

Compounding these difficulties is that there is no longer a common language among communists, precisely because of the introduction of the new and utterly spurious and self-serving doctrine of social-imperialism on the one hand and on the other the virtual obliteration of the entire course of the Chinese Revolution with the pretense that a bourgeois restoration in one form or another has already taken place in China, without in so many words saying it.

THE OBJECTIVE BASIS OF THE SPLIT

What is the objective basis of the split?

Examining the political dispute in the socialist camp, and its subsequent degeneration into a state-to-state struggle, in isolation, separate and apart from the reciprocal relations with imperialism, guarantees a false analysis, no matter how exhaustively and minutely this is done. One has to begin with the sum total of world reality as it exists today and its multitude of interrelationships before being able to examine any part of it, however formidable, in isolation.

It is first of all necessary to take into account that the capitalist mode of production, even in the epoch of decadent monopoly capitalism, is still the predominant one. The socialist mode of production, even after more than 60 years in the Soviet Union and 30 years in China, is only in its infancy.

One of the fundamental differences between the capitalist and socialist modes of production is that capitalism grows spontaneously, blindly, and independently of the will of the capitalists themselves. A socialist society, however, can only be built consciously on the basis of planning and on the basis of the common ownership of the basic means of production. These are the barest minimums necessary to begin the arduous task of constructing a new social system without exploitation and oppression.

Socialist construction also requires a minimum degree of stability and a material basis in technology, science, and the productive forces generally. Above all, it requires freedom from external interference, counter-revolutionary sabotage, threats of invasion, and imperialist military intervention. No socialist country has been free from this for any length of time, not even the Soviet Union.

It is important to go over again and again the preponderant role of imperialism, which has hung over all the socialist countries from

virtually the day of their birth to the present. None of the socialist countries, not even China today with its virtual alliance with imperialism, is free of this pressure. Once this is forgotten, no appreciation on a revolutionary Marxist basis of the current state of relations among the socialist states is possible.

It is best to keep in mind the period immediately after the Second World War. The U.S. emerged from the Second World War as the predominant world force on the international arena. All of Europe was virtually in ruins. So was Japan. The Soviet Union had lost more than 20 million lives in warding off the fascist powers.

The U.S. and its Allied imperialists took a slow boat in launching the second front in Europe. It was not the might of the Nazi armies which caused the delay. It was a shrewdly calculated political maneuver. Its purpose was to bleed the Soviet Union as much as it could and drain off as much of its military power as possible.

Once it was clear that Germany was being defeated, however, and Soviet troops were actually on German soil, then the Allied imperialists launched the D-Day invasion and moved as quickly as possible in what seemed to be an effort more to confront the Soviet army than to defeat the Nazi war machine.

The whole aim was not merely to thwart the Soviet Union's military advance but also to insure the survival of the European bourgeoisie against possible proletarian revolutions in Western Europe, aided and encouraged by the presence of the Red Army.

The class perspective of the Allied imperialists was never blurred by the outlandishly reactionary and repressive character of the Nazi regime. Notwithstanding all the protestations of friendship and alliance with the USSR during the war period, the basic aim of imperialism was not only to subdue Hitler but even more importantly to make sure that the anti-Nazi alliance would inflict as little damage as possible on the ruling classes of European, Japanese, and American imperialism.

Thus when the war ended, the first item of business on the agenda of the imperialists was the "containment" of the USSR and the opening of a violent campaign to regain Eastern Europe and bring it back into the orbit of imperialism—an objective they have never lost sight of to this very day.

It must be borne in mind that the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 compelled the imperialists, particularly in the U.S., to turn their attention to the Far East. But this did not