

the answers are all too easy. The tactics have all been worked out in advance and fashioned to perfection—until the next disappointment arrives.

NEED A MARXIST, CLASS ANALYSIS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

For serious working-class revolutionaries it is necessary to come to grips with the basic problem—a development utterly unforeseen in Marx's time or Lenin's time—a struggle between socialist states which holds out the gravest danger to the socialist future of humanity.

We must begin with the firm foundation of Marxist sociology. We must begin with the clear understanding that it is a falsehood to deny the class character of either China or the USSR as socialist states in the Leninist meaning of that term. The glorified, false, and idealistic conception that socialism as a completed, classless society exists in the USSR or China was baseless to begin with and not derived from Marx's, or later, Lenin's conceptions of what socialism constitutes in its initial stages—that is, merely a proletarian dictatorship.

The attitude of the socialist countries toward Yugoslavia should have served as an object lesson in this regard.

Whatever might have been the merits or demerits, the rights or wrongs, in the expulsion of the Yugoslav party from the Cominform, the fact that all the socialist countries, including China at that time, wrongfully cast not merely the Yugoslav leadership and party but the nature of its social system in the mold of a fascist state and then later were obligated to reverse themselves and go to the other extreme in order to win its friendship and recast it in a wholly socialist mold at a time when there is less reason than ever to do so, points up the great danger in throwing aside fundamental Marxist theoretical criteria in developing political assessments out of purely pragmatic considerations.

It should be noted that nowhere in the world is there a serious section of the bourgeoisie which regards either China or the USSR as anything but socialist ("communist," as they call it). It is true that a great many of the learned apologists for the capitalist system characterize the Soviet Union and/or China as totalitarian or having

a new governing elite or a new ruling class, as the case may be. But this is for popular consumption by the masses in order to deceive them.

To the extent that it is directed against the more educated segments of the petty-bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, it is shrewdly calculated to divert them from taking a sympathetic and progressive position with relation to the socialist countries.

When it comes down to practical political dealings with the socialist countries, the imperialists deal with them on the understanding that they are governed by "centrally planned economies" (their codeword for a socialist country) and public ownership of the means of production, which, together with the monopoly of foreign trade by the socialist governments, constitute the most formidable obstacles to easy economic and political penetration by finance capital. Only when the leadership of the socialist countries permits itself to be seduced by the wiles of imperialist strategy or succumbs out of weakness, ineptitude, or lack of experience to the tremendous difficulties of socialist construction and thus objectively becomes representative of alien class forces can these penetrations be of a real danger to the cause of socialist construction. Under a firm revolutionary leadership they can on occasion and within specifically defined limits prove beneficial.

There have of course been endless attempts at penetration by finance capital, especially in Eastern Europe, above all in Poland and in Hungary, not to speak of Yugoslavia. The last merely maintains the skeletal form of a socialist economy and politically is more in the camp of imperialism.

Nevertheless, in spite of these depredations by finance capital; in spite of the encroachments on the political sovereignty of socialist countries through economic and diplomatic means; in spite of many abhorrent errors in the construction of a socialist system, errors which rekindle dormant political reaction; in spite of all the divisions among the socialist countries including the recent debacle of the U.S.-China alliance; there is no question that with the exception of Yugoslavia it is wholly consistent with objective truth to say that there still exists a socialist camp, if not in the political and diplomatic sense, in the sociological sense, in the sense of class anatomy. All the more is it the duty of the world proletariat and