## 3. THE FINAL CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM AND THE ROLE OF THE THIRD WORLD By "Expropriate the Expropriators!" Study Group on Political Economy.

In the past few years so much has been written and said about the severe and manifold economic crisis afflicting the imperialist world. The fascist bourgeoisie of Britain, unable to cover up any longer the gravity of this crisis are today admitting, with "doctored" statistics, that the present crisis is serious and they are at a loss regarding the solution to it. They go on then to make vain attempts to make the people believe that "somehow" they will get out of their dilemma. To reassure themselves they hark: 'Didn't we do so in the thirties?'! The agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the people: the trade union scabs, the socialdemocrats, the revisionists and the trotskyists, drum up all kinds of programmes, meetings, demonstrations and struggles at the work-place, colleges and communities to divert the people from grasping the essence of the problem i.e. the present crisis is the final crisis of imperialism and that it is the incessant and multiform struggles of the people of the whole world, in particular the people of the Third World, led by Socialist China, that are smashing the rotten foundations of imperialism represented today by the two hegemonic superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, and their hangers-on. One notorious example will suffice to expose this yeamen service on behalf of the most moribund class in the history of manking. Fascist agent Carol Reakes and a handful of criminals leading the socalled CPE(ML) -- popularly known as the "Communist" Party of Elizabeth (Most Loyal) -- in their acrobatic attempts to "serve queen and country" even held a two-day conference in 1974 to cover-up the acuteness of the economic crisis by calling it a "so-called economic crisis"! Schooled by the renegade Hardial Bains, the typical Lin Piao in the revolutionary ranks in the imperialist heartlands, to separate imperialist politics from imperialist economics, the cronies in the CPE -(ML) are manifesting in a concentrated fashion the revisionist line that is dominating many other "Marxist-Leninist" circles in Britain and other parts of the imperialist heartlands.

Let us start from fundamentals. What is imperialism? On the basis of fundamental Marxian principle the great Lenin explicitly spelt out in 1916 that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, that it is monopolistic capitalism, parasitic and decaying capitalism, that it is moribund capitalism. In numerous articles, resolutions and speeches Comrade Lenin again and again pointed out that imperialism means the dominance of finance capital; it means the division of the world into a tiny handful of oppressor nations and a large number of oppressed nations; and, it means war. Furthermore, he emphasised that imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat.

Beloved Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era has repeatedly shown that with the glorious victory of the Anti-Fascist War led by Socialist Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin in 1945, the world has entered the era of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing to world-wide victory. Chairman Mao pointed out succinctly that U.S. imperialism which stepped into the shoes of the defeated Italian, Japanese and German fascists and making such a hullaballoo about its "power" was a colossus with feet of clay, "a paper tiger", that what it fears most is the awakening of the people of the whole world, in particular the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The development of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by the renegate Karushchov-Brezhnev clique since 1955 has not altered the analysis of Chairman Mao on the character of the post-Second World War era. Fascist Soviet Union, taking the path of social-imperialism, is subject to the same laws of imperialism as the United States and other imperialist powers are. They are all heading for total colleges. "Flowers fall off, do what one may"! Furthermore, the people of the world in particular the people of the Third World, uniting firmly around Socialist China and

Chairman Mao are fighting dauntlessly, exerting their conscious will to destroy the imperialist and social-imperialist monsters in a final offensive this year.

Let us now examine some of the pertinent features of imperialism in some de-

pth to show the excellent situation in the world today.

ONE. Imperialism is characterized by the dominance of finance capital. This dominance is reflected in the strength of the currency of the dominant imperialist power. The might of the British Empire was depicted by the might of the pound sterling. That symbol has collapsed long time ago. It is sometimes said by the British people that in place of the toilet paper we might seen be using the pound notes with the heads of the Queen or the Duke of Wellington on them! The "dollar empire", so assiduously built by the U.S. imperialists, particularly in the post Second World War period, symbolised by the "all mighty" dollar "tied to the gold in Fort Knex!; has collapsed; --regardless of the forms it has taken; 'Eurodollar', 'Asian dollar' or 'petro-dollar'. The ruble of Soviet Union, the currency of the so-called socialist community (read: social-fascist prison of nationalities) has never really taken off the ground as a "mighty" currency. In recent years it has sought backing by begging the bankrupt imperialist countries of the West to carry on limping! Contrast to this the great victory of the proletariat on the financial and monetary front. The People's Currency of Socialist China, the Renminbi (RMB), is thriving and has now more than 80 countries revolving around it. Unlike the inflation-hit imperialist world, where 'too much paper money chases after too few goods!; in Socialist China every unit of the People's Currency is backed by many more units of goods.

The strength of a currency is dependent on the strength of the social system using that currency, in particular the strength of its economy. The imperialist and social-imperialist countries are riven with skyrocketing inflation, crisis of overproduction, rapidly growing heavy unemployment, mounting debts, deficits and bankruptcies. The rapid increase in prices continuously reduce the real income of the working people, reduce their purchasing power, lower their standard of living. Under the guise of "counter-inflation" policies, increase in prices are allowed while wages (nominal income) are fascistically frozen or reduced. This adds fuel to fire the indomitable fighting spirit of the working people in the imperialist heartlands. Militant and often unofficial strikes are the order of the day, smashing the shackles of the trade unions. The vicious attempts of the Lourgeoisie to shift the burden on to the working people are being shattered one by one. Increasing prices are only resulting in the shrinking of the internal market leading to further reduction in production, more unemployment, etc. Indeed the imperialists are internally feeble. Look at the United States, self-styled leader of humanity in the 20th Century, arrogantly described by Uncle Sam as the "American Century", The United States under the dictatorship of the fascist bourgeoisie is facing the sixth crisis since the Second World War. The present crisis began in December 1973 following the second devaluation of the dollar. Inflation is bursting at the seams. Only 65% of the productive capacity of the economy is utilized with poor performances in its key industries: steel, machine-building, housing and auto. Unemployment is to the tune of more than  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million. Since the present crisis began 15,000 enterprises have gone bust. Banks are closing down one after another. The internal debt in the country (private and public) is well past 3 trillion (i.e. 3,000 billion). Printing paper currency and resorting to deficit financing are no way out. The budget deficit for fiscal 1975 (i.e. from June 1974 to June 1975) is 44.2 billion - 2.2 billion more than the total deficit during the six years of the Johnson administration! Passing the buck to the American people is to no avail either. Unprecedented struggles to defend their right to live are mounting with reach passing day! Contrast to this the bright and shining model of Socialist China under the dictator ship of the proletariat, led by the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao. In every field of human endeavour (politics, inqustry, agriculture, commerce, science and technology, education and culture, health, etc) China is a country seething with vigour and activity. Participation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, now nine years old, has released the creative

initiative and talent of the 800 million Chinese people as never before. The superiority of a socialist planned economy stands out in sharp relief to the disintegration and decay of the imperialist economy. Not only is there no inflation in China, prices of certain necessities have actually come down! Production plans are fulfilled ahead of time, each year. There is no unemployment in China. Since 1968, China has no internal or external debt. There is no income tax and her budgets are always balanced. A miracle? Indeed! As Chairman Mao has pointed out, "uncer the leadership of the Communist Party, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed!"!

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TWO. Imperialism is characterised by an insignificant number of oppressor nations and an overwhelming number of oppressed nations. Today, two superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, while contending sharply for hegemony of the world, are arrogantly striving to maintain the parasitic and moribund imperialist system on the backs of the vast majority of the oppressed nations. The countries of the Third World are developing countries which have 70% of the population of the world but receive only 30% of the income in the world. They are mainly the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some have won liberation through people's war and are now building socialism, e.g. China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau; some are persisting in people's war, either armed agrarian revolution or national liberation war to free themselves from the imperialist system and in particular the two superpowers, e.g. India, Fhi-Ilipines, Thailand, Indonesia, N. Kalimantan, Malaya, Burma, East Pakistan, Palestine, Dhofar, Zimbabwe, Azania, Namibia, etc. Many have won political independence and are now vigorously uniting in struggle against the manifestations of neocolonialism and super-power control, bullying and sabotage. Realising that without economic independence, their political independence is a nominal one (i.e. "paper independence"), they are now waging resolute and multiform struggles of a national-democratic character. These satruggles are most intense in the economic front. The various attempts of the imperialists today to shift the burden on to the countries of the Third World are vigorously being opposed. It is thus a different world from the thirties. Guided and lea by Socialist China, the active struggles for the new international economic order since the U.N. Special Session on Raw Materials and Development in April last year, are receiving maximum support from these countries.

The oil weapon used by the Arab people since November 1973 has shown the Third World that it is the handful of imperialist countries, in particular the two superpowers who are actually dependent on the raw materials, markets, cheap labour, etc. to be found in the countries of the Third World. They have come to see that if it costs the American imperialists thirty-five times more to drill for oil in the United States compared to arilling in Saudi Arabia, then the lever must be applied in the united struggle of the countries of the Third World to regain control over their natural resources. The two superpowers and their hangers on can rant am rave and "put-on show" with their panic diplomacy as much as they want. Nationalization, threatening foreign investment and superprofits, is going to go on at a rapid pace, come what may! Organisations to defend raw material prices and for economic cooperation among the Third World countries are mushrooming. All these struggles are seriously contributing to shrink the external markets of the imperialist countries. A new international economic order it is going to be! Take the self-reliant path of Socialist China! Such is the new awakening and militant sentiments in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America today. An earthshaking struggle is raging. Indeed countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. This irresistible trend led so powerfully by Socialist China is smashing the foundations of the imperialist system. China today trades with more than 150 countries, with more than 50 of them very closely. This shows in particularity that the imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement of China of the fifties and sixties has been smashed and replaced in the great seventies by the encirclement of the imperialist and social-imperialist heartlands by the Third World countries led by Socialist China.

THREE. Imperialism is characterised by war. During the imperialist era, the rivalry between the big powers to redivide the world in their striving for hegemony is particularly sharp. The First World War was an imperialist war between two imperialist alliances, one led by Britain and the other by Germany. It is worth remembering that the war came to a quick end in 1918 soon after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution led by Comrade Lenin. The Second World War started off as an imperialist war in its first stage (1939-1941) when fascist Hitler, propped up and financed by the victors of the First World War, the Anglo-U.S. imperialists, turned on his fascist "friends!" in the West. However, with the invasion of the Socialist Soviet Union, by the fascist hordes of Hitler in June 1941, the war became one between socialism and fascism. From October 1942, the time of the victory of the heroic Battle of Stalingrad, a historic turning point in world history, the Red Army of Soviet Union, led by Comrade Stalin, was the main force in defeating Hitler and dismantling the fascist German war machine in May 1945. This was a heavy blow to the imperialist system. But under the baton of U.S. imperialism, hysteria for a Third World War was whipped up soon after this. With the anti-communist "cold war" propaganda offensive as a cover, aggressive wars were waged by U.S. -led imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin Ame rica, arousing the hatred and vehement resistance of the people in these areas. Military blocs such as NATO, CENTO, SEATO, ANZUS, etc., and military bases were set up by U.S. imperialism to cover the whole world in a vain attempt to bully and intimidate the people into submission. But none of this could cow fighting mankind. The valiant Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, went on to crown their victory against the Japanese fascists in 1945 with a four-year War of Liberation when they annihilated over 8 million Chiang Kai-shek troops which were supported and guided by U.S. imperialism. On October 1st, 1949, the great People's Republic of China was porn. Today, it stands majestically in the East as the bright red bastion of world revolution, the inspiration and hope of mankind.

More than 20 years ago, Chairman Mao pointed out very accurately: "The economic power of U.S. imperialism, which grew during World War II, is confronted with unstable and daily shrinking domestic and foreign markets. The further shrinking of these markets will cause economic crises to break out. 11 Earlier, we cited some relevant facts to show that the U.S. market, at nome and abroad has shrunk considerably, creating utter chaos in the imperialist world economy. Attempts to solve the deepening economic crises through false "booms", aggressive wars, militarization of the economy and the arms race have only accentuated the crises even more. The emergence of the other superpower, the social-imperialist Soviet Union in the sixties has further encroached upon the vital interests of the United States. The "Camp David" spirit of colluding to suppress revolution and communism fostered by the two superpowers and their hangers on since 1959 has long taken a second place to the fierce rivalry and contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers. The parasitic feature of imperialism is seen so markedly in the desperate militarization by the two superpowers. More than 60% of the factories in the Soviet Union are now in one way or another tied up with this phenomenon. Each of the two superpowers are in fact equipped to destroy the other a thousand times over; yet, the arms race goes on under the guise of "seeking peace 11, 1 detente 11, 11 handshakes in space 11 and 1 disarmament 11.

Europe is the focus of contention between the two superpowers. Having taken money for opposing Socialist China and communism, the fascist Brezhnev clique is now taking the path of Hitler and turning the heat on his fascist "friends" in the West. This has driven the countries in the West into total frenzy. The recent Helsinki Conference held in desperation under the initiative of the Soviet revisionists, and which achieved nothing, bears eloquent testimony to this development.

A large number of Marxist-Leninists and progressive people in the imperialist heartlands are at a loss as to how to appraise the present situation in the world and what revolutionary tasks they should now undertake. Seizing this opportunity, renegades like Haruial Bains in North America and his sworn followers like Carol

Reakes in Britain, have stepped on to the scene to do massive propaganda, since June 1973, on the danger of world war and constantly make a cin on the might of the two superpowers, thus sowing confusion and spreading pessimism and demoralization in the revolutionary ranks. They at the same time cast aspersion and doubt on the authority and strength of the leadership of the international communist movement and world revolution — the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao. They are surreptitiously spreading the rumour that Chairman Mao is now surrounded by revisionists and that it is "the duty!" of Marxist-Leninists to unite around a social-fascist lout and sycophant like Hardial Bains to keep the Red Flag flying! Only the paid quislings of the Soviet social-imperialists and the poodles of the fascist bourgeoisie of the West will gaily and arrogantly do such a thing! Let us examine the stock-in-trade of these criminals in the ranks of the revolutionary people in the imperialist heartlands.

Putting idealist metaphysics in command, they one-sidedly emphasise the sharpening contention for hegemony between the two superpowers. Separating imperialist politics from imperialist economics they are putting forward undiluted revisionism, forgetting that the world has moved forward a long way since the days of a Duhring, a Kautsky or a Khrushchov. Today we are in the era of invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism. The nevoted pupils of Chairman Mao, in their millions, schooled in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, realise only too well that politics is the concentrated expression of economics and that war is a continuation of politics by violent means. They seek their orientation from the principal contradiction in the world which is between the people of the whole world led by Socialist China and Chairman Mao on the one hand and the two superpowers and their hangers-on, on the other. Of this the principal aspect is the fighting people of the world, in particular the people of the Third World who are the great motive force in history, not the one or two superpowers. Have not our people in small and weak nations such as Cambodia, Vietnam and Mozambique demonstrated this in this year beyond dispute?!

Whatever number or types of weapons they possess, the superpowers can only end up frightening themselves and their agents. Not fighting mankind and its advanced section, the proletarian revolutionaries, the communists nurtured by beloved Chairman Mao! The contention between the two superpowers is the secondary contradiction. It is accisively influenced and actermined by the principal contradiction and the principal aspect that has remained in the dominant position in the great 1970s. Revolution, you revisionists who fear the very mention of the word, is the main trend in the world today, not the danger of war! The contention between the two superpowers sharpens, giving rise to the intranquility in the world, precisely because the two superpowers are being throttled by the people of the whole world, in particular the people of the Third World. The former safe "backyards" and unchallenged spheres of influence of the two superpowers are now lined up on the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic front to participate in delivering the final blows to the dying superpowers. As long ago as January 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out: "U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger. Don't believe in the United States. One thrust and it's punctured. Revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too. " In 1969, he advised us: "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war. " (Our emphasis -- W.I.) Comrades in the revolutionary ranks in the imperialist heartlands who are mainly doing propaganda against the danger of a world war should seriously consider this advice of Chairman Mao. They must seriously examine themselves why they are not doing propaganda, as the comrades in the Workers! Institute are doing, as the soldiers of Chairman Mao, for the impending victory of world revolution this year. The one-sided propaganda against the two superpowers shows up ! the might!! of the dying monsters and gives them breath by restraining the revolutionary spirit of the people in the imperialist heartlands. It is a revisionist view on war. Whereas, Chairman Mao is enjoining us to uphold the Marxist view on war. He has pointed out: "The banner of mankind's just war is the banner of mankind's salvation. "Not only do we Communists not oppose just war, we actively participate in them." Chairman Mao is in fact enjoining us today to do propaganda for and actively participate in the just revolutionary war of the people of the whole world to destroy the two superpowers and their hangers-on. This is an urgent task in the imperialist heartlands.

FOUR. To undertake this task well it is vital that we grasp firmly the teachings of Comrade Lenin and Chairman Mao that imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. Summing up the experience of the international communist movement, in particular the negative experience of the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao has pointed out: 'According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all manking will be emancipated. 11 The people of China drove out the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs from mainland China by applying Chairman Mao's great theory of people's war. This theory which has been tested again and again successfully by people in other parts of the world is applied by encircling the cities from the countryside and finally capturing them. This theory, as the Communist Party of China has time and again pointed out, has a universal significance. Look at the world today and one can see that applying this theory Socialist China has successfully united the people of the Third World (which can be likened to "the countryside" of the world) to encircle the imperialist and social-imperialist heartlands (which can be likened to "the cities" of the world) and the latter is now on the verge of being captured.

The Third World led by Socialist China is the great motive force propelling world history forward. Two great historical trends converge in the Third World -- the socialist revolutionary movement and the national democratic revolutionary movement. Together with the spontaneous upsurge in the imperialist heartlands, they are smashing the rotten foundations of the old world based on colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. Communists believe in uninterrupted revolution and the revolution in stages. Socialist China cannot but go forward to carry its socialist revolution through to the end. The countries of the Third World going through the national democratic stage cannot but go on to its necessary sequel, the socialist stage. The antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist heartlands cannot but be resolved by a socialist revolution. The old world is pregnant with the new world. A socialist new world is in birth. Marx said: "Force is the minwife of an old society pregnant with a new one. " Furthermore, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. It is like sweeping the floor; where the broom does not reach, the dust never vanishes of itself. 11 Anyone who has followed the arrogant and intimidatory manner with which the two superpowers have treated the just demand of the people of the Thira World for a new international economic order cannot but agree with what Chairman Mao is here saying. To hit and dismantle the old world of imperialism and social-imperialism and usher in the new world of socialism, the people of the world have the three magic weapons which the great Chinese people under the leadership of beloved Chairman Mao have so painstakingly built over the last few decades: the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China; the heroic People's Liberation Army of China, the glorious proletarian internationalist army under the absolute leadership of the Party; and, the powerful international united front of the people of the world, in particular the people of the Third World, led by Socialist China against the two superpowers.

Chairman Mao has enjoined the Communists in China and the world, from February this year, to study conscientiously the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the quintessence of Marxism. A powerful mass movement to do just this is now on in China, guided principally by the following quotation of Chairman Mao: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." Those social-chauvinists and pacifists in the revolutionary ranks in Europe who say that we should partici-

pate in building the international united front against the two superpowers and then tail behind "their" bourgeoisie are misleading us into the dangerously wrong path of "everything through the united front". They want us to relinquish the independent position and historic mission of the proletariat. They fear to do propaganda for the necessity to attack the two superpowers and their hangers—on in Europe at this stage and establish the international dictatorship of the proletariat. To isolate the two superpowers and not dare to seize victory of world revolution is indeed to follow the path of revisionism, of "restraining oneself and restoring the old world," of giving breath to the dying imperialist bourgeoisie. It should be noted that this is something that the bourgeoisie welcomes.

Imperialism is in its final death-throes. Chairman Mao has said that the two superpowers 'have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. 'The count-down for their liquidation has begun. The expropriators are now to be expropriated! Led by the Communist Party of China, the People's Liberation Army of China and Chairman Mao, the great people of Socialist China are manking's standard-bearer in this final conflict. The victory of world revolution and the establishment of the international dictatorship of the proletariat are a necessity. It is not determined by the whims and fancies of anyone. Let us march in step, uphold the communist spirit of self-sacrifice and participate to the full in this noble and inspiring undertaking, the greatest ever in the history of mankind.

Death to the two superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union and their hangers-on in Britain!

Long live the great unity of the people of the whole world led by Socialist China!

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