

It goes without saying that it cannot but be regarded as a most ominous development in the working class and among all progressives. In any case it is a profound disappointment to all who have championed the cause of the Chinese Revolution. It can scarcely be doubted that virtually all of progressive humanity welcomed the Chinese Revolution, took pride in its accomplishments, and saw in it a source of strength and inspiration for all involved in the struggle against imperialist enslavement and exploitation.

The new Washington-Beijing-Tokyo-NATO axis has not of course overthrown socialist China and installed a bourgeois regime, even though the new leadership in Beijing (Peking) has done untold damage at home and abroad to the cause of the Chinese Revolution. However, by and large the new Washington-Beijing alliance rests on the endurance of the current grouping in Beijing in retaining and strengthening its hold on the levers of state power in China. Whether it can do so remains to be seen.

The consummation of the Washington-Beijing rapprochement is testimony to the struggle waged by the U.S. and its imperialist allies for decades to instigate, envenom, exploit, and divide the socialist countries which has ultimately succeeded in bringing one of them, even if only temporarily, into their orbit.

At the same time it must be pointed out, however disagreeable it may sound to them, that the respective policies pursued by the leaderships of both the USSR and China have ended up as a monumental political failure. It is necessary that this be said. For if seen from the viewpoint of the origins and development of the struggle, neither anticipated that what was originally an ideological struggle would evolve into the kind of state-to-state struggle which would end up in one consummating an alliance with imperialism against the other. The very result which each sought to avoid! This is the great paradox in the evolution of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

NEITHER SOCIALIST STATE CAN GAIN FROM SPLIT

Certainly if we view it from a subjective point of view, from the point of view of ideological-political tendencies in the struggle for leadership in the working class and liberation movements, neither China nor the Soviet Union can gain anything as a result of this unfortunate turn of events. This is notwithstanding the abundance

of promises made by Washington to Beijing, both open and secret, on modernization and technology for China. History will confirm this.

Only those who view either the Soviet Union or China or both as having degenerated into bourgeois states can possibly see any advantage gained by either of the two giant socialist states. But such a false assumption is either born out of blind and unrestrained fanatical self-delusion, fraud, or both, practiced upon themselves and the world movement of the workers and oppressed.

It is our duty above everything else in the course of participating in this crucial discussion on the crisis in the socialist countries to clearly, firmly, and without any equivocation reject and disqualify the false canard that either the USSR or China is no longer a socialist state in the commonly accepted sense as defined by Lenin, that is, where there has been the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord ruling class and the institution of planned economy, which in turn is based on common ownership of the basic means of production and buttressed by the monopoly of foreign trade.

Whatever the setbacks, whatever the inroads, whatever the false policies, so long as these fundamental pillars remain it is the bounden duty of the world proletariat and the oppressed to defend them both against bourgeois political reaction from within and against the external pressures of imperialist aggression from without.

As the struggle intensifies and becomes fiercer, the class definition of the sociological basis of the USSR and China as socialist states is bound to be cast more and more into oblivion. This has the effect not merely of liquidating their class definition, but also of weakening and adulterating the class consciousness of the working class, of blunting the anti-imperialist struggle, and of diverting the course of the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialist expansion into false channels. It raises the question for all in the movement of how to approach this utterly new phenomenon.

For those who blindly start out from the viewpoint of defending one of the combatants in the arena, regardless of what political and world policy it pursues, and assumes that in the other socialist state socialism, as they believed it to have existed, has been liquidated,