARTY!
(IF you are
not purged)

BUILD THE
CL PARTY
TODAY!

THROW THE BUM
OUT!
ORGANISE TO FIGHT
RU.

LIBERATE THE
STATUE OF
LIBERTY NOW!
ATTICA
BRIGADE

" Contention + collusion - U.S. + U.S.S.R. - being aided
by left + right opportunist "

The CPUSA, as the main representative of international modern revisionism in the U.S.A., carries out its treacherous betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by attempting to obscure the deepest contradictions of imperialism and its very nature. They, with their 3 peaceful policies of peaceful competition, peaceful co-existence and peaceful transformation, have thoroughly degenerated into social-imperialists; they present that the situation in the world today is determined by the principal contradiction, which to them is between the socialist camp (headed by the Soviet Union) and U.S. imperialism.

This contradiction centers around the struggle of detente. As it is put forward by the General Secretary of the CPUSA, Gus Hall:

"The struggle for detente is the major factor in determining the course of the world events. The struggle for detente itself is a major factor in further shifting the balance of world forces against imperialism.

"The struggle for detente is a central issue on a world scale. In one way or another, it influences all developments in all parts of the world. But for the United States it is more than central. It is going to determine the course of events, both in foreign and domestic affairs for some time to come."

The revisionists want to deceive people by presenting that the agreement reached by the Soviet Union revisionists and the U.S. around disarmament and trade relationship are examples that the two superpowers can live in peace with each other. This is a complete distortion of the facts. Even if we take the relationship between states of different social systems, based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, this doesn't make the four major contradictions in the world today (which are between the socialist countries and imperialism; between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups) less acute, since the inherent contradictions in the imperialist system become sharper (an objective fact which the bourgeoisie will not be able to completely alter). Rather, the correct application of these 5 principles by socialist countries places the international proletariat in a better position by preventing the isolation of socialist countries by the imperialist countries, and a better position to deal with the 4 main contradictions in the world today.

The revisionist U.S.S.R., supported by the CPUSA, raises collusion of these two superpowers as the principal aspect, while the fact is that their agreement in disarmament is nothing but an attempt to disarm the less developed countries, while the superpowers continue in their mad drive to out-gun each other in trade relationships.

They are making big money in the selling of wheat and tractors back and forth, along with other business ventures. At the same time, they are contending furiously in the Middle East for this strategic position to control Western Europe, as was stated by Chou En Lai in his report to the 10th Party Congress of the CPC:

"At present, the Soviet revisionists are making a₂ feint to the East, while attacking in the West."

It is no surprise that Gus Hall, the leading revisionist in the U.S., presents that:

"Detente expresses a qualitative change in international class relations,"

and proceeds to analyze U.S. imperialism in the following way:

"The acceptance of detente is a very painful process for U.S. imperialism. It is painful because it is a shift from the basic cold war concepts that have determined its foreign policies for some 30 years. U.S. imperialism can move towards detente only to the extent that it gives up the concepts of blocking the socialist countries, that it gives up its dream of "American century," a dream in which U.S. imperialism would dominate the world." 4

With their talk of detente, they attempt to obscure the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet Union and revise Lenin's analysis of imperialism, which is that:

"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in striving for hegemony."

They are in direct opposition to the correct position of all genuine Marxists-Leninists, as put forward by the CPC:

"The imperialist system determines that contention between the two hegemonic powers is absolute and protracted, whereas collusion between them is relative and temporary." 6

The CPUSA, with its deceiving banner of detente, proceeds to justify again, like all revisionists have historically done, to lead the communist movement to unite with the "liberal sections of the bourgeoisie." It makes the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, acceptable to the bourgeoisie, which means the liquidation and revision of the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To Gus Hall & Company:

"In the camp of monopoly capitalism, the issue of detente raises the question of what serves the self-interests, the profit interest of capitalism, better - the cold war or detente; a rejection of the new world reality or an accommodation with it."

Therefore, according to this statement, the working class must unite with the pro-detente forces among the monopoly capitalists and the labor aristocracy, which are represented by Democrats "like Kennedy, Mondale and Harriman,"⁸ since "the aim of the reactionary forces in the struggle for detente is to extract the maximum from the objective forces in a period of transition from one social system to another."⁹

In other words, this says that the struggle for detente will create the conditions for "peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism."

With this position, the CPUSA has completely abandoned the principles of proletarian internationalism, of struggle against its own bourgeoisie and of resolutely supporting the national liberation struggles of oppressed nations against imperialism. Their position negates the struggles of the oppressed nations and national minorities within the borders and frontiers of the U.S. It in words supports the right of self-determination of nations and democratic rights of oppressed national minorities, while they go against Stalin's 5 characteristics of a nation when they deny the existence of the Black nation in the U.S. It liquidates the essential element of resolution of the national question - the right of self-determination - by raising that:

"The struggle against racism, then, is a central part of the class struggle and the basic question facing the entire country today."¹⁰

They don't raise that the basic question facing the country today is the unity of the working class, which can only be done by educating the proletariat in the spirit of internationalism and the struggle for the right of self-determination of oppressed nations against their own bourgeoisies. They are doing the work of the bourgeoisie by attempting to lead the struggles of oppressed Blacks, Latins, Chicanos, Asians, Native Americans and Puerto Ricans down the road of reformism and away from proletarian revolution.

The CPUSA perpetrates and supports the line of social-imperialism of the U.S.S.R., with their theory of "limited sovereignty" and "international division of labor," which is nothing more than a cover for their struggle to maintain colonies in Eastern Europe, acquire new ones like Cuba, through their phony "aid" programs (blackmail), while subverting national liberation struggles like Chile, in a mad struggle for hegemony with U.S. imperialism for a redivision of the world.

The CPUSA is a slavish instrument of the CPSU, which has joined them in attacks on the CPC and the Party of Labor of Albania, and other new communist parties, like those in Argentina and the Philippines.

FOOTNOTES - CPUSA

- 1 The Big Stakes of Detente, Gus Hall (CPUSA), p. 3
- 2 Tenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China, Speech by Chairman of Delegation of the People's Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-Peng, at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, p. 2
- 3 The Big Stakes of Detente, Gus Hall, p. 2
- 4 Ibid., p. 11
- 5 Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin, p. 109
- 6 Peking Review #39, September 28, 1973, p. 8
- 7 The Big Stakes of Detente, p. 8
- 8 Ibid., p. 10
- 9 Ibid., p. 2
- 10 New Program and Platform of the CPUSA, 1970, p. 58

"We are in the era of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution," (Lenin) where objective conditions already have ripened for the socialist revolution, where

"owing to objective causes, the proletariat has been split into two international camps, one of which has been corrupted by the crumbs that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie of the dominant nations - obtained, among other things, from the double or triple exploitation of small nations - while the other cannot liberate itself without liberating the small nations, without educating the masses in an anti-chauvinist, i.e., anti-annexationist, i.e., self-determination, spirit." 1

U.S. imperialism, the main exploiter of the peoples of the world, has been able to maintain its position chiefly because of social-chauvinism and opportunism. This opportunism has infested the working-class movement in the U.S. and held it back from thoroughly breaking (i.e., ideologically and politically) with the bourgeoisie. As a result, the Marxist-Leninist party has not been developed, which will lead the proletariat and its allies in the seizure of state power. The exposure and defeat of this opportunism can only be done:

"By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are really betraying and selling the interests of the masses; that they are defending the temporary privileges of...a minority of the workers; that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influence; that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie...We teach the masses to distinguish their true political interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices." 2

We must again emphasize that without such a stubborn, relentless, continuous and determined struggle, it is impossible to educate the U.S. working class in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism and carry out our responsibility to all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

Today, the RU is degenerating away from proletarian internationalism, defending the right of self-determination in words only, but not in practice. The RU did develop in struggle against modern revisionism, has upheld the leading role of the CPC and PLA in the international communist movement, and has supported the revolutionary struggles of the countries of the Third World. They are still a part of the "new" communist movement, and as such, our struggle with them is one of unity-struggle-unity.

The RU has been attacking the PRRWO and BWC throughout the U.S. for raising and fighting for "the right of self-determination of the Black nation," calling us Bundist and saying that we are "advocating separatism" and spreading "bourgeois nationalism." These attacks are merely a cover for RU's own anti-Leninist position, expressed:

1. The "essential thrust" of the Black nation's liberation struggle has not been and is not today for self-determination.
2. There is no difference between the nationalism of the oppressor nation and oppressed nation. All nationalism in the final analysis is "bourgeois nationalism."
3. Being an organization of mainly petty-bourgeois whites, their major problem is not national chauvinism (racism), but "liberalism" towards Third World people.

Such positions stand in glaring contradictions to RU's support of Third World struggles. It is rather easy to write articles and make speeches in support of these "foreign" struggles; but when it comes to resolute support for a national liberation struggle inside "their own" country, RU shows no such support. In fact, RU says the "essential thrust" of the Afro-American struggle is not for self-determination. This position stems directly from RU's "contribution" to the national question, which, while clothed as a "nation of a new type" formula, essentially liquidates Blacks as a nation, and so the essence of the national question: the right of self-determination.

As Stalin has pointed out, there are five characteristics of a nation. These are:

"...a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up, manifested in a common culture." 3

The difference between this and RU's position is that Stalin is being Marxist-Leninist to the bone and is talking about a real nation, which exists in the real world, "which acts and moves and therefore insists on being reckoned with." RU, however, is talking about a paper nation, "a nation of a new type," where the five characteristics don't apply, and, contrary to Stalin's warning ("...it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be lacking and the nation ceases to be a nation"), still manages to be a nation. This attempt at side-stepping a head-on collision with Marxism-Leninism on the question is limp, even as RU tries to "explain" to us what Stalin "meant":

"The essence of Stalin's definition of a nation is the common historical evolution of a people." 5

Yet, this is not "the essence" of Stalin; no, it is more like this:

"A nation is an aggregate of people bound into a community of character by a common destiny." 6

And who is this? Otto Bauer of Austria, that defender of "cultural national autonomy," whom Stalin tears up in Marxism and the National Question.

But RU builds upon the similarity of their "common historical evolution" and Bauer's "common destiny" and arrives at:

"The right of an oppressed nation to form an independent state is a democratic demand. While we uphold the right of self-determination, and recognize our responsibility to win support among the white workers for this right, we do not believe that the question of secession in the Black Belt or in other parts of the country is at the heart of the Black liberation struggle today."

Stalin, Lenin and the Comintern were talking about a real nation, with the 5 characteristics of a nation, not a "dispersed nation of a new type." On this question of secession, which RU tries to distort (and then attacks communists for advocating "separatism" if we expose the distortion), Lenin is clear:

"In the international education of the working class of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and fighting for it."

It has never been said that freedom to secede means there must be secession; rather, in our case, that Black people have the right to secede (and can exercise this right in the Black Belt South). It is the duty of communists to fight for this right. This doesn't mean that communists, who must view the national question from the general interest of the proletariat, start from the viewpoint (like the CL) that there must be "separation first so that there can be unity later." This is another distortion, from the "left," of the right of self-determination.

Comrade Lenin put to rout these elements who want to create confusion on this question:

"It is our duty and right to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda (on the right of secession - PRRWO) as a scoundrel and an imperialist. This is an absolute demand, even where the chance of secession being 'practicable' before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand." 10

The RU, like the Kautskyites, hypocritically "defends" the right of self-determination. But this is in words only; when it comes to oppressed nations within the boundaries of the U.S., like the Black nation; or when it comes to direct colonies of "their own" bourgeoisie, like Puerto Rico, they develop all sorts of bankrupt analyses in order to cover their social-chauvinism; or they just avoid the question altogether.

In relationship to Puerto Rico, for instance, we can illustrate RU's opportunism with some concrete examples. We experienced directly how RU supports in words but opposes in deeds the correct Marxist-Leninist resolution to the Puerto Rican national question.

In the summer of 1973, PRRWO and PSP held a debate in N.Y.C. on the Puerto Rican national question. An intense and righteous ideological struggle was waged against the "Divided Nation" theory of PSP, which has its historical antecedents in the opportunist formulations of Bauer and Springer. (For further discussion of the "Divided Nation" theory, see the report on the national question in this pamphlet.) During this ideological struggle, leading cadres of RU just sat there, didn't say a word, didn't struggle, didn't defend Marxism-Leninism, and didn't concretely carry out their internationalist duty as communists, and especially as communists of the oppressor nation, to resolutely and wholeheartedly fight for the right of self-determination for Puerto Rico and for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Puerto Rican national question.

To the RU, it was "just" a struggle between PSP and PRRWO, not a question of Marxist-Leninist principles. When criticized for this, the RU turned right around and "criticized" us, for being sectarian because we didn't yield in the ideological struggle and stayed firm in our defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. The RU didn't want their relationship to PSP to become strained, and so they acted like bourgeois politicians, jockeying for power, afraid to "offend" anyone they might need later in their drive for "hegemony" over the movement. Meanwhile, while they (RU) were being "diplomatic" (really opportunist), the Trotskyites and revisionists were busy defending PSP and its "Divided Nation" theory, while attacking Marxism-Leninism.

Examining it deeper, it has become clear as day that RU didn't struggle with PSP's criticism of our "mechanical application of Stalin's 5 characteristics to the Puerto Rican nation" because it would have uncovered their own opportunism. Just as PSP says we can't apply the Marxist-Leninist criteria of what is a nation to Puerto Rico, RU says the same regarding the Black nation:

"Finally, on this question - from the standpoint of achieving minimum unity to build the party - it is not necessary to hold strictly to Black people being a nation in terms of the five criteria laid out by Stalin."

As the saying goes, "Birds of a feather flock together." The RU pushes a "dispersed nation of a new type"; the PSP pushes a "divided nation." Both concepts are in contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. So we see that on this question, they both flock together in the marsh of revisionism, though from different angles: RU arrives at their opportunism on the question from the position of oppressor nation, national chauvinism; PSP elaborates their opportunism from the position of oppressed nation, bourgeois nationalism, along with its petty-bourgeois "cultural nationalist" tendencies.

The RU does not stop here, but continues to attack Marxism-Leninism, create more confusion and sabotage the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed peoples. They hold and proudly promote the Trot line that all nationalism in the final analysis is bourgeois nationalism. To "support" this, they quote Lenin from an article, Critical Remarks on the National Question, written in 1913, before the split in the Second International, and before the national question was considered part of the world revolution, but only as an "internal state question."

To go on, according to RU, it is the bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed peoples, not white chauvinism, which is the main deviation and danger in the U.S. This tells us something about how they deal with racism (white nationalism) internally; in an organization which is mainly white and petty-bourgeois, their position is that it is not the oppressor nation's chauvinism that is the main danger, but "liberalism" towards oppressed people, especially Black people. In their National Bulletin 13, they worry about "cadres tailing behind Black workers and isolating themselves from white workers," instead of their leadership calling it like it is so that their cadre can repudiate this error and struggle in a principled way with the chauvinism of white workers and secondarily with the narrow bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nationalities. By calling it "liberalism," they are whipping up the chauvinism among white cadre in their organization and the communist movement as a whole.

If this is not repudiated, the RU will be unable to educate the U.S. working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and degenerate into the marsh of social chauvinism, like the CPUSA. In order to emphasize the seriousness of this steady march along the road of social chauvinism and revisionism, we can refer to their campaign to "Throw the Bum Out." This campaign has them, in practice, strengthening the confidence of the backward strata of the masses in the Constitution and bourgeois democracy - in essence, uniting with the bourgeoisie. This is a disgraceful betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, which they attempt to disguise as a "tactic," (See report on the domestic situation for an in-depth analysis of "Throw the Bum Out.")

To add to this, we have their leaflet, which was given out at the "CP"USA Mayday rally in N.Y.C., calling on the "veteran fighters" of the CPUSA to join them, when the facts are there for everyone to see - that there are only veteran revisionists left in the "CP"USA.

Can you call yourself a Marxist-Leninist, a proletarian internationalist, while compromising on principle with revisionism? Obviously not!

The RU, like the economists in Russia between 1898 and 1903, who wanted to "lend the economic struggle a political character," try to reduce communist politics to trade union politics. This can be seen when we examine their "famous" UWOC work, where they take a crude economist position:

"The key thing for communists working around the needs of the unemployed is to unfold around this the exposure of the capitalist system."¹²

Here we have, "unfolding" around the economic struggle, the political struggle, which, in practice, has kept RU cadre at the level of "immediate needs" and put politics to the rear. This is not at all like the communists who take up the day-to-day economic struggle, but do not submerge themselves in it, because they constantly educate the advanced workers to the long-range goals as well, winning over the intermediate and the backward.

Communists educate the working class in their task to lead revolutionary upsurges of the masses through all the twists and turns in the course of destroying the bourgeois state and taking state power. The economist practice of the RU "degrades the historical task of the proletariat" by insisting that the working class is mainly concerned about the "bread and butter issues." As a result, they fail to educate the workers in the spirit of internationalism.

This economism of the RU, if not repudiated, will also lead them into the swamp of social chauvinism.

FOOTNOTES - RU

- 1 "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up," Marx, Engels and Marxism, Lenin, p. 358
- 2 "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Marx, Engels, and Marxism, p. 385
- 3 "A Nation," from "Marxism and the National Question," Selections from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, p. 68
- 4 "A Nation," *ibid.*, p. 68
- 5 Red Papers 2
- 6 "A Nation," quote from Otto Bauer, p. 69
- 7 Red Papers 2
- 8 "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up", *ibid.*, p. 46
- 9 Meeting with Nelson Perry and PRRWO leadership
- 10 "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up," *ibid.*, p. 46
- 11 Red Papers 6, p. 10
- 12 Revolution, Vol #2, UWOC article

Our position towards the OL is that we make clear differences between them and the CPUSA; they, like the RU and the CL, are part of the communist movement. This is very key, since in struggling against "economism" and all other forms of opportunism that are manifestations of remnants or hangovers of revisionism within the young communist movement, an error can be made by viewing forces like the OL and RU as the same as the CPUSA. This is an error which we started to make, that we are correcting.

At the same time, based on some of the polemics between the RU and OL around the international situation, national question, party building, trade unions, etc., we can see differences do exist and have also become sharper during this period. While it would be incorrect to say that they are the same, and ignore the differences that exist, it would also be incorrect to ignore the unities which exist around some key, fundamental questions, especially on the task of communists to educate the advanced workers in the science of Marxism-Leninism. Both organizations on this question have fundamental unity, in practice. Neither of them have launched a relentless struggle to rid the ideological trend of economism from the ranks of the communist movement. This is the main obstacle in the way of fusing the communist movement and the working class, and the creation of a Leninist Party of a new type. While the RU in words raises that they struggle against economism, in deeds they practice economism. The OL, on the other hand, raises the struggle against "petty-bourgeois left revolutionism," a definitely serious menace to the communist movement, most clearly represented by the CL. However, the OL makes the serious error of raising that this - "ultra-leftism" - is the main danger of our movement. By doing this, they are objectively disarming our comrades in the struggle against economism, and continue the peddling of this disease in our ranks. So again, while there are differences between OL and RU, it would be a serious error to be glossing over the fundamental unities they have.

We (the PRRWO) are aware of our limitations at this time in not being able to present a more thorough appraisal of the weaknesses and strengths of the OL, something which we intend to do in the future, after doing more investigation of their political line and practice. However, we again emphasize our duty to, in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity, present our criticisms of the OL as specifically related to the international situation.

While the October League has consistently upheld the leading role of both the Albanian and Chinese Communist Parties and the international struggle against revisionism, and has supported the revolutionary struggle of the Third World against the two superpowers, our differences center around what we see as a right opportunist error of all unity and no struggle in the united front against imperialism.

This is something which shows itself at this point in their position on the government of Iran. While the Iranian government represents a force opposed to the two superpowers, and is part of the Third World and the U.F.A.I., it also represents a reactionary

force, a force that exploits and oppresses the masses and viciously represses the progressive revolutionary movement of its own country.

The OL correctly presents, in their polemic with the RU, that the relationship between China and Iran is not only one of "state to state," based on the five principles of co-existence, but also as part of the U.F.A.I. While it would be incorrect to attack the OL for publishing an article from China's Hsinhua press in support of the Iranian government, we must criticize the OL for not mentioning the reactionary nature of the Shah of Iran. They neglected their responsibility to support and encourage the working and oppressed people of Iran, who, under the leadership of communists, must develop a correct policy towards their national bourgeoisie, who objectively have contradictions with the two super-powers. These contradictions with U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism make them tactical allies in the U.F.A.I. This does not mean that the Iranian people should relax their struggle against their own bourgeoisie.

It seems that the October League does not make a clear distinction between strategical and tactical allies of the proletariat. We want to ask the OL very directly, since they are so evasive around this question of whether they see the comprador bourgeoisie of the Third World and the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries (Second World) as strategical allies in the U.F.A.I., or as tactical, unreliable allies (like the Shah of Iran).

It is around this question of strategical and tactical allies that we see the basis for the right opportunism of all unity and no struggle.

This opportunism can be noticed in their practical application of the united front against imperialism as the strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S.

As a communist organization, the October League had the responsibility to participate in an activity organized by the PSP in support of the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico. However, it was incorrect for the OL to submerge itself in this activity and not give criticism and struggle against some serious questions around this activity: First, that this activity was organized under the social-pacifist slogan of "Bi-Centennial Without Colonies," which glosses over the true nature of U.S. imperialism. Second, that this was organized in conjunction with the CPUSA and the SWP, revisionists and Trots, enemies of all national liberation struggles, the proletariat and the world's peoples. Finally, that the main organization sponsoring this activity, the PSP, has a thoroughly anti-Marxist line on the national question, the "Divided Nation" theory, which divides the U.S. multi-national working class along national lines.

Here again, by not doing public criticism of the forces involved and not struggling with these questions within this coalition, the OL shows their right opportunist error of all unity and no struggle.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM OR NARROW NATIONALISM

The political line of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has shown itself to be infested with revisionism and narrow-minded; petty-bourgeois nationalism - not proletarian internationalism.

According to PSP's analysis of the international situation, there still exists both a Western imperialist bloc and a socialist camp. To PSP, present-day U.S. imperialism has hegemony within the imperialist bloc, which is composed of Japan, West Germany, and the countries of the European Common Market, although there are "signs" that this hegemony is weakening.

PSP also holds that capitalism has not been restored in the U.S.S.R., and therefore there still exists a "socialist camp." They are clearly in contradiction with the understanding of genuine Marxists-Leninists the world over that:

"As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence."

Here, it is important that we examine PSP's understanding of what distinguishes socialism from capitalism. They explain that socialism has proven to be a superior road for the economic and social development of the "so-called underdeveloped nations." They continue:

"The distribution of income and of the benefits of the socio-economic development is much more just and rational than in capitalism, because it depends fundamentally on the quantity and quality of the work that the person contributes to the collective effort. This is where it is attractive for the workers of the capitalist world."

This is revisionist trash. Socialist countries are not distinguished from capitalist countries by their "more just and rational distribution of wages based on the amount and quality of collective labor put in."

In capitalist countries, there is socialized production and capitalistic, individual appropriation; these are the capitalist relations of production. Proletarian revolution "solves" the inherent contradictions of the anarchic capitalist system. The proletariat violently destroys the bourgeois state machine, seizes state power and by this means transforms the socialized means of production, from the private property of the bourgeoisie, into public property under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far born, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialized production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible."

Once again, we must emphasize that the difference between one social system and another lies precisely in the relations of production, not in the manner in which wages are distributed. Under socialism, as a matter of fact, the proletariat moves immediately to abolish the capitalist wage system, which functions only to mask the essence of capitalist exploitation of the working class - the appropriation of surplus value created by the proletariat.

PSP has shown itself to be incapable of distinguishing between socialism and capitalism. Thus, they can continue to cry, "Russia is still a socialist country." This denial of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, in turn, leads them to deny that there are two superpowers, and that these two superpowers are contending and colluding in their competition for world hegemony.

"Each in its own way attempts to bring the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America under its control and, at the same time, to bully the developed countries that are not their match in strength."

"The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters and oppressors of today." 4

So we see that in the international sphere, PSP wants to maintain "unity" between the revisionists and the genuine Marxists-Leninists and attempts to reduce the split with international revisionism to a "power dispute" within the "socialist camp." 5

Genuine Marxists-Leninists and honest revolutionaries around the world recognize this for what it is - conciliation with revisionism. We say to the honest PSP members and supporters: Marxism-Leninism is the science that guides us in our struggle against the bourgeoisie. It teaches us that the FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM MUST BE INSEPARABLY BOUND UP WITH THE FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM AND ALL FORMS OF OPPORTUNISM. It is our proletarian internationalist duty to defend Marxism-Leninism and struggle resolutely against the Soviet revisionists and all their lackeys, as well as against the other superpower, the U.S. We cannot fight U.S. imperialism while we unite with Soviet social-imperialism.

This unity of the PSP with the Soviet revisionists is also extended to Soviet appendages around the world. It is clearly not an error of ignorance that finds Mari Bras and Gus Hall, chief windbag of the revisionist "CP"USA, arm-in-arm in a picture on the front page of Claridad. It is no error - it follows from their international alliance with the U.S.S.R. - that PSP in the U.S. calls joint activities with the "CP"USA, those spineless mouthpieces of the Moscow revisionists. It is no error of ignorance that led PSP to unite with the "CP" to form the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, where Alfredo Lopez, a leading member of PSP, serves as chairman of the coordinating committee. It is no error of ignorance that led the

PSP to include speakers from the "CP"USA in their N.Y. forum on "Racism and Class Struggle." (PSP cadres were never told that the reason the Black Workers Congress refused to participate in the forum was because they correctly refused to conciliate with revisionism, to be on the same platform with these bourgeois agents of the "CP"USA as if they were a legitimate organization and not agents of the bourgeoisie, disguised as Marxists-Leninists.) And it is no error - it flows from their overall political line, that finds PSP calling for a "united front" with all kinds of revisionists and "bourgeois pacifists" for their planned activity in Madison Square Garden, for which they were trying to get Angela Davis as one of the speakers.

(While we actively support the activity as part of our responsibility as proletarian internationalists, we will maintain our independence and initiative, seek to unite with all that we can unite to wage a relentless struggle against all forms and shades of modern revisionism, represented here most thoroughly by the "CP"USA.)

We think it is also important to call attention to PSP's uniting with Trotskyites of all shades, including the NCLC (with whom they publically broke only after the NCLC physically attacked the "CP"USA) and SWP. Again, to the honest PSP members and supporters, we ask, how can an organization call itself Marxist-Leninist and unite with the Trotskyite scum that have historically functioned as wreckers and bourgeois agents?

The struggle against revisionism is the duty of all Marxists-Leninists. PSP tries to "excuse" itself from this responsibility, saying that they are an "independent" party and accept "tutelage" from no one.

"One of the most common distortions as to the international policy of PSP, widely circulated in the movement and not always with best intentions, is that it is a 'neutral' party on the international arena. Such neutrality would necessarily mean that no positions are taken on the issues that arise in the world communist movement. Nothing is further from the truth. PSP is not a neutral party, but an independent one, which is something else altogether. Such independence implies that positions are taken on the most diverse problems confronting the world revolutionary movement and international politics from the standpoint of the analysis that the party makes sovereignly of those issues, guided by the principles of the party.

"The problem is that we do not accept tutelage from anyone, not even from our closest and most fraternal allies. And this is disliked - and sometimes is not understood - by those that sectarianly cling to mechanistic paradigms."⁶

Fine; we are not talking about "tutelage"; we are talking about upholding Marxism-Leninism. A Marxist-Leninist organization must take a position on this question and must educate its cadres as to the absolute need for an uncompromising struggle with all forms of opportunism.

The struggle prior to the splitting of the socialist camp was not simply a "power dispute" among the countries in the socialist camp, as PSP would have us believe. It was an intense ideological struggle between the upholders of Marxism-Leninism and the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism. If we are proletarian internationalists, as PSP claims to be, then we must start from the perspective of the international proletariat and the battle against the international bourgeoisie, and we must address ourselves with the utmost seriousness to the defense of Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat's science of class war, against any and all attempts to revise it and thereby weaken the proletariat's struggle.

From PSP's "analysis of the conflicts in the socialist camp," we can see clearly that they are not fulfilling in any way their responsibilities in this area:

"The roundabout struggles on ideological problems, and the economic and political relations between socialist countries, and between these (countries) and the capitalist countries, have caused friction and conflicts among the former. Polemics among their leading parties, diplomatic breaks, and even armed clashes (U.S.S.R. and China) and the incidents in Czechoslovakia that culminated in the intervention of the force of the Warsaw Pact - all this has taken away some of the political force of the socialist camp, on the one hand; but on the other, it has shown the necessity of each country developing its own socialist revolution, taking into account fundamentally its (own) national features, characteristics and problems." *

* Translated from the Spanish.

Here, PSP spills the beans and exposes itself further. They ignore the class basis for the "split" - that in the Soviet Union, capitalist-roaders have temporarily usurped state power, restored capitalism there, embarked on a policy of social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds), instituted a state of fascist rule internally, and revised fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. They cover up the fact that it was the Soviet social-imperialists who openly dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to trample Czechoslovakia underfoot and install a puppet regime at bayonet point. They say the "split" was wrong, but do not criticize the Soviet revisionists who caused it by abandoning the basis for unity in the socialist camp that had existed: Marxism-Leninism. In effect, then, they are saying that the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania are the real splitters, who have undermined the unity of the socialist camp. Thus, they unite with the revisionists and attack the upholders of Marxism.

In this same statement, we see how the PSP tries to use this situation to cover and justify their own narrow-minded, petty-bourgeois nationalism, which to them makes Puerto Rico a "unique colony," a situation which demands a form of "Puerto Rican socialism." Now, every Marxist-Leninist understands that we must apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the country in which we are struggling, but as proletarian internationalists, we do not start from the narrow interests of our particular country; we start from the interests of the international proletariat, from an international world outlook. For PSP, it is exactly the opposite. They start from a national perspective first, and then they unite with anyone in the world that says they agree with the ideas PSP puts forward.

As a matter of fact, PSP is extremely "critical" of people who "pay too much attention" to the international situation. They are constantly leveling attacks at the U.S. "left" (a term they use to lump together both honest forces and dishonest revisionists, Trotskyites and bourgeois liberals) for this, and they have often tried to tell the PRRWO that all we want to do is talk about the international situation and not about Puerto Rico. They precisely fail to understand that as proletarian internationalists we must put Puerto Rico into perspective, as part of the international struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism.

Struggle on the international question frightens PSP because it threatens to uncover their own opportunism. They plead that they have an "independent" position, and we certainly agree that they do not have a "neutral" position. They most certainly do have a position on the international struggle against revisionism: **THEY SUPPORT AND ALLY THEMSELVES WITH REVISIONISM.** They defend the revisionist U.S.S.R. They send delegates to revisionist countries all over the world. They staunchly defended the Moscow line of "peaceful transition to socialism" in Chile, and failed to criticize and expose the idea that the Chilean people could achieve socialism through the parliamentary road and a "multi-party socialist regime." Thus, although they have done

-some good work in raising the consciousness of the masses in Puerto Rico most especially around the revolutionary struggle of the people of Chile, objectively they aided the Moscow revisionists and the revisionist "CP" of Chile, which helped set up the Chilean people for the fascist massacre. (See Report on National Situation)

In fact, PSP foresees the same thing in Puerto Rico. Here is how they disguise their bankrupt, treacherous line, under the label of "Puerto Rican socialism":

"The features of the Puerto Rican style of socialism, and especially during the period of revolutionary transition before the establishment of socialist legality, will depend fundamentally upon the peculiar characteristics of our national reality, and in particular on the route followed towards the seizure of power and the composition of the political forces which achieve the victory and the formation of revolutionary power.

"The political power to be established in the Socialist Republic of Puerto Rico does not necessarily have to be a single party at the start. If, in the course of our revolutionary struggle, diverse political forces participate in the determination of victory, it is probable that a plural leadership will assume command in the building of socialism. In the last instance, what will determine the one-party or multi-party character of the socialist regime is whether, in the revolutionary situation preceding the seizure of power, the vanguard is dispersed in several organizations or concentrated in only one."

Here PSP unites with the Trotskyites and various rightist bourgeois and revisionist ideologists in advocating the multi-party system in socialism. What all these anti-Marxist forces have in common is that they are against the undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party after the seizure of state power by the working class. So they raise the question of the existence of several so-called "workers' parties" (PSP calls them "diverse political forces"), which excludes the leadership of a single, vanguard party of the working class based on the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. But under the circumstances they put forward, the existence of a genuine proletarian dictatorship is impossible. Compare PSP's formulation with that of Trotskyite, P. Franc:

"In the society of the period of transition to socialism, the working class will still remain differentiated for a long period, to the extent that different strata will have different view-

7

points concerning the relationship between their everyday needs and their long-term interests. Thus, there will be room for different parties in the transitional society, some of a more reformist character, others of a more revolutionary character."

It's clear that none of these people are talking about Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. From this, we can also see that PSP's "Puerto Rican style socialism" is nothing more than plain old revisionism, dressed up in the disguise of "Puerto Rican exceptionalism."

With a raggedy line like this, it's no wonder that PSP doesn't want to struggle around the international situation, and dismisses the importance of the fight against revisionism and all forms of opportunism. Rather than learn from the historical struggles of the international proletariat, as summed up by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung, they belittle the importance of this theory and even say they have added something to it:

"'Desde Las Entranas' will join the minimal bibliography of every Puerto Rican socialist. It must have the same priority for study as the Communist Manifesto, the Second Declaration of Havana, and the General Declaration of the PSP-MPI."

"...the same priority for study as the Communist Manifesto" - this is a crime being committed against the honest forces in the PSP - to equate the eclecticism and revisionism of the PSP line with the revolutionary teachings of the great Marx. Of course, PSP's leadership wants its members to study "Desde Las Entranas" and not to do systematic study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. Opportunists never arm cadres with the science of class war, because they know that the cadres, thus armed, will see through their "revolutionary" cloak and expose them thoroughly.

If PSP wants to stay in the marsh of opportunism and aid the international bourgeoisie, that is their business. However, we will make it our business to join with every genuine revolutionary and communist in the U.S., in Puerto Rico, and around the world to uphold Marxism-Leninism and expose PSP's treacherous line. While taking a principled stand of uniting with them (PSP) in mobilizing support for the national liberation of Puerto Rico inside the U.S., and also supporting any other correct position which they may take, our position will be one of applying correctly the principle of unity, struggle, unity, with the understanding that the majority of members of PSP and supporters are sincere revolutionaries who are struggling against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and are also opposed to the imperialist policy of aggression towards any other country. For this reason, it would be only a matter of time before they realize the socialist nature of the U.S.S.R. and we will be fighting together in a world-wide United Front against U.S. imperialism and U.S.S.R. social-imperialism.

FOOTNOTES - PSP

- 1 Tenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China, Speech by Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-Peng, at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, p. 2
- 2 Declaracion General del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno, p. 16 Translated into English by the PRRWO
- 3 Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Frederick Engels, International Publishers, 1935, p. 74-75
- 4 Speech by People's Republic of China at U.N., ibid., p. 3
- 5 Desde Las Entranas, Pt. 5 of PSP's Eleven Pragmatic Principles
- 6 Claridad, November 18, 1973, p. 4, English supplement, by Ramon Arbona, Member of PSP Central Committee
- 7 Declaracion General de la Asamblea Constituyente del PSP (MPI), p. 16
- 8 Desde Las Entranas, Pt. 4 of PSP's Eleven Pragmatic Principles
- 9 "Present-Day Revolutionary Movement and Trotskyism," Albania Today, Sept.-Oct. 1972
- 10 Claridad, May 13, 1973, English supplement

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND TROTSKYISM

The CL has openly come out in opposition to the correct present international analysis of the CPC and PLA. Their attitude towards imperialism is anti-Marxist-Leninist.

"This is not just a tactical question, or a temporary solution in the existing circumstances. The attitude towards imperialism is a question of the content of the political line. It serves as a gauge for assessing practical actions, and, in the end, a demarcation line which divides two warring camps, dividing those who defend the vital interests of peoples and of the future of mankind from those who trample them underfoot, dividing revolutionaries from reactionaries and traitors."

The attitude of CL towards imperialism is not that they are paper tigers and that revolution is the main trend in the world today, but that, "a concrete analysis by the leadership of the CL disclosed that, far from entering into its immediate doom, USNA imperialism was expanding its hegemony² and tightening its grip on the dependent areas of the world."

The concrete analysis of CL in essence concludes that imperialism, not revolution, is the main trend in the world today, in their placing so much attention to the question of export of capital, which is one of the five basic features of imperialism (...1. ³the concentration of production...5. the territorial division...)

They, like Kautsky, attempt to obscure and gloss over the fundamental contradiction of imperialism, something which is reflected in their position:

"No matter what the contradictions are between the imperialists, they cannot help but constitute a block. Their vital interests, even in time of war, compel them to unite against socialism." ⁴

This places itself in contradiction with the position of the CPC, that contention is absolute, while unity is temporary and relative, firmly stated in the U.N. speech. Their position obscures the fact that, "an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several great powers in the striving for hegemony." ⁵

Raising the contradiction between socialist and capitalist countries is a way to gloss over the fundamental contradiction between the imperialists themselves.

"They consider that the contradiction between the socialist camp and capitalist camp are more acute than the contradiction among the capitalist countries." ⁶

With this essential opportunist attitude towards imperialism, it is not surprising that they oppose the united front against imperialism as an international strategy (see part on strategy and tac-

tics); that they attack the position on the Three Worlds and attack the struggle of the Third World countries. In essence, it's the same Trot position that all nationalism is bourgeois nationalism; that all the national bourgeoisie of the countries of the Third World are comprador. They say:

"Should the leading factor be to support the national interest, which can only be bourgeois interest, or should the leading factor be proletarian international interests? It is clear that it is impossible to unite the various national interests against imperialism. The nature of national interests compel the various bourgeois leaders to rely⁷ on imperialism in one degree or another."

CL revises Lenin's thesis of national liberation movements:

"The national liberation movements are an integral part of the world proletarian revolution, and the colonies cannot emancipate themselves without the overthrow of all capital."⁸

In other words, a national movement of an oppressed nation against imperialism is not revolutionary if it is not for the "overthrow of capital." This completely disregards the fact that there have existed and exist today national movements who are not for the "overthrow of capital," but, since they are weakening imperialism, they are objectively revolutionary and must be supported. It's true that the most thoroughly revolutionary national movements are those that are led by the working class, with its communist party, which sets itself the task of resolving the principal contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialists in order to more rapidly and effectively resolve the contradiction between the bourgeoisie of its own country and the working class. But to opportunistically conclude and propagate that national movements are not revolutionary without the "overthrow of capital," as CL does, then to try to cover their theoretical blunder by misquoting Lenin, is only an example of the bankruptcy of the advanced theoreticians of the Communist League.

What Lenin presents is that the national liberation movements are an integral part of world proletarian revolution, and that the struggle for self-determination of an oppressed nation, colonies and neo-colonies is a death-blow against imperialism. Allies of the proletariat of the oppressor nation must raise and fight with all their might against their own bourgeoisie for the right of self-determination of the nations controlled and oppressed by imperialism. The CL would have us believe that the revolutionary struggles of the Third World are at the same level as the struggle of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, completely glossing over the position of the Third World in relation to the two imperialist countries (superpowers), and the fact that they are the storm center of revolution in the world today. The CL has adapted a national chauvinist position, which also shows itself in their position on the signing of the 9-point peace treaty put forth by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of North Viet Nam (PRGV):

"Brezhnev also admitted in his speech that the Soviet Union had been instrumental in the so-called cease-fire agreement, or, in other words, in the attempt to impose an imperialist peace in Indochina."

In other words, the signing of the 9-point treaty was not a victory against imperialism, but a defeat for the VietNameese people, since it was an "imperialist peace"; the imperialist comes out victorious and more consolidated, while the people come out weaker and defeated. This is nothing but wishful thinking of the bourgeoisie, being expressed by CL.

This bankruptcy of line can also be noted in their position on the struggle for 200-mile nautical maritime sea rights by the Latin American countries, where they dismiss it on the basis that it represented national interests, which can only be bourgeois interests.

The Superpowers and Hegemony

The CL puts forward that we are not dealing with superpowers, but gigantic imperialist states - "we are dealing with highly concentrated imperialism"¹⁰. They say that "superpowers" means that they are super in the sense that they are invincible. This is completely ridiculous, since you cannot drive a wedge between the term "superpowers" and Lenin's use of the words "great powers." This shows that they are desperately trying to score a few Brownie points on the CPC.

The CL wants China and Albania to seek hegemony because the CL says there exists the hegemony of both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, since the two superpowers struggle for hegemony internationally, "meaning for leadership and authority," to bully the smaller, less developed and dependent countries.

China, being a socialist country, does not want to be the leadership and authority, lording over other nations. Rather, China is an example to people of the world and friendly to all those countries struggling against control, subversion, interference or aggression from the two superpowers. It bases both its political and economic relations with other countries on the 5 principles of peaceful co-existence, which was reaffirmed in the speech at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly given by the Chinese representative:

"We are opposed to the establishment of hegemony and spheres of influence by any country in any part of the world in violation of these principles."¹¹

The CL raises this to point to a serious right deviation within the CPC, raising as an example:

"After World War II, when the imperialists openly planned to attack the Soviet Union, had it not been for the socialist hegemony over the peoples of the earth, the U.S.S.R.² would have been in an indefensible position."¹²

According to CL, it was socialist hegemony, not proletarian internationalism, which played the key role in defending the U.S.S.R. Again, CL takes things out of context in order to attack China and Albania, another example of how the real meaning of hegemony is distorted by the theoreticians of the CL, who are fishing in troubled waters.

Restoration of Capitalism

On the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union (see also the BWC pamphlet), their line is yes and no, but as a matter of fact, yes, that capitalism has not been restored in the U.S.S.R. They attack the position of restoration by saying it is childish, and attempt to cover themselves by saying that they are struggling against a childish tendency in the "New Left." Their arguments are:

1. That a superstructure has been usurped by the revisionists, but that the economic base is socialist; that an offensive presently is being launched by the revisionists at the economic base, but it has not been completely changed. In essence, their position is the Trot position of degenerate workers state.
2. That the relations of production are socialized, still in the hands of the workers and peasants.
3. That there does not exist a new bourgeoisie which developed principally from within the party and state apparatus, in relation with the old bourgeoisie and the foreign international bourgeoisie.
4. That the new ruling clique must now go through the process of accumulating funds, when the reality is that by seizing the state apparatus in a country where the means of productions are socialized, they're taking control of a centralized institution, which has accumulated capital which they increase through their policy of incentives, etc. They do not have to go back 500 years, like the CL wants us to believe.

Other essential points which differ with the line of the CPC and PLA:

1. The USSR restoration of capitalism was carried out mainly through a peaceful degeneration within the superstructure, not through an armed coup d'etat in the superstructure, as CL wants us to believe.
2. The CL says that capitalism has not been restored in the U.S.S.R., yet they recognize that the U.S.S.R. is social-imperialist. It is only able to practice social-imperialism because it has restored capitalism and practices fascism internally and social-imperialism externally.
3. The CL claims there still exists a socialist camp, when both China and Albania have consistently stated that the camp ceased to exist after the Sino-Soviet split.

The CL line is, in essence (after you cut through their Lin Piao fascist cover), that the restoration of capitalism is an incorrect line which helps the consolidation and expansion of U.S. imperialism. What we can correctly conclude is that they are attempting to smuggle within our ranks a Trot line, that a united front between China, Albania and the U.S.S.R. should form to combat U.S. imperialism. Also, they attempt to deceive honest Marxists-Leninists by attempting to split Albania from China by saying that Albania has a better line, especially in regard to the U.S.S.R., when, in fact, they have the same line, which, as stated in the other paper, compliment each other rather than contradict each other.

On this position, we can see that CL takes a Trotskyite position.

"Likewise, the Trotskyites join in the demagoguery of the Soviet revisionists about 'the united front of all the socialist countries against U.S. imperialism,' deny the process of the restoration of capitalism in the revisionist-ruled countries, etc. What Lenin once said about Trotsky is completely true of present-day Trotskyism. '...He maneuvers, speculates, poses as a leftist, and helps the rightists as much as he can...' The objective of the Trotskyites is to unite all trends, be they rightist or 'leftist,' against revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, described by them as 'Stalinism.'"

FOOTNOTES - CL

- 1 Report Submitted to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, Enver Hoxha, Tirania, 1971, p. 22
- 2 "International Report," People's Tribune, May 1974
- 3 Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin, p. 106
- 4 "Mayday Report," People's Tribune, May 1974
- 5 Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, p. 106
- 6 Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., J.V. Stalin
- 7 "Mayday International Report," People's Tribune, May 1974
- 8 "Mayday International Report," People's Tribune, May 1974
- 9 People's Tribune, Vol. V, No. 5
- 10 "Mayday International Report," People's Tribune, May 1974
- 11 Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China, Speech by Chairman of Delegation of the People's Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-Peng, at the U.N. General Assembly, p. 18
- 12 "Mayday International Report," People's Tribune, May 1973
- 13 "Present-Day Revolutionary Movement and Trotskyism," Albania Today, Sept.-Oct. 1972