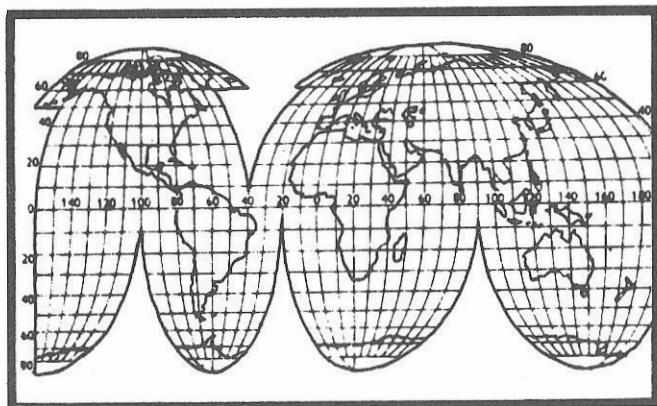


International Situation



Mao Tsetung's analysis of the current international situation, his concept of the "three worlds", is an important revolutionary breakthrough and a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism. It is the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world today, and provides the only correct strategic guide for the internationalist tasks of communists the world over. It is a powerful weapon against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. Mao's "three worlds" analysis has replaced the outdated "two camps" analysis as the basis of the international line of world communism.

I THERE ARE NO LONGER "TWO CAMPS"

A In the international situation which prevailed following the Second World War and through the 50's, it was possible to speak of the "two camps" which arose out of the war - the camp of imperialist war and reaction headed by U.S. impe-

rialism, and the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union.

1. At the core of the imperialist camp was the "alliance" between U.S. imperialism and the imperialist countries of Western Europe and Japan. Within this "alliance" the Europeans and Japanese, all of whom were devastated by the war, constituted junior partners and suffered under the bullying of the United States. The worldwide system of U.S. colonialism and neo-colonialism arose on the strength of this "alliance". All the reactionary regimes of the world were drawn into its ranks and it sponsored almost every campaign and war against the popular national liberation forces in every area of the colonial and neo-colonial world. U.S. imperialism also sponsored provocations against the socialist countries, encouraging the counter-revolution in Hungary, assisting Yugoslavia's restoration of capitalism and withdrawal from the socialist camp, and casting broad networks of spies and counter-revolutionary agents into the socialist countries to cause disruption.

Under the pretext of providing security through its "nuclear umbrella", the U.S. imperialist system subjected whole continents and the vast majority of the world's countries and peoples to its bullying and plunder. It continually threatened the socialist countries with nuclear attack. The U.S. was the overlord of the camp that rightfully became known as the camp of imperialism, reaction, and war.

2. Opposed to this camp, and its consistent enemies, were the socialist countries. Then numbering over a dozen and containing one third of the world's population, the socialist countries gathered around the Soviet Union were the core of the second camp. Drawn into its ranks were the world revolutionary proletariat, organized by then

into large communist parties in each country, the national liberation forces throughout the colonial and neo-colonial world, and the broad international peace forces which produced large mass movements during the 50's. Therefore, this camp was rightfully known as the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

3. The main front in the struggle between the two camps was the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America where a storm of anti-colonial struggle was unleashed in the aftermath of the world war. First, the Chinese revolution, and then the Korean war of national liberation, delivered thunderous blows to imperialism, inspiring the oppressed peoples of the world and igniting national liberation struggles in every corner of the globe. The center of the world struggle against imperialism thus shifted from the advanced countries of Europe to the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

4. U.S. imperialism worked overtime to contain and stamp out the fires of national liberation. In every field - ideological, political, economic and military - the U.S. took the offensive against the national democratic movements. In a reactionary bid to protect its investments, grab raw materials and control strategic positions, the U.S. backed countless reactionary and anti-popular regimes, sponsored many coups and campaigns against popular forces, and even sent troops to put down mass rebellions. Corrupt governments were put in power through the use of force and with extensive bribery. Military bases were established throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America as the U.S. became the "gendarme" of world imperialism and the main enemy of the oppressed people's struggle for national liberation.

5. The socialist camp, on the other hand, ac-

tively assisted in the national liberation struggles and welcomed the triumphant advance of democracy and socialism. It lent material aid to the developing nations in the form of low interest loans, technical advice, political and diplomatic support and military equipment. Where possible, the communist parties of the developing countries strove to lend consistent leadership to the national democratic struggle, while the communist parties of the imperialist countries strengthened the peace movement, opposed imperialist war, and demanded an end to colonialism and to imperialist interference in the affairs of the developing countries. In this way, the international communist movement, guided by the "two camps" analysis, proceeded to construct a world-wide united front against U.S. imperialism.

B In the past two decades, however, important realignments have occurred, greatly altering the political situation in the world and making the old "two camps" analysis obsolete.

1. The rise of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union marked the beginning of the end of the world situation which arose out of World War II. For a number of historical reasons, revisionism spread rapidly among the world's communist parties in the 40's and 50's. While Stalin lived, the revisionist current was repressed. Stalin dedicated his life to the fight against revisionism and the defense of Marxism-Leninism. However, due partly to his own mistakes, and partly to objective circumstances, upon his death the revisionists succeeded in capturing power in the Soviet Union. Headed then by Khrushchev (and now by Brezhnev), the revisionists grabbed hold of the leading bodies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, attacked Stalin's anti-revisionist legacy, purged a great many Marxist-Leninists from the party,

turned the party into a revisionist one and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union.

2. During the late 50's and 60's the Khrushchev clique concentrated its energies on consolidating its hold inside the Soviet Union and over the other revisionist parties and states in the world. During this period the Soviet Union's relationship to the U.S. was characterized mainly by capitulation. Seeking to placate U.S. imperialism and lessen "tensions" beyond their borders, the Soviet chieftans advanced the thesis of the "three peacefuls" as the basic line of the international communist movement. This "new" line preached reliance upon the "reasonableness" of U.S. imperialism and advocated abandonment of militant anti-imperialist struggle in favor of "summit meetings" between the two great powers. Thus, in instance after instance, the Soviet government refused to support genuine liberation movements and even took steps to undermine them (as in the Congo, Indonesia, Cambodia and the Phillipines), sacrificing the interests of these movements in order to pursue its conciliation with U.S. imperialism.

3. Within the Soviet Union itself, the modern revisionists rapidly replaced the Dictatorship of the Proletariat with their own bourgeois dictatorship. In an attempt to conceal their growing antagonism with the Soviet people, they advanced the ridiculous concepts of "state of the whole people" and "party of the whole people". They denied the existence of classes and class struggle under socialism and thoroughly revised the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state. In so doing Khrushchev and his gang seized the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, thereby disarming the Soviet people, and set the stage for the rise of their own terroristic rule.

Following the lead of the Soviet revisionists, the revisionists throughout the world mounted an assault in every communist party. In most parties they succeeded. All of the parties holding state power in Eastern Europe (with the notable exception of Albania) fell into revisionism. These countries were restored to capitalism.

The Communist Party of China quickly perceived the danger of the international revisionist offensive and took decisive measures to fight it. Mao Tsetung personally led the international struggle against revisionism, exposed the restoration of capitalism that had taken place in the Soviet Union, and brilliantly defended Marxism-Leninism.

4. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in a number of other once socialist countries meant the end of the socialist camp. Since this became apparent, proclamations about the continued existence of a socialist camp have served only to conceal the true features of Soviet social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds).

5. Today, the revisionist countries that surround the Soviet Union are dominated and bullied by the Soviet Union. The Soviet social-imperialists treat them as private possessions to be plundered and exploited. The old alliance of socialist, national liberation and peace forces has collapsed. The Soviet Union is now attempting to build for itself a new social-imperialist system; a new system of imperialism, war and reaction.

The social-imperialists now compete with the U.S. imperialists for world domination. In place of the old world situation dominated by only one imperialist superpower, two superpowers now vie for world domination. This is a fund-

amental change in the alignment of world forces.

6. Additionally, with the continued advance of the anti-imperialist movements of the world's people and, in particular, with the triumph of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples' struggles, U.S. imperialism has been thrown on the defensive. Its junior partners in Europe and Japan, having rebuilt their war ravaged economies, are actively resisting U.S. interference in their affairs. Thus the old imperialist camp is disintegrating. This too is a fundamental change in the alignment of world forces.

C The world is no longer the world of yesterday. Today the two superpowers are engaged in a life and death battle for world domination. Some day this rivalry will lead to a world war. Presently it is the fortunes of the Soviet Union which are rising while those of the U.S. are falling. Thus the young and ambitious Soviet social-imperialists are the greatest threat to the world's people and pose the greatest danger of launching world war.

1. The three major events that have defined the contours of present-day world politics are:

- 1) the rise of Soviet social-imperialism and the launching of its worldwide offensive.
- 2) U.S. imperialism's loss of worldwide initiative, and its going over to the defensive and
- 3) finally, the rise of the Third World as a major and determinant factor in world politics and as the main force opposing the two superpowers. The world is no longer the world of yesterday. In place of the old division into two camps, the world is now divided into "three worlds". In place of the worldwide united front against U.S. imperialism, the united front against the two superpowers has become the guiding strategy of the international communist movement.

2. Mao Tsetung's analysis of the "three worlds" is the only analysis that takes into account the above mentioned events, and is therefore the only analysis capable of guiding the world communist movement today. In giving us his strategic concept of the "three worlds", Mao Tsetung has made another great contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, to the fight against revisionism, and to the world revolutionary movement against imperialism. His "three worlds" analysis is the Marxist-Leninist analysis of today's international situation.

The following is our understanding of Mao's "three worlds" thesis and of the current tasks of the world's people.

II THE THREE WORLDS

A The first world is the world of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The imperialist rulers of these two countries are the greatest dominators, biggest exploiters and most conniving manipulators the world has ever seen.

1. With tremendous productive capacities, powerful land, air and sea forces, huge weapons arsenals, and with extensive international connections, the two superpowers try to dominate the entire world. These two are the only countries capable of interfering in others' affairs in all four corners of the globe simultaneously. Both are imperialist countries that are controlled by a small group of monopoly capitalists. There are other imperialist countries in the world, but none other can rival either of the two superpowers when it comes to the capacity to bully, manipulate and plunder.

2. Each of the superpowers is striving for world domination. They cannot do otherwise than trample upon the rights of all others. Through extensive economic, political and military networks, they seek to enslave other nations and dominate all international arenas. Wherever trouble flares up on this planet, one or both of the superpowers can be found near at hand. Even if one of them did not cause the trouble, both are soon there maneuvering, threatening and manipulating to protect or establish their domination in that area.

3. The two superpowers are the main enemies of the world's peoples. "Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and peoples want revolution." This view of Mao Tsetung succinctly summarizes the overwhelming aspirations of the world's people. The main obstacle to the fulfillment of these aspirations is the superpowers' drive for world domination. It is only natural then, that the oppressed countries, nations and peoples of the world should unite to oppose the two superpowers.

4. The two superpowers are also each other's mortal enemy. The two compete with each other for the top spot and will continue to compete until one is victorious, or both are defeated. This is the inevitable consequence of imperialism. The contention between the two superpowers is the main source of intranquillity in the world today. Their endless scramble for position, their competition for spheres of influence (i.e. spheres of domination), and their constant maneuvering to upset each other's empire, make a shambles of other countries' security and threatens the world with new wars. One day this contention will lead to World War III. It has already led to the outbreak of numerous local wars and has caused many local conflicts to remain unsettled for a long time.

The superpowers are mortal enemies who can never settle their differences short of war. They are, because of this, all the more dangerous to the world's people.

5. Each superpower, to one degree or another, tries to pacify the world's people with nice sounding phrases about "lasting peace" and "irreversible detent". Many international conferences and superpower summit meetings are held to discuss world security and arms limitations. None of this has produced any results. War spending continues to rise, the arms race continues to escalate, superpower aggression does not abate. All this talking and conferring and the proclamations about "peace" and "detente" are nothing but whitewash to cover over the superpowers' irreconcilable rivalry for world domination. Between the superpowers there can be no "lasting peace" and no "irreversible detente".

As long as imperialism exists, wars are inevitable. This lesson was taught to the world by Lenin as early as the First World War. The rivalry between imperialist countries, their uneven development, and their ambitions for world domination, continually upset the international peace and inevitably led to war. As Stalin said in 1952, at the height of the world peace movement: "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism"*

6. The U.S. imperialists have been international bullies for a long time and are now being punished by the world's people. U.S. imperialism has dominated world affairs since World War II. The old master is now widely exposed before the world's peoples. It has suffered important defeats economically, politically, and militarily.

*J. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, Peking, 1972 p. 37

It suffers from international overextension and from low public support at home. For two decades and more, the countries, nations and peoples oppressed by U.S. imperialism have been fighting back and have caused a gradual disintegration of the U.S. system of international domination. The U.S. is a Gulliver who is being brought down by the Lilliputians of the world.

7. Soviet social-imperialism, on the other hand, is a newcomer to the business of world domination. Its progressive history as a socialist country prior to the rise of Khrushchev lends the current misdeeds of social-imperialism a deceptive cover. Many of the world's people have yet to awaken to the evil that has happened to the Soviet Union. Disguised in the cloak of socialism and suffering less than the U.S. from overextension and low internal support, the Soviets are able to take advantage of the weakening U.S. position. Its cover enables it to pretend to be friend legitimate anti-U.S. imperialist movements and move in as the "natural" ally of the people. Having gained an entrance, social imperialism reveals its fangs and turns to its own misdeeds. In this way and in even more callous ways, Soviet social-imperialism tries to move in wherever the U.S. is being pushed out. This makes them an exceptionally dangerous enemy of the world's people. For this reason, Mao Tsetung has warned the people of the world to "guard against the (social-imperialist) tiger entering the back door, while repulsing the (imperialist) wolf at the front gate".

8. The Soviet social-imperialists are today on the offensive, while the U.S. imperialists are on the defensive. The social-imperialists brag of their current worldwide offensive and have increasingly revealed their aggressive ambitions. They are pushing for a radical transformation of world power relations. They want to replace the

U.S. imperialists as the dominant world power. The Soviet social-imperialists are the greatest current threat to the world's peoples and pose the greatest threat of launching a new world war. This Soviet worldwide offensive and threat to world security requires the main attention of the world's people.

9. The main strategic task of the world's peoples in the current period is to build the broadest united front to oppose the two superpowers. We must strive to include all countries, nations and peoples oppressed by the superpowers into this international united front. All who can be united must be united. While paying closest attention to the growing offensive of Soviet social-imperialism, both superpowers must be opposed. The U.S. imperialists like the Soviet social-imperialists are "paper tigers". They are very dangerous, but they cannot stand up to a united people. Vietnam, a small country, defeated U.S. imperialism's war of aggression. The people of the world can defeat both superpowers completely.

B The third world is composed of the under-developed countries of the world, the countries which have been held furthest back and have suffered most from colonialism, imperialism and superpower hegemony.

1. The overwhelming majority of third world countries are Asian, African, and Latin American countries. The overwhelming majority of non-white countries are third world. The third world, therefore, has had to face the oppression of imperialism and social-imperialism in its most cruel forms--racism and national chauvinism. The third world holds the greatest and most justified hatred for world imperialism, the superpowers in particular. It has arisen in a mighty storm against all forms of oppression.

Today, it is the main force pushing forth the world revolutionary process.

2. Recently, third world countries have found the means to unite in the struggle to correct past injustices. In the United Nations, they often vote as a bloc and have caused the superpowers to complain of a "tyranny of the majority". They have formed international organizations of raw materials producing countries, united at the law of the sea conference, and in other ways have formed common fronts to pursue their aims. In these ways the third world countries act to change the current international economic and political order which favors the industrially advanced countries, particularly the two superpowers. They have organized the Organization of African Unity, the Afro-Asian Summit conferences, and other such regional bodies. They play a major role in the movement of "non-aligned" countries and have developed contacts with Europe independent of the two superpowers. The third world has, for the first time, become a major force in determining world affairs.

3. The focus of the third world movement has mainly been directed against the U.S. imperialist system of neo-colonialism. This is natural since U.S. imperialism has been the chief exploiter of the third world since WW 11. Now, however, with the rising threat of Soviet social-imperialism, the third world is beginning to take on both superpowers.

Previously, when the Soviet Union was socialist, it aided the struggles of the third world against U.S. imperialism without seeking special privileges. A socialist country has no need to dominate others. Since the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the leaders of the USSR have used so-called assistance to gain influence and ultimately dominate anti-U.S. move-

ments. Embarking on its own drive for world domination, the Soviets have utilized every means, including the large scale intervention of puppet Cuban troops in Africa, to make inroads. They have instigated civil war in Angola and a mercenary invasion of Zaire. They sponsored an attempted coup in the Sudan and backed the dismemberment of Pakistan. Now, in the horn of Africa, they are interfering in local struggles in an attempt to control the countries there. Their "aid" and "support" is being used for the fascist repression of the people and the repression of national liberation forces.

All over Africa and throughout the third world, the Soviets interfere in the revolutionary process, try to set movements against each other, try to create splits between third world countries, and in other ways try to break third world unity. The Soviets are out to conquer the third world. Social-imperialism is the rising and the most dangerous threat to the people of the third world.

Still today, the Soviets are not fully recognized for what they have become. Many forces in the third world have yet to break free of the influence of social-imperialism. However, recent documents from various conferences of the third world and numerous statements by third world leaders show that awareness of the Soviet threat is growing rapidly.

3. In the third world, there are many divisions; regional, state, national, racial, tribal, religious and class. Within the rising movement of the third world, there are: 1) movements of countries for the protection of their state sovereignty and economic independence 2) movements of oppressed nations for their liberation 3) and finally movements of the oppressed classes for revolution. All of these movements

strengthen the third world and weaken world imperialism and the two superpowers. Therefore, they aid and support each other. This explains why we find today a growing united front of governments, nations and peoples against superpower domination. This is a great and powerful united front that together makes the third world movement the main force opposing the two superpowers, the main force pushing forward the world revolutionary process today.

4. The Peoples' Republic of China is part of the third world. China participates actively in the conferences of the third world and sides with the third world in the United Nations. As a socialist country, the government of China is at one with the vast majority of the Chinese people and is entirely self reliant in regards to her economic development and national defense. Therefore, China is in the best position to resist the ploys of the two superpowers. This demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system, even for a country with a relatively backward economy.

By uniting with the third world, China helps to consolidate the opposition to the superpowers, and the people of the third world can look to socialist China as a model for independent economic development and self reliant national defenses. China has taken her place in the forefront of today's international revolutionary movement.

Between the first and third worlds lies the industrially developed countries of the second world. Such countries are the majority of European countries (both East and West), Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and some others.

1. Most of these countries are capitalist and imperialist. But they have a dual nature.

On the one hand, they exploit and oppress third world countries. On the other hand, they are bullied, oppressed and exploited by the superpowers. As imperialist powers, the second world countries are completely outclassed by the two superpowers in terms of industrial capacity, diplomatic clout, military capability and financial connections. Relatively and absolutely, they have less strength than the superpowers, and the superpowers treat them as inferiors.

2. The uneven development of imperialist countries is a basic law of imperialism. Some of the second world countries were at one time great powers. In the post-WW II period, U.S. imperialism emerged as the strongest of the imperialist powers and was able to subjugate all others for a long time.
3. U.S. domination of the second world countries placed at its disposal an enormous capacity to oppress and exploit the third world. As the "big brother" among the imperialists, it was most able to exploit the world, and it pulled the strings behind the "junior partner" imperialists. At the same time, its newly acquired influence in the third world, backed up by the corruption of governments, CIA dirty tricks, and the force of arms, gave it further leverage to control the second world. U.S. exploits in the Mid-East today are still largely for the purpose of dominating Europe. This markedly shows the common interest that lies between second and third world countries.
4. The second world countries subject to U.S. domination have always resented their second-class position. In the 1960's, France made the greatest protest with its unilateral withdrawal from NATO. Taking advantage of the victorious rise of the third world movement, and consequently the weakening of U.S. imperialism, these second

world countries are increasingly pressing for greater independence. In the various fields of economics, politics and the military, they want more freedom. Recognizing their weakness as independent powers, the Western European countries have created the European Economic Community (the Common Market) and are taking steps to form some sort of inter-European parliament. These moves to create a bloc combine the strengths of these countries against superpower domination. Relations between second and third world countries also contribute to this struggle.

5. The second world countries of Eastern Europe are oppressed by Soviet social-imperialism. The purpose of Soviet domination is to exploit the Eastern European people and to utilize these countries in the Soviets' quest for world domination. Just as U.S. imperialism tries to use its influence in Western Europe, in the same way the USSR exploits and oppresses the Eastern European peoples. However, the oppressive hand of the Soviet Union is much heavier and more vicious. Whereas Western European countries have made a good deal of progress toward independence from U.S. imperialism, aside from Albania, Yugoslavia and Romania, the Eastern European countries remain under almost complete Soviet control.

The Eastern European countries suffering from Soviet domination are no longer socialist countries. They are ruled by revisionist parties of the Soviet type and capitalism has been fully restored. Nonetheless, regardless of their social system, they have the right to be free and independent. Like the second world countries of the West, they resent superpower domination. In 1968, because Czechoslovakia sought greater independence, Soviet troops and tanks rolled across her land. This act of desperation on the part of the social-imperialists revealed that the Soviets are not wanted in Eastern Europe. Since that

time, moves have been underfoot to loosen the noose of Soviet domination. Of great significance was the Romanian state visit to China.

6. Most second world countries are imperialist.

Still, they suffer from superpower domination. Every national capitalism wishes for itself a place in the sun and does not want to live in the shadows of others. Their aspirations bring them into constant and irreconcilable conflict with the superpowers. Therefore, even the imperialists of the second world have common interests with the world's people. The second world countries have a dual character; they exploit and they are exploited, they oppress and they are oppressed. Therefore, a revolutionary dual policy toward them is necessary. When they oppose the superpowers, they should be supported. When they oppress others, they should be opposed.

7. Europe is today the focus of superpower contention. Containing the greatest industrial capacity outside of the superpowers themselves, Europe is the key link in any attempt at world domination. The numerous conferences on European security and the various superpower proclamations about "detente" and "a lasting peace", have fooled very few. Concern for European well-being is growing. More and more it becomes evident that the complex rivalries of the superpowers in the third world revolve around strategic policies for European domination. Struggle for control and influence in the Middle East, the chief oil supply of Western Europe, is a prime example of this contention for control of Europe.

8. The Soviets are today actively preparing an invasion of Western Europe. They have amassed huge armies in Eastern Europe and have standardized all arms and railroads in the Warsaw Pact countries. Their navies surround Europe and offensive land, air and sea maneuvers are prac-

ticed regularly, often infringing on the sovereign air and sea spaces of Western Europe. The Soviets have failed to develop a technology and productivity to match that of the U.S. so far. However, they have reached a "rough parity" in the field of strategic (nuclear) weaponry and a superiority in conventional weaponry. Their air force and navy rivals the West and their standing army is far bigger. Western Europe is a rich prize because of its technology and productivity. If the USSR cannot achieve domination of Western Europe "peacefully", they will attempt to achieve it by force.

The Soviets are banking on the developing crisis in the West and on the diminishing power of U.S. imperialism. They pose a great danger to the Western European countries.

9. Naturally, the Western European countries are concerned about their security. Like the third world countries, they do not want to open the door to the social-imperialist tiger as they struggle to be free of U.S. imperialism. The status quo in Western Europe is that of growing independence from the U.S. The Soviets threaten to upset that situation with an invasion. The people of Western Europe are just in demanding greater attention to national defense. In the event of an invasion, no doubt the revolutionary parties in Western Europe will call for the broadest united front for national defense.

10. Certain trends exist among Western European rulers, reminiscent of the "appeasement" policies pursued by the U.S., Britain and France prior to WW II. They hope to "appease" the Soviet aggressors in hopes of gaining peace for themselves at the expense of others. Just as the Western "democracies" conspired to turn the full weight of the fascist powers onto the socialist Soviet Union prior to World War II, the "appease-

ment" forces in Western Europe (and the U.S.) would like nothing more than to turn the Soviet offensive eastward. They wish to exploit the so-called Sino-Soviet dispute and bring war upon China, or to tie the Soviets down in some other exhausting Asian war, much as the U.S. got tied down in Vietnam. This "appeasement" policy clearly reveals the reactionary side of their dual nature.

The other trend in Western Europe is to strengthen relations with China and to strengthen European defense. This trend must be supported and the "appeasement" trend defeated.

11. Currently, Western Europe relies far too heavily on the U.S. for its defense. This reliance is a foolish policy, since it is not reliable. Reliance on the U.S. is tantamount to the abdication of national sovereignty. The people of Western Europe should demand a self reliant defense and strengthen the trend towards European unity.

12. The people of all second world countries, like all people the world over, should do everything possible to contribute to the international united front against the two superpowers. They must support the actions of their governments which objectively oppose the two superpowers. On the other hand, they must oppose their governments' policies which oppress others. The people of the second world are themselves exploited and oppressed by their own governments and can win their liberation only through the revolutionary overthrow of these governments and the establishment of a workers' dictatorship. The world united front does not require any people to abandon their revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, every advance in the revolutionary struggle helps weaken the imperialist system. A victorious proletarian revolution in

any European country will aid the struggle for European defense. The people of the second world must learn to combine the revolutionary struggle with the struggle for national independence.

D The United Front Strategy.

1. The two superpowers are the main enemies of the world's peoples. Their rivalry for world domination is the main source of world in-tranquility and is bound to lead to a third world war. The people of the world should unite to oppose the two superpowers, to oppose their rivalry, and to oppose their war preparations. All who can be united should be united. This includes all the world's peoples and all the countries and oppressed nations of the second and third worlds. Though it is necessary to point to the growing and more dangerous threat of the Soviet social-imperialists and to expose their war preparations, U.S. imperialism must also be opposed. U.S. imperialism remains a superpower and remains one of the two main enemies of the world's people and is itself still out for world domination.

2. The world today is in great turmoil and this provides an excellent situation for the victories of the world's peoples. Both factors for war and factors for revolution are developing rapidly. The revolutionary movement of the world's people is the overriding trend in this period. Neither superpower can possibly succeed in its drive for world domination. The days of the superpowers' world domination are numbered. If the superpowers launch world war, this will only accelerate the revolutionary process and hasten their downfall. The First World War brought down Czarist imperialism and gave birth to the first successful proletarian revolution (save the short-lived Paris Commune). World War II brought down German fascism and created a

socialist camp of over a dozen countries, liberating one-third of humanity. Though setbacks have occurred and imperialism has been restored in the Soviet Union, a Third World War can only cause greater defeat to world imperialism and new victories to the people.

3. As countries learn to rely on themselves, and the people get organized; as the third world continues to unite and greater unity is achieved with the second world; as all those oppressed by the two superpowers unite, the domination of the world by the two superpowers draws closer to its doom. Such unity is certainly possible and is increasingly happening. The international communist movement is dedicated to the strengthening of this united front.

U.S. COMMUNISTS AND INTERNATIONALISM

1. The chief responsibility of U.S. communists is to organize and lead the American people in overthrowing U.S. imperialism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is impossible if the communists do not teach the American people, particularly the U.S. workers, to practice proletarian internationalism. The revolution in the U.S. is interconnected with and dependent upon revolutionary struggles all over the world and in particular those which are armed against U.S. imperialist domination. The chief enemy of the U.S. people is U.S. imperialism, and U.S. imperialism must remain the focus of our attack. The American people must learn to despise every act of U.S. imperialist intervention in the affairs of other countries. They must learn the interrelationship between U.S. domination abroad and oppression at home. The American people must support the struggles of the world's peoples as their own. The emancipation of the world's people is a precondition for their own emancipation. The anti-imperialist

consciousness of the American people is rising, but it has a long way yet to go. U.S. communists must work to heighten this awareness.

2. It is also necessary to expose Soviet social-imperialism. There are three tasks in this regard. First, all conscious anti-imperialists and all Marxist-Leninists must be educated about the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and be brought to recognize the social-imperialist essence of its domestic and foreign policies. A great many American revolutionaries have yet to understand this point. This blindness holds back the development of a unified Marxist-Leninist party. Without a correct understanding of the class nature of the Soviet Union it is not possible to understand the nature of socialism. If we do not understand what socialism is, we do not understand the aim of our movement. Secondly, as an integral part of developing the anti-imperialist movement and building a unified Marxist-Leninist party, the CPUSA must be exposed as an agent of Soviet social-imperialism. The CPUSA participates in the anti-imperialist movements in the U.S. and attempts to turn these movements into support activities for Soviet aggression. In this connection, the CPUSA persistently attacks People's China, seeking to discredit its revolutionary leadership within the anti-imperialist movement. These activities of the CPUSA and their reflections within our own movement must be actively fought. Thirdly, Soviet social-imperialism must be exposed before the masses. The bourgeoisie perpetuates the false idea that the Soviet Union is a "communist" country in order to confuse the masses as to what communism is. The imperialists and reactionaries of all stripes are able to spread anti-communism among the masses by pointing to the fascist nature and aggressiveness of social-imperialism. Unless the phoney "socialist" mask is torn off the Soviet Union, the American people cannot fully embrace socialism.

The people must learn that the restoration of capitalism and overthrow of socialism is what lies at the basis of Soviet expansionism. As the Soviet Union is exposed as a capitalist country, the people should learn about China and come to see her as a model for socialism.

3. U.S. anti-imperialists and communists must demand the freedom of Puerto Rico, Guam, and all other U.S. colonies. We must support the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty and demand the complete turn over of the canal to the Panamanian people. All U.S. military bases overseas should be turned over to the local countries or abandoned.
4. The national liberation struggles of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Azania (South Africa), and Namibia (Southwest Africa) against the imperialist backed white racist settler regimes should be thoroughly supported. U.S. interference, diplomatic maneuvering, CIA activities, etc., are all for the purpose of blocking the black African peoples' struggles and to protect U.S. investments. The U.S. must be staunchly condemned.
5. We must support the actions of third and second world governments to oppose superpower and particularly U.S. imperialist domination of their national sovereignty, economy and of international economic and political affairs. We must oppose superpower and particularly U.S. military and nuclear blackmail and most certainly U.S. military aggression. The U.S. should respect the sovereignty of all countries and develop normal relations based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.
6. U.S. support for fascist and repressive regimes such as those in many Latin American countries, Marcos in the Philippines, Park in South Korea, the Shah of Iran, etc., must be

condemned and opposed. When some of these governments join with other third world governments to oppose the two superpowers, we support these acts despite their reactionary domestic policies. However, this does not absolve us of the responsibility to oppose their oppression of the people. We support the revolutionary struggle of the people to overthrow these fascist regimes.

7. We must oppose U.S. domination in Western Europe, particularly U.S. domination of NATO. We support the E.E.C., and the inter-European Parliament. Given the real and present danger of Soviet aggression, we support a strong and independent defense of Western Europe. At the same time, we support the popular movements against Western European exploitation and oppression and the growing Marxist-Leninist movements and parties.
8. We demand the complete dismantling of the CIA and the ceasing of all "dirty tricks" and other covert activities abroad. We oppose all activity which, under the cover of U.S. aid, in fact creates international networks of imperialist agents, agencies, and agent governments.
9. We must support all socialist countries. Particularly, we must support the Peoples' Republic of China. Since 1949, the victorious Chinese revolution, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, has stood staunchly by and supported the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, has remained firm on a Marxist-Leninist basis and has acted true to proletarian internationalism in all respects. Having smashed the counter-revolutionary "gang of four", Hua Kuo-feng has insured that China will continue to uphold Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tsetung Thought and stay on the socialist road. Supporting China is upholding our own future.

We demand the normalization of U.S.-China relations which requires the breaking of diplomatic relations and all defense treaties with the illegal regime on Taiwan and the removal of all military presence. Taiwan is a province of China and all U.S. actions there constitute illegal interference in China's internal affairs. It is U.S. imperialist policy, and that alone, which prevents good relations with Peoples' China.

10. U.S. government and news media propaganda to the effect that U.S. economic problems are the result of shortages in raw materials and energy sources, or that they are caused by the third world countries raising the price of these things, must be exposed as a lie. U.S. economic problems arise from the inherent contradictions of the decadent imperialist system. Full employment and good wages, as well as a high level of material and cultural life can be secured only under a socialist system. Ours is a large country. We have all the major resources we need. With our technological capacity, we can easily solve all our problems, and live at peace and friendship with all other nations. Only the profits system stands in the way.

The crisis facing the U.S. and all imperialist countries is simply a profits crisis. The imperialist propaganda is for the sole purpose of deceiving the American people, creating hatred for other peoples and setting us up to die as cannon fodder in new wars of aggression.