

POLITICAL REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

COMRADES -

The most obvious aspect of the political picture in the United States of North America (USNA) and in the world today is the fact that we are in a period of rapidly changing political and economic relationships. We are entering into a period when the old formulas and old phrases no longer suffice. We are entering a period that is going to demand from the League the utmost in political

independence and the utmost in resolute adherence to the fundamental aspects of Marxism-Leninism. In order for us to find our way, we must fight to strengthen our ability to evaluate the international and national political situation and to proceed from there to determine how we should move in the class struggle.

Now, it is obvious that there are many political and

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economic factors in flux. Almost every organization in this country and in the world is scurrying to get some sort of line - no matter how superficial, on the meaning of these changing relationships.

The Comrades will recall how quite some time back we indicated that the contradictions between the imperialists were becoming more active. At that time, all of our enemies and a good portion of our friends were quick to condemn us as if we were adventurers. However, the minimal statement that we made in the People's Tribune, Vol. 3 No. 8 was the result of cautious and systematic investigation. Now, since the Nixon visit to China and the detente between the USSR and Israel and between Japan and the USSR, these groupings and individuals are falling over themselves in an effort to recapture what they think is an advanced position. Some of these groups are taking danger-

China

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Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 23rd National Day, on behalf of the Communist League and the revolutionary proletariat of the United States of North America, we wish to convey to you, to the government of the People's Republic of China, and to the great revolutionary Chinese people, our militant solidarity, our congratulations and our best wishes.

Since the day of its founding, the state of the People's Republic of China has been a bastion of world revolution and a center for the struggle against imperialism and revisionist soviet imperialism.

The proletariat of the United States of North America, struggling without a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party at its head has been greatly aided by the revolutionary consistency of People's China. We are deeply indebted for this.

Our Communist League founded in the battle against international revisionism pledges to uphold the highest ideals of proletarian internationalism in war and in peace.

China's revolution, its revolutionary state, its wise experienced revolutionary leadership are near and dear to the proletariat of the United States of North America.

In the spirit of internationalism we wish the Chinese people success in their historic mission.

Central Committee
Communist League

ous stands (i.e. swinging way to the "left" or way to the right) because they simply do not know any better. However, the stand of the CPUSA is the stand of international revisionism and we are going to have to take careful account of what they say to the working class and to the movement and what the facts of objective reality actually are.

Of great importance to us is the recent statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA. We have always learned by the negative example set by the CPUSA in the past; and this document, entitled "THE HOUSE OF IMPERIALISM IS CRUMBLING" is one of the best. The very title of this pamphlet should be warning enough to us. The idea of something crumbling is the idea of a passive development. The Communist concept is smashing imperialism - we don't want to be nit-picking - but the present position of the CPUSA has to be criticized beginning with the title itself.

Comrades, it is interesting to note that the whole basis of the position of the revisionists has been and is the concept that U.S. imperialism is crumbling. If you recall the orientation of the Khrushchev gang, it was that imperialism is in its "final hour". But he had a predecessor. You will recall Foster's book published in 1949 entitled, "THE TWILIGHT OF WORLD CAPITALISM", where he predicted the immediate demise of the capitalist system. The outlook of the revisionist-syndicalist Communist Party of the USA had always been either that US imperialism is too strong to struggle with; this was the outlook of the rotten agents, i.e. Lovestone, who declared that there cannot be a depression in the United States, and Earl Browder who frankly stated, "If you can't beat them, join them"; Lovestone and Browder were one side of the coin; flip that coin over and you have the Fosters, the Gene Dennises and the Gus Halls who do not dare say the same things that Browder said - so therefore they say the very opposite; even though it means the same thing. You comrades will recall how Stalin proved that the aims of the "left" and right opportunists were exactly the same.

Stalin said:

"And we say that wherever there is a Right deviation, there must be a "Left" deviation. Lenin said with regard to the Otzovists, that the "Lefts" are Mensheviks turned inside out. This is absolutely true. The same thing can be said of the present day "Lefts". Those who incline towards Trotskyism are in fact Rights turned inside out; they are Rights concealing themselves behind "left" phrases....It may be asked: if the "Left" deviation is in essence the same as the Right opportunist

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deviation, then where do you get the fight on two fronts? And indeed, if the victory of the Rights would mean increasing the chances of the restoration of capitalism, and the victory of the "Lefts" would lead to exactly the same result, what is the difference between them and why is one called Right and the other "Left"? And if there is a difference, in what does it consist? Is it not true that both deviations spring from the same social root and that both are petty-bourgeois deviations? Is it not true that the victory of either of these deviations would lead to the same results? Then what is the difference between them? The difference consists in the fact that their platforms are different, their demands are different and their approach and methods are different. If, for instance, the Rights say: "It is a mistake to build Dnieprostroy", while the "Lefts" on the contrary say, "Give us a Dnieprostroy every year", (laughter) it must be admitted that there is some difference between them. If the Rights say "do not interfere with the Kulak, give him freedom to develop" while the "Lefts" on the contrary say, "Strike not only at the Kulak, but also at the middle peasant, since he is just as much a private property owner as the kulak," it must be admitted that there is some difference between them. If the Rights say, "difficulties have set in, is it now time to quit?" while the "Lefts", on the contrary say, "what are difficulties to us; a fig for difficulties, let us dash ahead," (laughter) it must be admitted that there is some difference between them. And so you get a picture of the specific platform and the specific methods of the "Lefts". And that explains why the "Lefts" sometimes succeed in winning over a part of the workers by their high-sounding "Left" phrases and by depicting themselves as the most determined opponents of the Rights, although all the world knows that the social roots of the "Lefts" are the same as those of the Rights, and that they not infrequently arrive at an understanding, and form a BLOC with the Rights in order to fight the Leninist line. That is why it is essential for us Leninists to conduct a fight on two fronts, against the Right deviations and against the "Left" deviation."

The result of either the "left" or the right deviations is to disarm the people in the face of the onslaught of the imperialists. Let us look closely at this fruit that the revisionists are peddling.

On page 4 of the report to the CC of the CPUSA, Gus Hall says, "The rollback of Communism policy is turning into a roll back of imperialism."

Lenin always taught that the heart of dialectics was a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. It is interesting to note that in this entire report there is not one single concrete analysis to be had. Why? Because the revisionists don't dare be concrete. Let us see where Communism has been rolled back and where capitalism has been rolled back and we will get some sort of picture of what our tasks are. At the end of WWII Dulles, then secretary of state, now happily dead, began the policy of not simple containment of communism, which was Hoover's and Roosevelt's policy, but a policy of "rolling back Communism". This policy came at a time when the red banners were triumphant from Berlin to Shanghai. Can anyone deny that today in Eastern Europe the working class has been temporarily defeated; in Poland, in East Germany, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, in Bulgaria and in Yugoslavia. A sharp battle is now being waged in Rumania. In Greece the revolution was drowned in blood with a full third of the Greek population slaughtered. Only glorious Albania has been able to withstand the ebb of the revolution in Europe. Only charlatons, revisionists, counter-revolutionaries and imbeciles can defend the USSR as a socialist state. The truth is that there has been a temporary roll back of communism in Europe. This fact does not dishearten us nor does it frighten us. We recall not too long ago when the crooked cross - Hitler's Swastika flew from the gates of Moscow to the English channel - from the Arctic circle to the Southern part of the Sahara Desert. And it was only a short historical moment ago when the worker's world was the small corridor that connected Leningrad and Moscow.

We are not pointing to facts in order to dishearten anyone - only to let them know that the period that we face is one wherein communists are going to have to tighten their belts - screw their courage to the sticking point and prepare to weather the coming storm. The House of Imperialism isn't going to crumble - it is going to have to be smashed - and smashed by us.

As dialecticians we fully understand that the process of growth is the process of ebb and flow or more specifically a process of leaps that are followed by crisis - backsliding and then another leap. This process involves the whole of the motion of quantity to quality. We see it only natural that this scientific process be applied to the history of humanity as well as the history of every other organism.

Getting back to the statement by Gus Hall, it is clear that there have been some defeats for the working class in Europe. In Asia, where the storm center of revolution shifted after the death of Stal-

in, there was definitely a roll back of capitalism. China, North Korea, and North Vietnam, along with Albania constitute the core of the revolution today. Why is it then, that these parties are the very ones attacked by Gus Hall?

What has Khrushchev's "final hour" of imperialism meant to Africa? It meant the slaughter of the masses and the substitution of a Latin American type of Neo-Colonialism to replace the isolated and out worn form of the old colonialism. Africa today should be warning enough that revisionism isn't simply a form of wrong communism, but is the most effective wing of imperialism inside the revolutionary movement.

Almost everyone today recognizes the fact that the revisionists tell lies about the communist movement in order to assist the imperialists, so it should be only a small step to also understand that they need to tell lies about the capitalist system in order to hurt the communist movement. The main aspects of this lie today is the disarming propaganda that the U.S. imperialists are falling by their own dead weight.

Is there a financial crisis that is compelling the U.S. imperialists to realign their financial policies? Of course there is. But does this mean that the imperialists are up against the wall? That is what the capitalists and their servants the revisionists would like for us to think. Such thinking will lead to wrong and dangerous tactics or simple passivity. The truth is that despite the crisis - the USNA is still the hoarder of most of the world's gold. In no way does this mean that imperialism isn't in serious trouble; it certainly is. This financial crisis is following the agricultural crisis in a classical way and it will inevitably be followed by an industrial crisis and a depression the likes that has never been seen before. Is there a serious problem of balance of payments for the USNA imperialists? Yes there certainly is, but any real examination of this question will show that the major aspect of the balance of payments is the gigantic military payrolls that stretch around the world. That coupled with the extensive military and para-military operations is the main ingredient of this unfavorable balance of payments. The fact is that the USNA is upholding and insuring every bankrupt, rag-tag feudal and bobtailed fascist in the entire world. This costs money - lots of it, but it pays off politically for the imperialists.

Another question always raised by the revisionists is that of the balance of trade. Now the balance of trade is a very important indicator of the industrial and financial position of a state. However in analyzing trade, we have to remember our slogan of "figures don't lie, but liars can figure". (cont. on p. 4)

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In 1970, the U.S. imported 39 billion 963 million dollars worth of goods and exported 43 billion 226 million dollars worth. That leaves us with a trade balance or general profit for the imperialists to the tune of 3 billion, 263 million dollars - not a bad deal for trading equals. But, we cannot be content with this sort of figure. The moment we break down this trade pattern into its components we begin to get a new story. The U.S. imperialists had a trade deficit with Latin America to the tune of 1 billion 313 million dollars. Now surely this must mean not only have the peoples of Latin America broken away from U.S. imperialism but they are enslaving the USNA. That is the logic of the revisionists. Little Costa Rica whipped the U.S. to the tune of a 21 million trade deficit; Peru hit the U.S. to the tune of 127 million in unfavorable balance of trade. Venezuela wiped 323 millions out in unfavorable balance of trade. Dominican Republic took the U.S. for 41 million; Guyana shook up the U.S. to the tune of 18 million; the Netherland Antilles ripped the U.S. off to the tune of 290 million; little Trinidad and Tobago came out ahead to the tune of 152 million. Almost every sub-Sahara country had a favorable balance of trade with the U.S. For example, Angola, 30 million; Camaroons, 8 million; Central African Republic, 5 million; Ethiopia, 41 million and so forth. I think that you are getting the picture. The fact is that the more secure the hold of U.S. imperialism on a colony or semi-colony, the greater is the imbalance of trade. In fact it isn't really trade at all since the USNA imperialists already won the goods in the first place. Let us take an example. An imperialist group decides to invest in the sugar market. They are paying a sugar worker in Louisiana 6 dollars a day for x amount of sugar. They decide to invest in Dominican sugar where they pay 36 cents a day for x amount of sugar. Then they import this sugar into the U.S. helping to create an unfavorable balance of trade. The idea of an unfavorable balance of trade with a colony or semi-colony is a joke. It is only the indication of the super-profits whipped out of the backs of the colonial toilers. At the peril of boring you with statistics, let us look at the balance of trade with the developed capitalist countries:

Belgium and Luxemburg +
500 millions

France + 542 millions

West Germany - \$390 millions
and that because of the heavy imports of German made cars and machinery from U.S. owned companies, i.e. Volkswagen and Opel, etc. The U.S. even made 400 million off of the trade with our most favored partner in crime, the United Kingdom.

I think that the picture is clear and I also think that the revisionists have the same statistics as we do - only our aim is different. Up through 1970, the imbalance of trade was an indication of the strangling of the colonial world and a source of strength for U.S. imperialism. Naturally, such understandings do not jibe with the handmaiden of imperialism role that the revisionist CPUSA has to play.

Let us go on with the refutation of this undialectical revisionist concept of the dying away of imperialism.

On page 4 of this report, Gus Hall says:

"The prime source for capital that has sustained the reconstruction of post-war world capitalism has been the accumulated loot, the riches, of U.S. monopoly capitalism. This has been the reservoir that has been the source of what stability there has been in the capitalist world. It was the main source for the working capital for most of the capitalist countries. It has also been the instrument of U.S. imperialist domination."

One would think that here we are dealing with a person who lived and worked with Kautsky or Earl Browder. It is beyond our grasp how a person who calls himself Communist, who is in fact a charlatan of the first water, can dance around the obvious truth and then slip by as if that truth does not exist. Does Gus Hall come out with the obvious conclusion that the gigantic accumulation of wealth of the U.S. monopolies is the result of the unprecedented exploitation of the colonial world? Not at all. The reader is left with the impression that the riches of the U.S. imperialists are simply the result of the exploitation of the working class in this country. Gus Hall knows and we know that the main source of the working capital of the capitalists' world is the superprofits that are beaten out of the backs of the colonial world. It is with this gigantic amount of superprofits that whole countries are bought up - entire governmental structures are bribed, that the upper strata of the working class of the capitalist countries are paid off with the highest standard of living and consequently fall in behind the imperialists and even assist in the exploitation of the colonial world. Concrete proof of this is the role played by the AFL and the CIO in the undermining of the Latin American and African revolutionary movements.

According to Gus Hall, on page 6, "In the recent months the U.S. has been subjected to two spectacular defeats at the hands of its erstwhile partners in world capitalism. One was political - diplomatic: the instant vote to oust Washington's Taiwan pretenders and

restore China's seat at the United Nations to that country's rightful representatives - the government of the People's Republic of China. The other was economic, the refusal of the Japanese and Atlantic allies of U.S. capitalism to prostrate their respective currencies in order to provide a bouy of support to the sinking Yankee Dollar."

Well, let's examine the facts: Although Mr. Hall apparently never read much of Engels; Engels once stated, "Facts, gentlemen, are stubborn things."

It is a well known fact that U.S. imperialism was and is powerful enough to shift the crisis of the dollar onto the backs of the colonial workers and the rival yet dependent imperialists. Is it not a fact that the Japanese were forced into a depression because - among other factors the Japanese were forced to revalue the yen upward. Is it not true that the financial double dealings concerning the convertibility of the dollar wiped 3 billion out of the Japanese dollar reserves thus forcing the Japanese to bear the brunt of the crisis. Is it not true that the duetchmark and the Pound sterling have been forced upward thus placing the U.S. imperialists in a more favorable trading position with the entire world - this despite the fact that the U.S. has and has had a favorable balance of trade with the United Kingdom?



In the People's Tribune, we came out with a correct line on the question of the seating of China in the U.N.. We don't expect Gus Hall to read the Tribune, but perhaps he might have read U.S. News and World Report of Feb. 28, 1972 where they stated on page 15:

"By far the most important political concession was reversal of U.S. opposition to United Nations membership for Red China. Allied diplomats say this not only brought the People's Republic into the U.N. but triggered the expulsion of Nationalist China - Taiwan."

This is a fact. The meaning and wherefore of this fact was correctly explained in the People's Tribune, Vol. 3 No. 7.

Mr. Gus Hall, after having dealt with knocking the political underpinning from U.S. imperialism, theoretically shambles on to the question of Vietnam, where he states: (The House of Imperialism is Crumbling, p. 8)

"The shameful adventure in genocidal warfare against the people of Vietnam has not only been a total disaster to the

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prestige of the U.S. monopoly capitalists' government; it has also brought about broad fissures of crises in the very economic structure of the economy itself. Likewise, it has stirred millions to search their souls and turn their eyes with shame and outrage upon the gougers and grafters and gunmen of the dominant monopolist ruling class who have so wasted the wealth and bespoiled the patriotism of our people in the prosecution of their dirty war against people who never ever threatened our national interests."

Such shameful national chauvinism, such a heroic defense of the prestige of monopoly can only be noted for history to deal with. The CPUSA revisionists, along with the New Lefts fail to separate the culture and honor of the proletarian side of this country, which must be defended and strengthened, and the capitalist honor and culture, which must be attacked. Hall defends them all; the New Left attacks them all, thus they are unities.

Next, Hall in one paragraph makes an estimate of the role of the USSR. Of course, that estimate is as shallow and incorrect as it is brief. Hall says: (page 9)

"The work of the Soviet leaders over the past several months in the international arena has taken on the dimensions of a crusade for peace, national liberation and international social development. Visits to a number of countries by Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny of the Soviet Union - the historic trip of Comrade Fidel Castro to Chile, and others, have been the occasion for the conclusion of significant agreements which further the process of: 1) strengthening the fraternal bonds and accelerating the material and political development of the socialist community of states, 2) consolidating the alliance and multiplying the economic, political-diplomatic and mutual defense ties with the victims of imperialist aggression and the states and peoples in struggle to secure their sovereignty and independence from imperialism, and 3) the negotiation of new mutually beneficial terms of peaceful coexistence relations with capitalist countries who are prepared to abandon their former cold war postures of hostility to the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

"As an element in this activity, the government of the Soviet Union has responded favorably to the bid of Nixon to visit Moscow next May."

What does point no. 1 really mean? Strengthening the fraternal bonds in fact means the economic shackling of the East European states to the USSR. It is one of the accidents of history that the form

of this exploitation was inherited from the revolutionary leaders of the Soviet Union.

At the end of WWII the Soviet Union set about a massive aid plan to the Eastern European countries and China. Part of that plan was to - at least to some degree integrate the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union into the economic capabilities of the various countries and thus the concept of an economic community was born. The benefactors of this plan were the New Democracies and China. However, with the offensive of imperialism and revisionism after the death of Stalin, this concept was stood on its head, and the benefactor of the economic community was and is the USSR's bureaucracy. Today the drive is to make the Eastern European countries economic vassals to the USSR. Thus Breznev and Co. are attempting to compel Romania to supply oil; Germany; machine tools; Poland, coal, etc.. In a work, the revisionist plan is to force the economics of these countries to service the gigantic industrial plant of the Soviets in much the same way the economies of Latin America are geared to the economic demands of the industrial USNA.

Of course, this is the reason why Romania is struggling to break away from the USSR and independently build her own industrial base. This also is what lies behind the dismissal of Walter Ulbrecht, former premier and Chairman of the German Party.

What is the real meaning of the second point about strengthening the ties with the peoples who are oppressed by imperialism? Perhaps the reference is to peoples of Egypt who are forcibly restrained from settling affairs with Israel and the British. Perhaps Gus Hall is referring to the people of the Congo, who trusted the butcher Khrushchev, and who were betrayed and who were saddled with a bloody dictatorship that is referred to in the Soviet Union as, a 'stable government of the Congolese people'. Or perhaps Hall means the Bihires people of East Pakistan who have been slaughtered systematically in accord with the needs of the Soviet Union. Or does Hall mean the Cubans who were forcibly pushed off the path of revolution by the Soviets.

Lenin has taught us and history has fully confirmed the fact that revisionism is a servant of imperialism. Everything that the Soviet Union touches today is pushed from the path of revolution and in the final analysis is turned over to the tender mercies of the imperialists. Two bloody decades of defeats of the revolutionary movement are proof of this.

And let us look at section 3 which speaks of the development of peaceful coexistence relations with capitalist states

who are prepared to abandon the 'cold war'.

Firstly, we can assure you that those countries that are prepared to abandon the cold war were coached by U.S. imperialism to act as lead dogs in testing out the degree of corruption of the Soviet Union. It is plain that the major goal of the cold war - the roll back of socialism in the Soviet Union has already been accomplished.

As an indication of this fact, President Nixon reported to Congress:

"The essence of this Administration's approach to the Soviet Union has been to concentrate on the substance rather than the climate of our relationship and to confront squarely the serious issues which divide us. This required the careful and unemotional examination with the Soviet Union of the specific problems which appeared susceptible of resolution and of the general approach which both countries must take to those problems and to the overall conduct of our relationship, if progress were, in fact, to be obtained.

"Our determination to pursue this approach was reinforced by changes in the international scene affecting the Soviet interests and the USSR's position in the world. There were ambiguous tendencies in Soviet policy; the same factors that might lead the USSR toward greater hostility also suggested the opportunity for a relaxation of tension. The task of American policy was to recognize the persistence of their ambiguity and to take action to strengthen the more positive tendencies.

"--Sharp rivalries had grown up within the Communist world and had become an important influence on Soviet foreign policy. They created some immediate pressures to compete for the mantle of militancy. In some areas - especially in Asia - Communist competition actually sharpened conflicts. The break-up of a single Communist entity, however, relaxed some of the ideological inhibitions against dealing with the U.S. and forced the Soviet Union to reevaluate its security concerns. This suggested that the Soviet Union might seek a reduction of tensions with the U.S. and its Atlantic allies.

"--The Soviet Union had created a nuclear force comparable to ours. The magnitude of Soviet strategic programs and their accelerating pace opened up both opportunities and dangers that had not existed before; the USSR might be tempted by the possibility of gaining a dominant position, even though it should be clear that neither side would permit the other to develop a decisive strategic advantage. On the other hand, it was possible that for the first time, stra-

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ategic conditions freed the USSR from some of its own fears that might permit serious arms limitations at no disadvantage to either side.

"--The expansion of Soviet military and economic resources has made feasible a steady expansion of the Soviet presence in the Middle East, in South Asia, and in other areas. As it increases its influence, however, the Soviet Union also acquires responsibilities, and hopefully a new interest in regional stability. To the degree the USSR exercises its influence in the interest of restraint, the USSR and the U.S. could act on parallel courses.

"--The Soviet Union has created a mature industrialized economy. The continued growth of that economy make it possible to sustain a major arms program and increasingly serve civilian needs. On the other hand, the satisfaction of the growing expectations of the Soviet people for consumer benefits provides an incentive for a more normal relationship with the industrial powers of the non-Communist world."

President Nixon continues: "We have sought to encourage those tendencies in the Soviet policy which suggests a readiness to seek change through an evolutionary process."

Contrary to what Gus Hall says, there has been considerable spade work done on these "peaceful coexistence" relations - it would surely be better to say relations of peaceful capitulation. However, Nixon sums it up this way:

"2. The Soviet Union. We have succeeded in giving a new momentum to the prospects for more constructive relations through a series of concrete agreements which get at the cause of tension between our two countries. The agreements vary in importance, but together provide serious grounds for believing that a fundamental improvement in the U.S. Soviet relationships may be possible.

"--In February, we agreed on a treaty barring weapons of mass destruction from the ocean floor.

"--In May, we broke the deadlock which had developed in the talks on limiting strategic arms, and agreed on a framework which make it possible to resume progress.

"--In September, we agreed on a draft treaty prohibiting the production or possession of biological and toxic weapons.

"--In September, we agreed on a more reliable "Hot Line" communication between Washington and Moscow, and on measures for notification and consultation designed to reduce the risk of an accidental nuclear war.

"--In November, the visit of the American Secretary of Commerce to Moscow was the be-

ginning of conversations looking toward a general normalization of economic relations. These steps can represent the start of a new relationship with the Soviet Union."

It is obvious that in spite of the struggle between the USNA and the USSR, the overwhelming aspect of the relationship is one of collusion.

Before we pass on from Mr. Hall's analysis we have to comment on his estimate of the role of Fidel Castro and the so-called experiment in Chile. Fidel Castro's so-called historic trip to Chile was historic only in the sense that it represented the final nail in the coffin of the concept that the "Andes will become the Sierra Maestras (Sierra Maestras were the revolutionary base in the Cuban revolution) of Latin America." Now the official line is none other than the peaceful parliamentary road to socialism.

In the Nov. 1970 report to the National Committee of the CPUSA, Gus Hall said,

"The people's electoral victory in Chile is a major defeat for U.S. imperialism. The isolator of Cuba is itself becoming isolated. With the Chilean election U.S. imperialism became entangled in its own demagogic rhetoric. The imperialists have been forced, so far, to live with their demagogic claims that they will accept any government if it comes into being legally. This falsehood, of course, was directed only at progressive or socialist governments. The electoral victory of the Chilean revolutionary forces opens a new front against imperialism and a new page in the struggles of the countries of Latin America for liberation and for socialism. The path will not be easy, but there is now an important beachhead."

Well, again we have to search for some concreteness in this statement. First of all, it should be noted that this isn't the first time that a popular United Front government has been voted into office in Chile. Secondly, it is important to note that the capitalists in Chile are not fleeing or dumping their holdings. Third, it is absolutely necessary for us to view the Chilean situation in the context of at least the general motion in Latin America, if not in the world.

The U.S. imperialists have for some time now imposed upon Latin America the same Tweedle Dee Tweedle Dum bag that they long ago imposed upon the Anglo-American people. That bag is, if you don't like the Republicans, vote for the Democrats. For the Negro People it is, if you don't like the NAACP, join the Urban League, or if you don't like Core, join the Panthers, and so on down the line. For Latin America this concept is the game between the

brutes and the democrats. When the people begin to stir and are prepared to move against the Gorilla comprador regimes, there is a switch and the democrats take over, calm down the mass movement with some weak reforms and when the mass disorganization is completed, the Gorilla regime again seizes power. This is the sad post-war history of most of the Latin American countries. This is also the process that Chile is going through now.

The second point is that socialism never has and cannot grow out of a series of democratic reforms or even the institution of state capitalism. As a matter of fact, such reforms under the domination of private property actually strengthen capitalism. Engels says,

"In any case, with trusts or without, the official representatives of capitalist society - the state - will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production.

"I say, 'have to'. For only when the means of production and distribution have actually outgrown the form of management by joint stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the state has become economically inevitable, only then - even if it is the state of today that effects this - is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismark went in for state ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares all State ownership, even of the Bismark sort, to be socialist." (Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p. 421 & note)

The experience of England showed us that unprofitable industries that are vital to the operation of the whole capitalist system naturally become nationalized. Such is the case in England with the Transport, Steel and Mining industries.

Karl Marx made it clear that the change from the old society to the new cannot take place except under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are for reforms in Chile and everywhere - but we are for revolutionary reforms. That is to say the sort of reform and reform struggles that organize and politicalize the masses for the final assault on capital.

It is interesting and sufficient to note that in the little section regarding Latin America, Gus Hall prefers to say nothing about the real political barometer of Latin America - Puerto Rico. So long as Puerto Rico is shackled to U.S.

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imperialism, you can be sure that the hailing of so-called progress in other countries is simple opportunism.

Gus Hall goes on to deal with the struggle for the unity of the world communist movement this is a very lofty and noble goal and should hardly be entrusted to the likes of Gus Hall. Unable to deal concretely with the struggles of the international communist movement he says;

"Maoism is and remains the major brand of revisionism of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice on a world scale. Maoism is an international petty-bourgeois and nationalistic distortion of Marxism-Leninism. Stemming from Chinese conditions it combines petty-bourgeois revolutionism, great-power chauvinism and cultism to further the big-power hegemony and world leadership aims of Mao Tsetung and his followers. Maoists strive to impose their 'teachings' on the international working class and national liberation movements. The 'Thought' of Mao Tsetung draws on Trotskyism, anarchism, Blanquism, Bonapartism, Narodism, and is anchored in the ideology of feudal China-in the mysticism of Confucianism and Buddhism. Though the hostility of Maoism to the international revolutionary movement in general and to the Soviet Union in particular is clearly demonstrated, in practice the exposure of Maoism to newly awakened masses striving for radical solutions to the problems imposed by imperialism is not an easy task. This is because Maoism has a close kinship with all varieties of petty bourgeois radicalism.

"This is so because of the chameleon-like nature of Maoism's zigzagging tactics, by its resort to demogogy and hypocrisy; by its arbitrary and self-serving selective exploitation of certain propositions from the legitimate ideology of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism. 'Riding high on the crest of the revolutionary process and using its force', the Mao Tsetung group in the leadership of the Communist Party of China came to the helm in China and exploited its position to seek dominance over the international revolutionary movement in general and the national liberation movements in particular.

"In foreign policy it adopted the most adventurous and dangerous course. It perceived of the possibility of the mutual extermination of the two strongest countries in the world-the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.-in a war between the socialist camp and imperialism. It speculated that China would survive such a war with half of its vast population intact. When their adventurist foreign policy failed of realization, when it fell before the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, it executed

a switch, a 'big leap', in its diplomatic stance. Coming out of its profound isolation which was pushed to an absurdity during the so-called 'cultural revolution' phase of madness in China, it began its present open course of reconciliation with U.S. imperialism. This more expansive and 'tolerant' role assumed by Peking diplomacy on the stage of international relations has not been accompanied by any substantive diminution of its anti-Soviet crusade.

"True, it has adjusted its tactics in its struggle to wreck the socialist camp and convert to its will some contingents of the national liberation movements of the third world. Now it pursues a 'differentiated approach' seeking to disengage one or another member of the socialist camp or ally from the third world and enlist them in Peking's anti-Soviet projects.

"Right opportunism is its closest co-worker in these countries. Here there is the coalescence of opportunism-left and right. Still its basic orientation is unaltered-it pursues its aims of replacing the leading force of Marxism-Leninism in the world revolutionary movement by Maoism, and of establishing the omnipotence of China's great nation ambitions above the interests of the world working-class, the national liberation movements and the peoples' longing for peace and social progress." (Page 22)

I am not at all sure that we should dignify such drivel by replying to it. However such statements do point up the fact that we in the League have not and need to print our estimate of the Chinese revolution and of Mao Tsetung in history. But let us make it clear at this point that for us Mao Tsetung is the greatest living Marxist philosopher, that the Chinese revolution is of historic importance. It is an extension of the Bolshevik revolution. The Chinese Party, which is undergoing great struggles today, is the most steeled and advanced Communist Party in the world. While we resolutely uphold the historic achievements of the Chinese Party and we defend the CPC against all its enemies, we do not consider ourselves an extension of the CPC, but rather the inevitable result of the class struggle and the specific social motion of the proletariat of the USNA.

Comrades, in summing up we have to address ourselves to two obviously related questions. One, what accounts for the strength of U.S. imperialism and, two, what accounts for the stability of modern revisionism?

As we have pointed out, we are living in a world of flux. A world where alliances are being formed and broken with amazing rapidity. On the one hand it is obvious that due to the sustained revolutionary sweep of the working class and toiling masses of

the world, imperialism is being battered. However, the blows are being deflected by the revisionists, and conversely revisionism is strong and stable because it is being given the necessary social and financial transfusions by imperialism.

Our work is cut out for us. Marx called for a "furious" assault on revisionism. For a number of subjective and objective reasons we have been unable to do that. Now history is demanding it. If we are to attack imperialism, we are going to have to first attack revisionism and clear the soil of this choir.

Just as there have been some changes in the alignment of the imperialists, (for example the growing alliance between the Soviet Union and Japan to dominate and exploit the wealth of Asia, including Siberia) there have been some alignments among the revisionists. We have noted over a long period of time that the revisionist bourgeoisie of Eastern Europe is becoming more and more nationalistic - in opposition to the social imperialism of the USSR. Along side of this revisionist bourgeois nationalist resistance to Soviet imperialism there is a growing West European resistance to USNA imperialism. This accounts for the growing rapprochement between the East European bloc and the bloc of West European imperialists. These new blocs and alignments cannot help but harbor the seeds of superpower intervention and imperialist war.

All this might seem to the naive to be a flat contradiction when we speak on the one hand of the stability of imperialism and revisionism and on the other hand show how it is cracking due to tremendous internal pressures. There is no contradiction in the fact that USNA imperialism is tightening its grip on the whole of the imperialist system and at the same time the internal contraction of that system are generating pressures that operate as anti-U.S. imperialist pressures.

Contrary to the wishes of some of the "political" thinkers, we are not going to side with one imperialism against the other, nor are we going to side with the nationalist revisionists against the social imperialism of the USSR.

Why are we going to refuse to favor one revisionism over the other or to back one imperialism over the other? Why have we since our inception rejected the lesser evil theory? The answer lies in the fact that the history of the last 25 years has served to set the stage throughout the world for the realization of the predictions of Marx and Engels - the prediction of world revolution. Why is this true? Because of the fact that every person in

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the world today is drawn into this whirlpool of the international market and international commerce.

The bourgeois democratic nationalist movements are completed and have turned into their opposites. Colonies of Africa and Asia and Latin America who 25 years ago toiled in ignorance of the world-wide struggles are now drawn in. The old feudal regimes of Eastern Europe are toppled forever. In a social sense history has leveled the mountains and the valleys. The revolutionary wave that first washed ashore in old Tsarist Russia subsided only to come back with greater fury and created the whirlpool of revolution in Asia. The wave that is gathering strength now will wash around the world, including the USSR and a number of so-called People's Democracies. It is in this historic truth that we must shy away from any talk about alliances with lesser evils - they seem very attractive because they are very dangerous. We have to prepare the League and the working class for the inevitable assault on capital. The first point on our agenda is to mobilize and educate the League for a sustained assault on revisionism.

In order to accomplish this we are going to have to revolutionize the League - we are going to have to strengthen our unity, we are going to have to fire every comrade with a sense of mission.

Between the two poles - Revolution and Counter-revolution - there lies a vast battleground called the class struggle. The purpose of this report is to buckle on our armour, unsheath our weapons and send the comrades out into that battlefield. That is the only place the war can be won.

We do not stand alone. We fight not only in the name of humanity but with humanity. Today, we can again raise our battle cry. "Our forces are legion, our reserves are without number. All roads lead to Communism."

Relato

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revisiónismo. Por un número de razones subjetivas y objetivas se nos ha hecho imposible hacerlo. Ahora la historia lo demanda. Si vamos a atacar al imperialismo, primero tenemos que atacar el revisionismo y barrer con este coro.

Tal y como ha habido algunos cambios en el alineamiento de los imperialistas (por ejemplo la creciente alianza entre la Unión Soviética y el Japon para dominar y explotar la riqueza de Asia, incluyendo a Siberia), ha habido algunos alineamientos entre los revisionistas. Hemos notado al correr de mucho tiempo que la burguesía revisionista de Europa Oriental se está haciendo más y más nacionalista - en oposición al social-imperialismo de la URSS. Junto con esta resistencia revisionista burgues nacionalista a imperialismo Soviética hay una resistencia desarrollada de la Alemania Occidental a imperialismo de los EUN. Esto explica el acercamiento desarrollo entre el bloc de Europa Oriente y el bloc de los imperialistas de Europa Oriental. Esos bloques nuevos y alineamientos no pueden ayudar pero guardar los simientos de la intervención de las grandes potencias y la guerra imperialista.

Todo esto puede que parezca una contradicción clara a los ingenuos cuando hablamos por una parte de la estabilidad del imperialismo y revisionismo y por otra parte mostramos como se está rajando a causa de las tremendas presiones internas. No hay una contradicción en el hecho que el imperialistas de los EUN están aumentando su dominio en todo el sistema imperialista y al mismo tiempo las contradicciones internas de ese sistema están generando presiones que operan como presiones anti-imperialistas de EUN.

Al contrario de los deseos de algunos de los pensadores "políticos", no nos vamos a aliar con un imperialismo contra el otro, y tampoco nos vamos a aliar con los revisionistas nacionalistas contra el socialimperialismo de la URSS.

Porque nos negamos a favorecer un revisionismo contra otro, o respaldar un imperialismo sobre otro? Porque es que desde nuestro comienzo rechazamos la teoría del menor de dos males? La respuesta se basa en que la historia de los últimos 25 años ha servido para preparar el escenario através del mundo para realizar las predicciones de Marx y Engels - la predicción de una revolución mundial. Por que es esto cierto? Por la sencilla razón de que todo el mundo hoy día está siendo atraído al remolina del mercado internacional y comercio internacional.

Los movimientos nacionalistas democratico-burgueses están completados y se han convertido en sus contrarios.. Colonias de Africa, Asia y América Latina que 25 años atrás trabajaban en ignorancia de la lucha global ahora están siendo atraídos. Los viejos regimenes feudales de Europa Oriental han sido derrocados para siempre. En un sentido social la historia ha anivelado las montañas y valles. La ola revolucionaria que primero llegó a la vieja Rusia zarista disminuyó solo para regresar con una furia mayor y creo el remolino de la revolución en Asia. La ola que se está formando ahora va a lavar el mundo entero, incluyendo la URSS y un número de llamadas democracias populares. Es en esta verdad histórica que nos debemos alejar de cualquier habladería de alianzas con el mal menor - lucen muy atractivas porque son muy peligrosas. Tenemos que preparar a la Liga y a la clase obrera para el asalto inevitable contra el capital. El primero punto de nuestra agenda es movilizar y educar a la Liga para un asalto sostenido contra el revisionismo.

Para conseguir esto tendremos que revolucionar a la Liga - tendremos que fortalecer nuestra unidad, tendremos que excitar a cada camarada con el sentido de su misión.

Entre los dos polos - la revolución y la contrarrevolución yace un vasto campo de batalla llamado la lucha de clases. El propósito de esta reunión de ponerse las armaduras, desenvainar las armas y mandar a los camaradas a ese campo de batalla. Ese es el único lugar en que se puede ganar la guerra.

No estamos solos. Luchamos no solo en nombre de humanidad sino juntos con la humanidad. Hoy podemos otra vez levantar nuestro grito de batalla. Nuestras fuerzas son una legión, nuestras reservas innumerables. Todos los caminos conducen al comunismo.

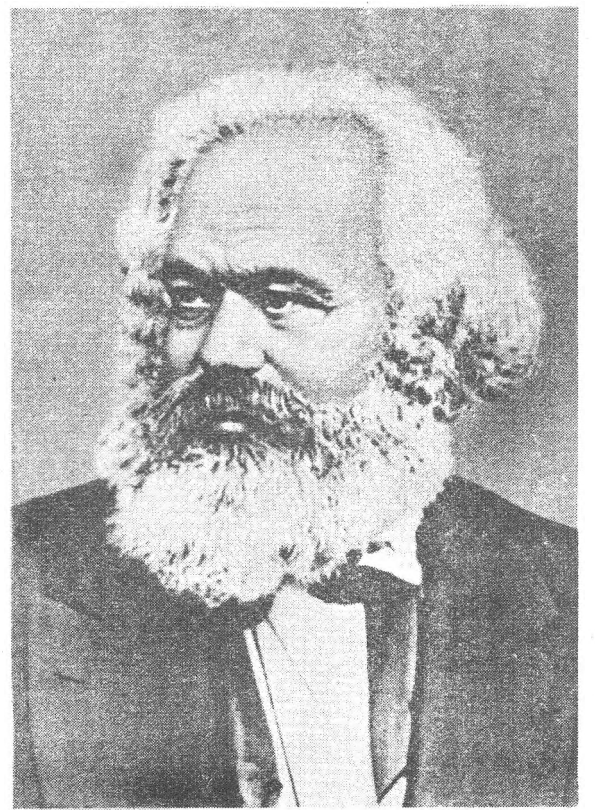
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Karl Marx



Frederich Engels

Fascist Laws

(viene de la pag. 8, Ingles)
one knows that it is impossible for all the children to be adopted, and the national minority children are always the last to be adopted! These children would be raised by the state - their revolutionary potential replaced by fascist ideology - or even to be used as slave labor. The fascist possibilities are endless!

The Communist League has always said that working class women must play an active role in the fight for socialism. And it becomes clearer every day with each new attack on women that the bourgeoisie is out to crush and further enslave the masses of working class women! They must be stopped!

We urge the masses of working class women to get in the fight - to build a communist party to fight for socialism. It is our only protection against fascism. The working class can in no possible way win this fight without the leadership of the revolutionary working class women!