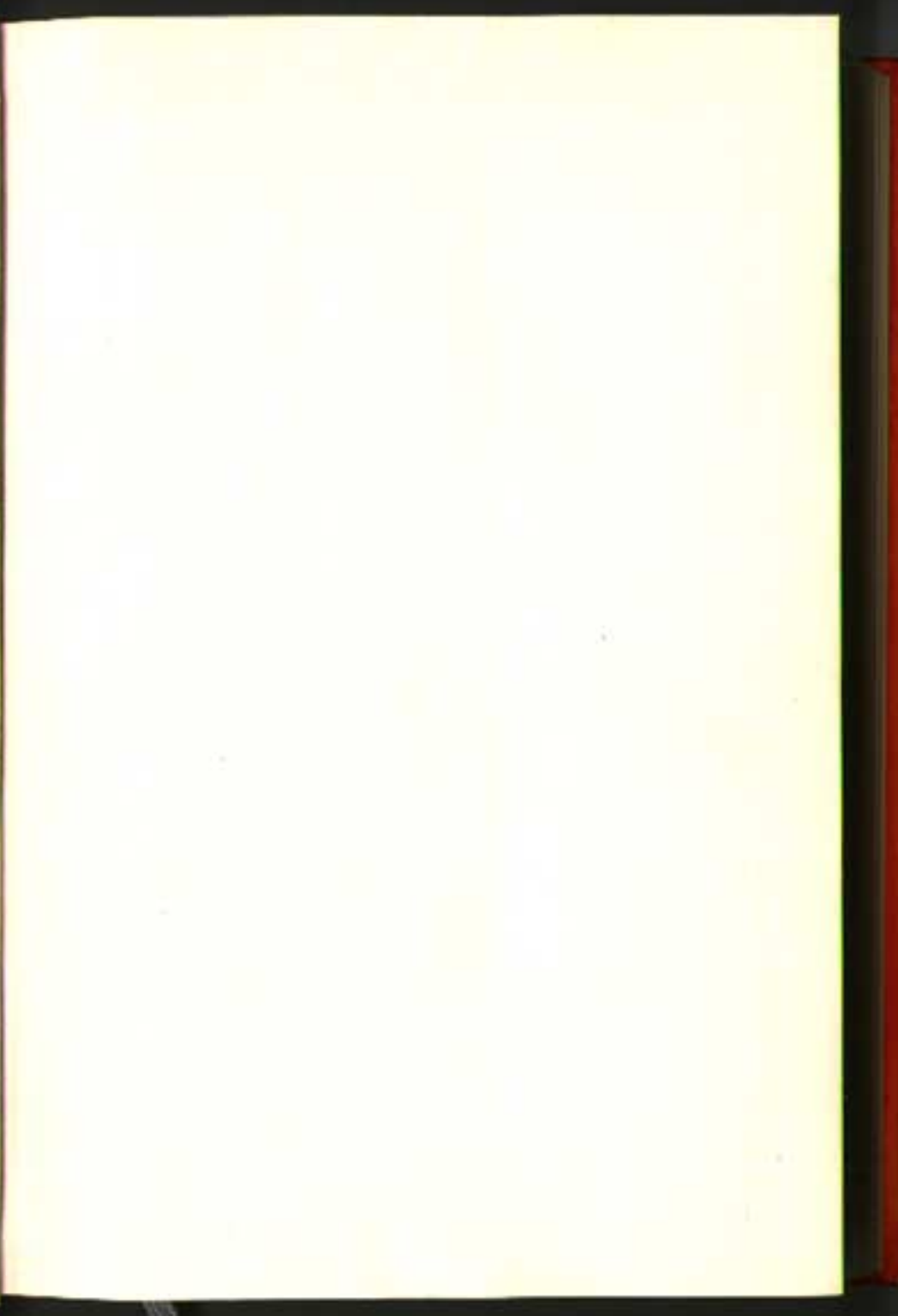


**THE POLEMIC
ON THE GENERAL LINE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**





From Marx to Mao



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**THE POLEMIC
ON THE GENERAL LINE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

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C O N T E N T S

A PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

**The Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of China in Reply to the Letter of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963**
(June 14, 1963)

1

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU AND OUR- SELVES

**Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the
CPSU**

(September 6, 1963) 55

THE DIFFERENCES BEGAN WITH THE 20TH CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU 59

THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE 20TH CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU 67

THE 1957 MOSCOW MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES 70

THE GROWTH OF THE REVISIONISM OF THE CPSU
LEADERSHIP 75

THE SURPRISE ASSAULT ON THE CPC BY THE LEADER-
SHIP OF THE CPSU 79

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES AT THE
1960 MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES 83

THE REVISIONISM OF THE CPSU LEADERSHIP BE-
COMES SYSTEMATIZED 89

AN ADVERSE CURRENT THAT IS OPPOSED TO MARX-
ISM-LENINISM AND IS SPLITTING THE INTERNA-
TIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT 93

WHAT HAVE THE FACTS OF THE PAST SEVEN YEARS
DEMONSTRATED? 99

Appendix I

Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition
(November 10, 1957) 105

Appendix II

Statement of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China
at the Bucharest Meeting of Fraternal Parties
(June 26, 1960) 109

Appendix III

The Five Proposals for Settlement of the Differences and Attainment of Unity Contained in the Letter of the Central Committee of the CPC in Reply to the Letter of Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU
(September 10, 1960)

113

ON THE QUESTION OF STALIN

Second Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(September 13, 1963)

115

IS YUGOSLAVIA A SOCIALIST COUNTRY?

Third Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(September 26, 1963)

139

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE CAPITAL IN YUGOSLAV CITIES

145

YUGOSLAV COUNTRYSIDE SWAMPED BY CAPITALISM

147

THE DEGENERATION OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY OWNED BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE INTO CAPITALIST ECONOMY

154

A DEPENDENCY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

161

A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SPECIAL DETACHMENT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

166

THE DEGENERATION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE

171

THE PRINCIPLEED STAND OF THE CPC ON THE QUESTION OF YUGOSLAVIA

175

HAS TITO "REMOVED HIS ERRORS"? OR DOES KHRUSHCHOV REGARD TITO AS HIS TEACHER?

177

BRIEF CONCLUSION

181

APOLOGISTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Fourth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(October 22, 1964)

185

ABOLITION OF THE TASK OF COMBATING IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM

188

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR ABOLISHING THE REVOLUTION OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

193

OPPOSITION TO WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

197

THE AREAS IN WHICH CONTEMPORARY WORLD CONTRADICTIONS ARE CONCENTRATED

200

DISTORTION OF THE LENINIST VIEW OF LEADERSHIP IN THE REVOLUTION	203
THE PATH OF NATIONALISM AND DEGENERATION	206
AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM	209
AGAINST THE "THEORY OF RACISM" AND THE "THEORY OF THE YELLOW PERIL"	212
RESURRECTING THE OLD REVISIONISM IN A NEW GUISE	216

TWO DIFFERENT LINES ON THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE

Fifth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(November 19, 1963) 221

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY	224
THE GREATEST FRAUD	230
THE QUESTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING A NEW WORLD WAR	235
NUCLEAR FETISHISM AND NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL ARE THE THEORETICAL BASIS AND GUIDING POLICY OF MODERN REVISIONISM	242
FIGHT OR CAPITULATE?	249
THE ROAD IN DEFENCE OF PEACE AND THE ROAD LEADING TO WAR	254

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE — TWO DIAMETRICALLY OP- POSED POLICIES

Sixth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(December 12, 1963) 259

LENIN AND STALIN'S POLICY OF PEACEFUL CO- EXISTENCE	262
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA UPHOLDS LENIN'S POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE	270
THE GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" OF THE CPSU LEADERS	275
THREE DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE	278
THE CPSU LEADERS' GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" CATERES TO U.S. IMPERIALISM	289
SOVIET-U S. COLLABORATION IS THE HEART AND SOUL OF THE CPSU LEADERS' GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"	295
A FEW WORDS OF ADVICE TO THE LEADERS OF THE CPSU	300

THE LEADERS OF THE CPSU ARE THE GREATEST SPLIT-TERS OF OUR TIMES

Seventh Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(February 4, 1964)

A REVIEW OF HISTORY	303
EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS	306
THE GREATEST SPLITTERS OF OUR TIMES	313
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF BEING ANTI-SOVIET	318
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF SEIZING THE LEADERSHIP	326
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF FRUSTRATING THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY AND VIOLATING INTERNATIONAL DISCIPLINE	331
REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF SUPPORTING THE ANTI-PARTY GROUPS OF FRATERNAL PARTIES	336
THE PRESENT PUBLIC DEBATE	341
THE WAY TO DEFEND AND STRENGTHEN UNITY	348

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND KHRUSHCHOV'S REVISIONISM

Eighth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(March 31, 1964)

A DISCIPLE OF BERNSTEIN AND KAUTSKY	359
VIOLENT REVOLUTION IS A UNIVERSAL LAW OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION	362
OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHOV'S REVISIONISM	366
SOPHISTRY CANNOT ALTER HISTORY	370
LIES CANNOT COVER UP REALITY	375
REFUTATION OF THE "PARLIAMENTARY ROAD"	382
REFUTATION OF "OPPOSITION TO LEFT OPPORTUNISM"	388
TWO DIFFERENT LINES. TWO DIFFERENT RESULTS	392
FROM BROWDER AND TITO TO KHRUSHCHOV	399
OUR HOPES	403

ON KHRUSHCHOV'S PHONEY COMMUNISM AND ITS HISTORICAL LESSONS FOR THE WORLD

Ninth Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU

(July 14, 1964)

SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT	415
	418

ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE EXIST IN THE SOVIET UNION	428
THE SOVIET PRIVILEGED STRATUM AND THE REVI- SIONIST KHRUSHCHOV CLIQUE	436
REFUTATION OF THE SO-CALLED STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE	444
REFUTATION OF THE SO-CALLED PARTY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE	453
KHRUSHCHOV'S PHONEY COMMUNISM	459
HISTORICAL LESSONS OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT	467
WHY KHRUSHCHOV FELL <i>(November 21, 1964)</i>	481

APPENDICES

THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPC <i>(March 30, 1963)</i>	495
OPEN LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO ALL PARTY ORGANISATIONS, TO ALL COMMUNISTS OF THE SOVIET UNION <i>(July 14, 1963)</i>	526

**A PROPOSAL CONCERNING
THE GENERAL LINE
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

**The Letter of
the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China
in Reply to the Letter of
the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
of March 30, 1963**

(June 14, 1963)

June 14, 1963

The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has studied the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30, 1963.

All who have the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement at heart are deeply concerned about the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and hope that our talks will help to eliminate differences, strengthen unity and create favourable conditions for convening a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the common and sacred duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. The Chinese and Soviet Parties bear a heavier responsibility for the unity of the entire socialist camp and international communist movement and should of course make commensurately greater efforts.

A number of major differences of principle now exist in the international communist movement. But however serious these differences, we should exercise sufficient patience and find ways to eliminate them so that we can unite our forces and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy.

It is with this sincere desire that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approaches the forthcoming talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties.

In its letter of March 30, the Central Committee of the CPSU systematically presents its views on questions that need

to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, and in particular raises the question of the general line of the international communist movement. In this letter we too would like to express our views, which constitute our proposal on the general line of the international communist movement and on some related questions of principle.

We hope that this exposition of views will be conducive to mutual understanding by our two Parties and to a detailed, point-by-point discussion in the talks.

We also hope that this will be conducive to the understanding of our views by the fraternal Parties and to a full exchange of ideas at an international meeting of fraternal Parties.

1. The general line of the international communist movement must take as its guiding principle the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory concerning the historical mission of the proletariat and must not depart from it.

The Moscow Meetings of 1957 and 1960 adopted the Declaration and the Statement respectively after a full exchange of views and in accordance with the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. The two documents point out the characteristics of our epoch and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and lay down the common line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. They are the common programme of the international communist movement.

It is true that for several years there have been differences within the international communist movement in the understanding of, and the attitude towards, the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. The central issue here is whether or not to accept the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. In the last analysis, it is a question of whether or not to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to recognize the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, whether or not

to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end.

It has become an urgent and vital task of the international communist movement resolutely to defend the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Only by strictly following the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the general road of the October Revolution is it possible to have a correct understanding of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and a correct attitude towards them.

2. What are the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement? They may be summarized as follows:

Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man.

This, in our view, is the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage.

3. This general line proceeds from the actual world situation taken as a whole and from a class analysis of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, and is directed against the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism.

This general line is one of forming a broad united front, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its

nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries headed by the United States; it is a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end; it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace.

If the general line of the international communist movement is one-sidedly reduced to “peaceful coexistence”, “peaceful competition” and “peaceful transition”, this is to violate the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, to discard the historical mission of proletarian world revolution, and to depart from the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The general line of the international communist movement should reflect the general law of development of world history. The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the people in various countries go through different stages and they all have their own characteristics, but they will not transcend the general law of development of world history. The general line should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries.

While working out its specific line and policies, it is most important for each Communist or Workers’ Party to adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in its own country.

4. In defining the general line of the international communist movement, the starting point is the concrete class analysis of world politics and economics as a whole and of actual world conditions, that is to say, of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world.

If one avoids a concrete class analysis, seizes at random on certain superficial phenomena, and draws subjective and groundless conclusions, one cannot possibly reach correct conclusions with regard to the general line of the international communist movement but will inevitably slide on to a track entirely different from that of Marxism-Leninism.

What are the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world? Marxist-Leninists consistently hold that they are:

- the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp;

- the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;

- the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; and

- the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp. But Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

The international balance of forces has changed and has become increasingly favourable to socialism and to all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, and most unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. Nevertheless, the contradictions enumerated above still objectively exist.

These contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are interrelated and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest.

It is inevitable that these contradictions will give rise to popular revolutions, which alone can resolve them.

5. The following erroneous views should be repudiated on the question of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world:

a. the view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists;

b. the view which recognizes only the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, while neglecting or underestimating the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist world, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups, and the struggles to which these contradictions give rise;

c. the view which maintains with regard to the capitalist world that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be resolved without a proletarian revolution in each country and that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution by the oppressed nations;

d. the view which denies that the development of the inherent contradictions in the contemporary capitalist world inevitably leads to a new situation in which the imperialist countries are locked in an intense struggle, and asserts that the contradictions among the imperialist countries can be reconciled, or even eliminated, by “international agreements among the big monopolies”; and

e. the view which maintains that the contradiction between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism will automatically disappear in the course of “economic competition”, that the other fundamental world contradictions will automatically do so with the disappearance of the contradiction between the two systems, and that a “world

without wars”, a new world of “all-round co-operation”, will appear.

It is obvious that these erroneous views inevitably lead to erroneous and harmful policies and hence to setbacks and losses of one kind or another to the cause of the people and of socialism.

6. The balance of forces between imperialism and socialism has undergone a fundamental change since World War II. The main indication of this change is that the world now has not just one socialist country but a number of socialist countries forming the mighty socialist camp, and that the people who have taken the socialist road now number not two hundred million but a thousand million, or a third of the world’s population.

The socialist camp is the outcome of the struggles of the international proletariat and working people. It belongs to the international proletariat and working people as well as to the people of the socialist countries.

The main common demands of the people of the countries in the socialist camp and the international proletariat and working people are that all the Communist and Workers’ Parties in the socialist camp should:

- adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and pursue correct Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policies;

- consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution forward to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts;

- promote the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, carry out socialist construction in a planned way, develop production, improve the people’s livelihood and strengthen national defense;

- strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and support other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism;

oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and defend world peace;

oppose the anti-Communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries; and

help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations of the world.

All Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist camp owe it to their own people and to the international proletariat and working people to fulfil these demands.

By fulfilling these demands the socialist camp will exert a decisive influence on the course of human history.

For this very reason, the imperialists and reactionaries invariably try in a thousand and one ways to influence the domestic and foreign policies of the countries in the socialist camp, to undermine the camp and break up the unity of the socialist countries and particularly the unity of China and the Soviet Union. They invariably try to infiltrate and subvert the socialist countries and even entertain the extravagant hope of destroying the socialist camp.

The question of what is the correct attitude towards the socialist camp is a most important question of principle confronting all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is under new historical conditions that the Communist and Workers' Parties are now carrying on the task of proletarian internationalist unity and struggle. When only one socialist country existed and when this country was faced with hostility and jeopardized by all the imperialists and reactionaries because it firmly pursued the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party was whether or not it resolutely defended the only socialist country. Now there is a socialist camp consisting of thirteen countries, Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Under these circumstances, the touchstone of proletarian internationalism for every Communist Party is whether or not it resolutely defends the whole of the socialist camp, whether or not it defends the unity of all the countries in the camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and whether or not it defends the Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the socialist countries ought to pursue.

If anybody does not pursue the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies, does not defend the unity of the socialist camp but on the contrary creates tension and splits within it, or even follows the policies of the Yugoslav revisionists, tries to liquidate the socialist camp or helps capitalist countries to attack fraternal socialist countries, then he is betraying the interests of the entire international proletariat and the people of the world.

If anybody, following in the footsteps of others, defends the erroneous opportunist line and policies pursued by a certain socialist country instead of upholding the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policies which the socialist countries ought to pursue, defends the policy of split instead of upholding the policy of unity, then he is departing from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

7. Taking advantage of the situation after World War II, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, and have been trying to erect a huge world empire such as has never been known before. The strategic objectives of U.S. imperialism have been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to subject all the peoples and countries of the world, including its allies, to domination and enslavement by U.S. monopoly capital.

Ever since World War II, the U.S. imperialists have been conducting propaganda for war against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. There are two aspects to this propaganda. While the U.S. imperialists are actually preparing such a war, they also use this propaganda as a smokescreen for their oppression of the American people and for the extension of their aggression against the rest of the capitalist world.

The 1960 Statement points out:

“U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.”

“The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today.”

“U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war.”

“International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.”

U.S. imperialism is pressing its policies of aggression and war all over the world, but the outcome is bound to be the opposite of that intended — it will only be to hasten the awakening of the people in all countries and to hasten their revolutions.

The U.S. imperialists have thus placed themselves in opposition to the people of the whole world and have become encircled by them. The international proletariat must and can unite all the forces that can be united, make use of the internal contradictions in the enemy camp and establish the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The realistic and correct course is to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to the unity and struggle of the world proletariat and to the unity and struggle of the people in all countries.

Conversely, to make no distinction between enemies, friends and ourselves and to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to collaboration with U.S. imperialism is to lead peo-

ple astray. The events of the last few years have exploded this illusion.

8. The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.

The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time.

The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace.

In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance but one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution.

Certain persons now go so far as to deny the great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and, on the pretext of breaking down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location, are trying their best to efface the line of demarcation between oppressed and oppressor nations and between oppressed and oppressor countries and to hold down the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in these

areas. In fact, they cater to the needs of imperialism and create a new “theory” to justify the rule of imperialism in these areas and the promotion of its policies of old and new colonialism. Actually, this “theory” seeks not to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location but to maintain the rule of the “superior nations” over the oppressed nations. It is only natural that this fraudulent “theory” is rejected by the people in these areas.

The working class in every socialist country and in every capitalist country must truly put into effect the fighting slogans, “Workers of all countries, unite!” and “Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!”; it must study the revolutionary experience of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, firmly support their revolutionary actions and regard the cause of their liberation as a most dependable support for itself and as directly in accord with its own interests. This is the only effective way to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location and this is the only genuine proletarian internationalism.

It is impossible for the working class in the European and American capitalist countries to liberate itself unless it unites with the oppressed nations and unless those nations are liberated. Lenin rightly said:

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of “colonial” slaves who are oppressed by capital.¹

Certain persons in the international communist movement are now taking a passive or scornful or negative attitude towards the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Second Congress of the Communist International”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 472-73.

They are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into social democrats.

The attitude taken towards the revolutionary struggles of the people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who want revolution from those who do not and those who are truly defending world peace from those who are abetting the forces of aggression and war.

9. The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and for national independence and people's democracy, of standing in the forefront of the national democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future.

In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats who are patriotic.

The proletariat and its party must have confidence in the strength of the masses and, above all, must unite with the peasants and establish a solid worker-peasant alliance. It is of primary importance for advanced members of the proletariat to work in the rural areas, help the peasants to get organized, and raise their class consciousness and their national self-respect and self-confidence.

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organize a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its

ideological political and organizational independence and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

The proletarian party and the revolutionary people must learn to master all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. They must defeat counter-revolutionary armed force with revolutionary armed force whenever imperialism and its lackeys resort to armed suppression.

The nationalist countries which have recently won political independence are still confronted with the arduous tasks of consolidating it, liquidating the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction, carrying out agrarian and other social reforms and developing their national economy and culture. It is of practical and vital importance for these countries to guard and fight against the neo-colonialist policies which the old colonialists adopt to preserve their interests, and especially against the neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialism.

In some of these countries, the patriotic national bourgeoisie continue to stand with the masses in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and introduce certain measures of social progress. This requires the proletarian party to make a full appraisal of the progressive role of the patriotic national bourgeoisie and strengthen unity with them.

As the internal social contradictions and the international class struggle sharpen, the bourgeoisie, and particularly the big bourgeoisie, in some newly independent countries increasingly tend to become retainers of imperialism and to pursue anti-popular, anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary policies. It is necessary for the proletarian party resolutely to oppose these reactionary policies.

Generally speaking, the bourgeoisie in these countries have a dual character. When a united front is formed with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the proletarian party should be one of both unity and struggle. The policy should be to unite with the bourgeoisie, in so far as they tend to be progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but to struggle against their

reactionary tendencies to compromise and collaborate with imperialism and the forces of feudalism.

On the national question the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism, and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive.

The 1960 Statement says:

Communists expose attempts by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose. . . .

If the proletariat becomes the tail of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the revolution, no real or thorough victory in the national democratic revolution is possible, and even if victory of a kind is gained, it will be impossible to consolidate it.

In the course of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, the proletarian party must put forward a programme of its own which is thoroughly against imperialism and domestic reaction and for national independence and people's democracy, and it must work independently among the masses, constantly expand the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the reactionary forces; only thus can it carry the national democratic revolution through to the end and guide the revolution on to the road of socialism.

10. In the imperialist and the capitalist countries, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are essential for the thorough resolution of the contradictions of capitalist society.

In striving to accomplish this task the proletarian party must under the present circumstances actively lead the work-

ing class and the working people in struggles to oppose monopoly capital, to defend democratic rights, to oppose the menace of fascism, to improve living conditions, to oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations, to defend world peace and actively to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations.

In the capitalist countries which U.S. imperialism controls or is trying to control, the working class and the people should direct their attacks mainly against U.S. imperialism, but also against their own monopoly capitalists and other reactionary forces who are betraying the national interests.

Large-scale mass struggles in the capitalist countries in recent years have shown that the working class and working people are experiencing a new awakening. Their struggles, which are dealing blows at monopoly capital and reaction, have opened bright prospects for the revolutionary cause in their own countries and are also a powerful support for the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and for the countries of the socialist camp.

The proletarian parties in imperialist or capitalist countries must maintain their own ideological, political and organizational independence in leading revolutionary struggles. At the same time, they must unite all the forces that can be united and build a broad united front against monopoly capital and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

While actively leading immediate struggles, Communists in the capitalist countries should link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and undertake the historical task of the proletarian revolution. If they fail to do so, if they regard the immediate movement as everything, determine their conduct from case to case, adapt themselves to the events of the day and sacrifice the basic interests of the proletariat, that is out-and-out social democracy.

Social democracy is a bourgeois ideological trend. Lenin pointed out long ago that the social democratic parties are political detachments of the bourgeoisie, its agents in the working-class movement and its principal social prop. Communists must at all times draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and social democratic parties on the basic question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidate the ideological influence of social democracy in the international working-class movement and among the working people. Beyond any shadow of doubt, Communists must win over the masses under the influence of the social democratic parties and must win over those left and middle elements in the social democratic parties who are willing to oppose domestic monopoly capital and domination by foreign imperialism, and must unite with them in extensive joint action in the day-to-day struggle of the working-class movement and in the struggle to defend world peace.

In order to lead the proletariat and working people in revolution, Marxist-Leninist Parties must master all forms of struggle and be able to substitute one form for another quickly as the conditions of struggle change. The vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle — peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary struggle and mass struggle, etc. It is wrong to refuse to use parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can and should be used. However, if a Marxist-Leninist Party falls into legalism or parliamentary cretinism, confining the struggle within the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie, this will inevitably lead to renouncing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

11. On the question of transition from capitalism to socialism, the proletarian party must proceed from the stand of class struggle and revolution and base itself on the Marxist-

Leninist teachings concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Communists would always prefer to bring about the transition to socialism by peaceful means. But can peaceful transition be made into a new world-wide strategic principle for the international communist movement? Absolutely not.

Marxism-Leninism consistently holds that the fundamental question in all revolutions is that of state power. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement both clearly point out, "Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily." The old government never topples even in a period of crisis, unless it is pushed. This is a universal law of class struggle.

In specific historical conditions, Marx and Lenin did raise the possibility that revolution may develop peacefully. But, as Lenin pointed out, the peaceful development of revolution is an opportunity "very seldom to be met with in the history of revolutions".

As a matter of fact, there is no historical precedent for peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Certain persons say there was no precedent when Marx foretold that socialism would inevitably replace capitalism. Then why can we not predict a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism despite the absence of a precedent?

This parallel is absurd. Employing dialectical and historical materialism, Marx analysed the contradictions of capitalism, discovered the objective laws of development of human society and arrived at a scientific conclusion, whereas the prophets who pin all their hopes on "peaceful transition" proceed from historical idealism, ignore the most fundamental contradictions of capitalism, repudiate the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, and arrive at a subjective and groundless conclusion. How can people who repudiate Marxism get any help from Marx?

It is plain to everyone that the capitalist countries are strengthening their state machinery — and especially their

military apparatus — the primary purpose of which is to suppress the people in their own countries.

The proletarian party must never base its thinking, its policies for revolution and its entire work on the assumption that the imperialists and reactionaries will accept peaceful transformation.

The proletarian party must prepare itself for two eventualities — while preparing for a peaceful development of the revolution, it must also fully prepare for a non-peaceful development. It should concentrate on the painstaking work of accumulating revolutionary strength, so that it will be ready to seize victory when the conditions for revolution are ripe or to strike powerful blows at the imperialists and the reactionaries when they launch surprise attacks and armed assaults.

If it fails to make such preparations, the proletarian party will paralyse the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm itself ideologically and sink into a totally passive state of unpreparedness both politically and organizationally, and the result will be to bury the proletarian revolutionary cause.

12. All social revolutions in the various stages of the history of mankind are historically inevitable and are governed by objective laws independent of man's will. Moreover, history shows that there never was a revolution which was able to achieve victory without zigzags and sacrifices.

With Marxist-Leninist theory as the basis, the task of the proletarian party is to analyse the concrete historical conditions, put forward the correct strategy and tactics, and guide the masses in bypassing hidden reefs, avoiding unnecessary sacrifices and reaching the goal step by step. Is it possible to avoid sacrifices altogether? Such is not the case with the slave revolutions, the serf revolutions, the bourgeois revolutions, or the national revolutions; nor is it the case with proletarian revolutions. Even if the guiding line of the revolution is correct, it is impossible to have a sure guarantee

against setbacks and sacrifices in the course of the revolution. So long as a correct line is adhered to, the revolution is bound to triumph in the end. To abandon revolution on the pretext of avoiding sacrifices is in reality to demand that the people should forever remain slaves and endure infinite pain and sacrifice.

Elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the birth pangs of a revolution are far less painful than the chronic agony of the old society. Lenin rightly said that “even with the most peaceful course of events, the present [capitalist] system always and inevitably exacts countless sacrifices from the working class”.¹

Whoever considers a revolution can be made only if everything is plain sailing, only if there is an advance guarantee against sacrifices and failure, is certainly no revolutionary.

However difficult the conditions and whatever sacrifices and defeats the revolution may suffer, proletarian revolutionaries should educate the masses in the spirit of revolution and hold aloft the banner of revolution and not abandon it.

It would be “Left” adventurism if the proletarian party should rashly launch a revolution before the objective conditions are ripe. But it would be Right opportunism if the proletarian party should not dare to lead a revolution and to seize state power when the objective conditions are ripe.

Even in ordinary times, when it is leading the masses in the day-to-day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary struggles, so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state power when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, when the objective conditions are ripe, the proletarian party will simply throw away the opportunity of seizing victory.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Another Massacre”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1961, Vol. V, p. 25.

The proletarian party must be flexible as well as highly principled, and on occasion it must make such compromises as are necessary in the interests of the revolution. But it must never abandon principled policies and the goal of revolution on the pretext of flexibility and of necessary compromises.

The proletarian party must lead the masses in waging struggles against the enemies, and it must know how to utilize the contradictions among those enemies. But the purpose of using these contradictions is to make it easier to attain the goal of the people's revolutionary struggles and not to liquidate these struggles.

Countless facts have proved that, wherever the dark rule of imperialism and reaction exists, the people who form over 90 per cent of the population will sooner or later rise in revolution.

If Communists isolate themselves from the revolutionary demands of the masses, they are bound to lose the confidence of the masses and will be tossed to the rear by the revolutionary current.

If the leading group in any Party adopt a non-revolutionary line and convert it into a reformist party, then Marxist-Leninists inside and outside the Party will replace them and lead the people in making revolution. In another kind of situation, the bourgeois revolutionaries will come forward to lead the revolution and the party of the proletariat will forfeit its leadership of the revolution. When the reactionary bourgeoisie betray the revolution and suppress the people, an opportunist line will cause tragic and unnecessary losses to the Communists and the revolutionary masses.

If Communists slide down the path of opportunism, they will degenerate into bourgeois nationalists and become appendages of the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

There are certain persons who assert that they have made the greatest creative contributions to revolutionary theory since Lenin and that they alone are correct. But it is very dubious whether they have ever really given consideration to

the extensive experience of the entire world communist movement, whether they have ever really considered the interests, the aims and tasks of the international proletarian movement as a whole, and whether they really have a general line for the international communist movement which conforms with Marxism-Leninism.

In the last few years the international communist movement and the national liberation movement have had many experiences and many lessons. There are experiences which people should praise and there are experiences which make people grieve. Communists and revolutionaries in all countries should ponder and seriously study these experiences of success and failure, so as to draw correct conclusions and useful lessons from them.

13. The socialist countries and the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations support and assist each other.

The national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary movements of the people in the capitalist countries are a strong support to the socialist countries. It is completely wrong to deny this.

The only attitude for the socialist countries to adopt towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations is one of warm sympathy and active support; they must not adopt a perfunctory attitude, or one of national selfishness or of great-power chauvinism.

Lenin said, "The foreign policy of the proletariat is alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed nations against all and any imperialists."¹ Whoever fails to understand this point and considers that the support and aid given by the socialist countries to the oppressed peoples and nations are a burden or charity is going counter to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Foreign Policy of the Russian Revolution", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXV, p. 87.

The superiority of the socialist system and the achievements of the socialist countries in construction play an exemplary role and are an inspiration to the oppressed peoples and the oppressed nations.

But this exemplary role and inspiration can never replace the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. No oppressed people or nation can win liberation except through its own staunch revolutionary struggle.

Certain persons have one-sidedly exaggerated the role of peaceful competition between socialist and imperialist countries in their attempt to substitute peaceful competition for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. According to their preaching, it would seem that imperialism will automatically collapse in the course of this peaceful competition and that the only thing the oppressed peoples and nations have to do is to wait quietly for the advent of this day. What does this have in common with Marxist-Leninist views?

Moreover, certain persons have concocted the strange tale that China and some other socialist countries want “to unleash wars” and to spread socialism by “wars between states”. As the Statement of 1960 points out, such tales are nothing but imperialist and reactionary slanders. To put it bluntly, the purpose of those who repeat these slanders is to hide the fact that they are opposed to revolutions by the oppressed peoples and nations of the world and opposed to others supporting such revolutions.

14. In the last few years much — in fact a great deal — has been said on the question of war and peace. Our views and policies on this question are known to the world, and no one can distort them.

It is a pity that although certain persons in the international communist movement talk about how much they love peace and hate war, they are unwilling to acquire even a faint understanding of the simple truth on war pointed out by Lenin.

Lenin said:

It seems to me that the main thing that is usually forgotten on the question of war, which receives inadequate attention, the main reason why there is so much controversy, and, I would say, futile, hopeless and aimless controversy, is that people forget the fundamental question of the class character of the war; why the war broke out; the classes that are waging it; the historical and historico-economic conditions that gave rise to it.¹

As Marxist-Leninists see it, war is the continuation of politics by other means, and every war is inseparable from the political system and the political struggles which give rise to it. If one departs from this scientific Marxist-Leninist proposition which has been confirmed by the entire history of class struggle, one will never be able to understand either the question of war or the question of peace.

There are different types of peace and different types of war. Marxist-Leninists must be clear about what type of peace or what type of war is in question. Lumping just wars and unjust wars together and opposing all of them indiscriminately is a bourgeois pacifist and not a Marxist-Leninist approach.

Certain persons say that revolutions are entirely possible without war. Now which type of war are they referring to — a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, or a world war?

If they are referring to a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war, then this formulation is, in effect, opposed to revolutionary wars and to revolution.

If they are referring to a world war, then they are shooting at a nonexistent target. Although Marxist-Leninists have pointed out, on the basis of the history of the two world wars, that world wars inevitably lead to revolution, no Marxist-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "War and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., State Publishing House for Political Literature, Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXIV, p. 362.

Leninist ever has held or ever will hold that revolution must be made through world war.

Marxist-Leninists take the abolition of war as their ideal and believe that war can be abolished.

But how can war be abolished?

This is how Lenin viewed it:

. . . our object is to achieve the socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war.¹

The Statement of 1960 also puts it very clearly, “The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.”

However, certain persons now actually hold that it is possible to bring about “a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars” through “general and complete disarmament” while the system of imperialism and of the exploitation of man by man still exists. This is sheer illusion.

An elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that the armed forces are the principal part of the state machine and that a so-called world without weapons and without armed forces can only be a world without states. Lenin said:

Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.*²

What are the facts in the world today? Is there a shadow of evidence that the imperialist countries headed by the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

² V. I. Lenin, “The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 574.

United States are ready to carry out general and complete disarmament? Are they not each and all engaged in general and complete arms expansion?

We have always maintained that, in order to expose and combat the imperialists' arms expansion and war preparations, it is necessary to put forward the proposal for general disarmament. Furthermore, it is possible to compel imperialism to accept some kind of agreement on disarmament, through the combined struggle of the socialist countries and the people of the whole world.

If one regards general and complete disarmament as the fundamental road to world peace, spreads the illusion that imperialism will automatically lay down its arms and tries to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations on the pretext of disarmament, then this is deliberately to deceive the people of the world and help the imperialists in their policies of aggression and war.

In order to overcome the present ideological confusion in the international working-class movement on the question of war and peace, we consider that Lenin's thesis, which has been discarded by the modern revisionists, must be restored in the interest of combating the imperialist policies of aggression and war and defending world peace.

The people of the world universally demand the prevention of a new world war. And it is possible to prevent a new world war.

The question then is, what is the way to secure world peace? According to the Leninist viewpoint, world peace can be won only by the struggles of the people in all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. World peace can only be effectively defended by relying on the development of the forces of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and on the struggles of all peace-loving people and countries.

Such is the Leninist policy. Any policy to the contrary definitely will not lead to world peace but will only encourage the ambitions of the imperialists and increase the danger of world war.

In recent years, certain persons have been spreading the argument that a single spark from a war of national liberation or from a revolutionary people's war will lead to a world conflagration destroying the whole of mankind. What are the facts? Contrary to what these persons say, the wars of national liberation and the revolutionary people's wars that have occurred since World War II have not led to world war. The victory of these revolutionary wars has directly weakened the forces of imperialism and greatly strengthened the forces which prevent the imperialists from launching a world war and which defend world peace. Do not the facts demonstrate the absurdity of this argument?

15. The complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons is an important task in the struggle to defend world peace. We must do our utmost to this end.

Nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive, which is why for more than a decade now the U.S. imperialists have been pursuing their policy of nuclear blackmail in order to realize their ambition of enslaving the people of all countries and dominating the world.

But when the imperialists threaten other countries with nuclear weapons, they subject the people in their own country to the same threat, thus arousing them against nuclear weapons and against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. At the same time, in their vain hope of destroying their opponents with nuclear weapons, the imperialists are in fact subjecting themselves to the danger of being destroyed.

The possibility of banning nuclear weapons does indeed exist. However, if the imperialists are forced to accept an agreement to ban nuclear weapons, it decidedly will not be because of their "love for humanity" but because of the pres-

sure of the people of all countries and for the sake of their own vital interests.

In contrast to the imperialists, socialist countries rely upon the righteous strength of the people and on their own correct policies, and have no need whatever to gamble with nuclear weapons in the world arena. Socialist countries have nuclear weapons solely in order to defend themselves and to prevent imperialism from launching a nuclear war.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, the people are the makers of history. In the present, as in the past, man is the decisive factor. Marxist-Leninists attach importance to the role of technological change, but it is wrong to belittle the role of man and exaggerate the role of technology.

The emergence of nuclear weapons can neither arrest the progress of human history nor save the imperialist system from its doom, any more than the emergence of new techniques could save the old systems from their doom in the past.

The emergence of nuclear weapons does not and cannot resolve the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, does not and cannot alter the law of class struggle, and does not and cannot change the nature of imperialism and reaction.

It cannot, therefore, be said that with the emergence of nuclear weapons the possibility and the necessity of social and national revolutions have disappeared, or the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and especially the theories of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and of war and peace, have become outmoded and changed into stale "dogmas".

16. It was Lenin who advanced the thesis that it is possible for the socialist countries to practise peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. It is well known that after the great Soviet people had repulsed foreign armed intervention the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, led first by Lenin and then by Stalin, consistently

pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence and that they were forced to wage a war of self-defence only when attacked by the German imperialists.

Since its founding, the People's Republic of China too has consistently pursued the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, and it is China which initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

However, a few years ago certain persons suddenly claimed Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence as their own "great discovery". They maintain that they have a monopoly on the interpretation of this policy. They treat "peaceful coexistence" as if it were an all-inclusive, mystical book from heaven and attribute to it every success the people of the world achieve by struggle. What is more, they label all who disagree with their distortions of Lenin's views as opponents of peaceful coexistence, as people completely ignorant of Lenin and Leninism, and as heretics deserving to be burnt at the stake.

How can the Chinese Communists agree with this view and practice? They cannot, it is impossible.

Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence is very clear and readily comprehensible by ordinary people. Peaceful coexistence designates a relationship between countries with different social systems, and must not be interpreted as one pleases. It should never be extended to apply to the relations between oppressed and oppressor nations, between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes, and never be described as the main content of the transition from capitalism to socialism, still less should it be asserted that peaceful coexistence is mankind's road to socialism. The reason is that it is one thing to practise peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. It is absolutely impermissible and impossible for countries practising peaceful coexistence to touch even a hair of each other's social system. The class struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the transition from capitalism to socialism in various countries are quite another thing. They are

all bitter, life-and-death revolutionary struggles which aim at changing the social system. Peaceful coexistence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The transition from capitalism to socialism in any country can only be brought about through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country.

In the application of the policy of peaceful coexistence, struggles between the socialist and imperialist countries are unavoidable in the political, economic and ideological spheres, and it is absolutely impossible to have "all-round co-operation".

It is necessary for the socialist countries to engage in negotiations of one kind or another with the imperialist countries. It is possible to reach certain agreements through negotiation by relying on the correct policies of the socialist countries and on the pressure of the people of all countries. But necessary compromises between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries do not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should ever demand in the name of peaceful coexistence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggles.

The application of the policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries is advantageous for achieving a peaceful international environment for socialist construction, for exposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for isolating the imperialist forces of aggression and war. But if the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries is confined to peaceful coexistence, then it is impossible to handle correctly either the relations between socialist countries or those between the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations. Therefore it is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

In our view, the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries should have the following content:

to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation among the countries in the socialist camp in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism;

to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and,

to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations.

These three aspects are interrelated and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted.

17. For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man's will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

a. The overthrown exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the "paradise" they have been deprived of.

b. New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

c. Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

d. The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

For decades or even longer periods after socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, it will be impossible to say that any socialist country will be free from those elements which Lenin repeatedly denounced, such as bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, speculators, swindlers, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers of state funds; or to say that a socialist country will no longer need to perform or be able to relinquish the task laid down by Lenin of conquering “this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism”.

In a socialist country, it takes a very long historical period gradually to settle the question of who will win — socialism or capitalism. The struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism runs through this whole historical period. This struggle rises and falls in a wave-like manner, at times becoming very fierce, and the forms of the struggle are many and varied.

The 1957 Declaration rightly states that “the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion”.

To deny the existence of class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts is wrong, does not correspond to objective reality and violates Marxism-Leninism.

18. Both Marx and Lenin maintained that the entire period before the advent of the higher stage of communist society is the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is to say, the proletarian state, goes through the dialectical process of establishment, consolidation, strengthening and withering away.

In the “Critique of the Gotha Programme”, Marx posed the question as follows:

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.¹

Lenin frequently emphasized Marx's great theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and analysed the development of this theory, particularly in his outstanding work, "The State and Revolution", where he wrote:

. . . the transition from capitalist society — which is developing towards communism — to a communist society is impossible without a "political transition period", and the state in this period can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.²

He further said:

The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from "classless society", from communism.³

As slated above, the fundamental thesis of Marx and Lenin is that the dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably continue for the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, that is, for the entire period up to the abolition of all class differences and the entry into a classless society, the higher stage of communist society.

What will happen if it is announced, halfway through, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

¹ *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 32-33.

² V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 289.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Does this not license the development of “this contagion, this plague, this ulcer that socialism has inherited from capitalism”?

In other words, this would lead to extremely grave consequences and make any transition to communism out of the question.

Can there be a “state of the whole people”? Is it possible to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a “state of the whole people”?

This is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular country but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class state. So long as the state remains a state, it must bear a class character; so long as the state exists, it cannot be a state of the “whole people”. As soon as society becomes classless, there will no longer be a state.

Then what sort of thing would a “state of the whole people” be?

Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism can understand that the so-called “state of the whole people” is nothing new. Representative bourgeois figures have always called the bourgeois state a “state of all the people”, or a “state in which power belongs to all the people”.

Certain persons may say that their society is already one without classes. We answer: No, there are classes and class struggles in all socialist countries without exception.

Since remnants of the old exploiting classes who are trying to stage a comeback still exist there, since new capitalist elements are constantly being generated there, and since there are still parasites, speculators, idlers, hooligans, embezzlers of state funds, etc., how can it be said that classes or class

struggles no longer exist? How can it be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary?

Marxism-Leninism tells us that in addition to the suppression of the hostile classes, the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the course of building socialism necessarily include the correct handling of relations between the working class and peasantry, the consolidation of their political and economic alliance and the creation of conditions for the gradual elimination of the class difference between worker and peasant.

When we look at the economic base of any socialist society, we find that the difference between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership exists in all socialist countries without exception, and that there is individual ownership too. Ownership by the whole people and collective ownership are two kinds of ownership and two kinds of relations of production in socialist society. The workers in enterprises owned by the whole people and the peasants on farms owned collectively belong to two different categories of labourers in socialist society. Therefore, the class difference between worker and peasant exists in all socialist countries without exception. This difference will not disappear until the transition to the higher stage of communism is achieved. In their present level of economic development all socialist countries are still far, far removed from the higher stage of communism in which "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is put into practice. Therefore, it will take a long, long time to eliminate the class difference between worker and peasant. And until this difference is eliminated, it is impossible to say that society is classless or that there is no longer any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In calling a socialist state the "state of the whole people" is one trying to replace the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state by the bourgeois theory of the state? Is one trying to replace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by a state of a different character?

If that is the case, it is nothing but a great historical retrogression. The degeneration of the social system in Yugoslavia is a grave lesson.

19. Leninism holds that the proletarian party must exist together with the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist countries. The party of the proletariat is indispensable for the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reason is that the dictatorship of the proletariat has to struggle against the enemies of the proletariat and of the people, remould the peasants and other small producers, constantly consolidate the proletarian ranks, build socialism and effect the transition to communism; none of these things can be done without the leadership of the party of the proletariat.

Can there be a “party of the entire people”? Is it possible to replace the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat by a “party of the entire people”?

This, too, is not a question about the internal affairs of any particular Party, but a fundamental problem involving the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party. All political parties have a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character.

The party of the proletariat is the only party able to represent the interests of the whole people. It can do so precisely because it represents the interests of the proletariat, whose ideas and will it concentrates. It can lead the whole people because the proletariat can finally emancipate itself only with the emancipation of all mankind, because the very nature of the proletariat enables its party to approach problems in terms of its present and future interests, because the party is boundlessly loyal to the people and has the spirit of self-sacrifice; hence its democratic centralism and iron discipline. Without such a party, it is impossible to maintain the

dictatorship of the proletariat and to represent the interests of the whole people.

What will happen if it is announced halfway before entering the higher stage of communist society that the party of the proletariat has become a “party of the entire people” and if its proletarian class character is repudiated?

Does this not fundamentally conflict with the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the party of the proletariat?

Does this not disarm the proletariat and all the working people, organizationally and ideologically, and is it not tantamount to helping restore capitalism?

Is it not “going south by driving the chariot north” to talk about any transition to communist society in such circumstances?

20. Over the past few years, certain persons have violated Lenin’s integral teachings about the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and raised the issue of “combating the cult of the individual”; this is erroneous and harmful.

The theory propounded by Lenin is as follows:

- a. The masses are divided into classes.
- b. Classes are usually led by political parties.
- c. Political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders.

Lenin said, “All this is elementary.”

The party of the proletariat is the headquarters of the proletariat in revolution and struggle. Every proletarian party must practise centralism based on democracy and establish a strong Marxist-Leninist leadership before it can become an organized and battle-worthy vanguard. To raise the question of “combating the cult of the individual” is actually to counterpose the leaders to the masses, undermine the party’s

unified leadership which is based on democratic centralism, dissipate its fighting strength and disintegrate its ranks.

Lenin criticized the erroneous views which counterpose the leaders to the masses. He called them “ridiculously absurd and stupid”.

The Communist Party of China has always disapproved of exaggerating the role of the individual, has advocated and persistently practised democratic centralism within the Party and advocated the linking of the leadership with the masses, maintaining that correct leadership must know how to concentrate the views of the masses.

While loudly combating the so-called “cult of the individual”, certain persons are in reality doing their best to defame the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, they are enormously exaggerating the role of certain individuals, shifting all errors onto others and claiming all credit for themselves.

What is more serious is that, under the pretext of “combating the cult of the individual”, certain persons are crudely interfering in the internal affairs of other fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and forcing other fraternal Parties to change their leadership in order to impose their own wrong line on these Parties. What is all this if not great-power chauvinism, sectarianism and splittism? What is all this if not subversion?

It is high time to propagate seriously and comprehensively Lenin’s integral teachings on the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses.

21. Relations between socialist countries are international relations of a new type. Relations between socialist countries, whether large or small, and whether more developed or less developed economically, must be based on the principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, and must also be based on the principles of

mutual support and mutual assistance in accordance with proletarian internationalism.

Every socialist country must rely mainly on itself for its construction.

In accordance with its own concrete conditions, every socialist country must rely first of all on the diligent labour and talents of its own people, utilize all its available resources fully and in a planned way, and bring all its potential into play in socialist construction. Only thus can it build socialism effectively and develop its economy speedily.

This is the only way for each socialist country to strengthen the might of the entire socialist camp and enhance its capacity to assist the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat. Therefore, to observe the principle of mainly relying on oneself in construction is to apply proletarian internationalism concretely.

If, proceeding only from its own partial interests, any socialist country unilaterally demands that other fraternal countries submit to its needs, and uses the pretext of opposing what they call “going it alone” and “nationalism” to prevent other fraternal countries from applying the principle of relying mainly on their own efforts in their construction and from developing their economies on the basis of independence, or even goes to the length of putting economic pressure on other fraternal countries — then these are pure manifestations of national egoism.

It is absolutely necessary for socialist countries to practise mutual economic assistance and co-operation and exchange. Such economic co-operation must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance.

It would be great-power chauvinism to deny these basic principles and, in the name of “international division of labour” or “specialization”, to impose one’s own will on others, infringe on the independence and sovereignty of fraternal countries or harm the interests of their people.

In relations among socialist countries it would be preposterous to follow the practice of gaining profit for oneself at the expense of others, a practice characteristic of relations among capitalist countries, or go so far as to take the “economic integration” and the “common market”, which monopoly capitalist groups have instituted for the purpose of seizing markets and grabbing profits, as examples which socialist countries ought to follow in their economic co-operation and mutual assistance.

22. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement lay down the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties. These are the principle of solidarity, the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation — all on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We note that in its letter of March 30 the Central Committee of the CPSU says that there are no “higher-ranking” and “subordinate” Parties in the communist movement, that all Communist Parties are independent and equal, and that they should all build their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance.

It is a fine quality of Communists that their deeds are consistent with their words. The only correct way to safeguard and strengthen unity among the fraternal Parties is genuinely to adhere to, and not to violate, the principle of proletarian internationalism and genuinely to observe, and not to undermine, the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties — and to do so, not only in words but, much more important, in deeds.

If the principle of independence and equality is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible for any Party to place itself above others, to interfere in their internal affairs, and to adopt patriarchal ways in relations with them.

If it is accepted that there are no “superiors” and “subordinates” in relations among fraternal Parties, then it is impermissible to impose the programme, resolutions and line of one’s own Party on other fraternal Parties as the “common programme” of the international communist movement.

If the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation is accepted in relations among fraternal Parties, then one should not emphasize “who is in the majority” or “who is in the minority” and bank on a so-called majority in order to force through one’s own erroneous line and carry out sectarian and splitting policies.

If it is agreed that differences between fraternal Parties should be settled through inter-Party consultation, then other fraternal Parties should not be attacked publicly and by name at one’s own congress or at other Party congresses, in speeches by Party leaders, resolutions, statements, etc.; and still less should the ideological differences among fraternal Parties be extended into the sphere of state relations.

We hold that in the present circumstances, when there are differences in the international communist movement, it is particularly important to stress strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement.

In the sphere of relations among fraternal Parties and countries, the question of Soviet-Albanian relations is an outstanding one at present. Here the question is what is the correct way to treat a fraternal Party and country and whether the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement are to be adhered to. The correct solution of this question is an important matter of principle in safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

How to treat the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Albanian Party of Labour is one question. How to treat the Yugoslav revisionist clique of traitors to Marxism-Leninism is quite another

question. These two essentially different questions must on no account be placed on a par.

Your letter says that you “do not relinquish the hope that the relations between the CPSU and the Albanian Party of Labour may be improved”, but at the same time you continue to attack the Albanian comrades for what you call “splitting activities”. Clearly this is self-contradictory and in no way contributes to resolving the problem of Soviet-Albanian relations.

Who is it that has taken splitting actions in Soviet-Albanian relations?

Who is it that has extended the ideological differences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties to state relations?

Who is it that has brought the divergences between the Soviet and Albanian Parties and between the two countries into the open before the enemy?

Who is it that has openly called for a change in the Albanian Party and state leadership?

All this is plain and clear to the whole world.

Is it possible that the leading comrades of the CPSU do not really feel their responsibility for the fact that Soviet-Albanian relations have so seriously deteriorated?

We once again express our sincere hope that the leading comrades of the CPSU will observe the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and take the initiative in seeking an effective way to improve Soviet-Albanian relations.

In short, the question of how to handle relations with fraternal Parties and countries must be taken seriously. Strict adherence to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries is the only way forcefully to rebuff slanders such as those spread by the imperialists and reactionaries about the “hand of Moscow”.

Proletarian internationalism is demanded of all Parties without exception, whether large or small, and whether in power or not. However, the larger Parties and the Parties in power bear a particularly heavy responsibility in this respect.

The series of distressing developments which have occurred in the socialist camp in the past period have harmed the interests not only of the fraternal Parties concerned but also of the masses of the people in their countries. This convincingly demonstrates that the larger countries and Parties need to keep in mind Lenin's behest never to commit the error of great-power chauvinism.

The comrades of the CPSU state in their letter that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never taken and will never take a single step that could sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards the fraternal Chinese people or other peoples". Here we do not desire to go back and enumerate the many unpleasant events that have occurred in the past, and we only wish that the comrades of the CPSU will strictly abide by this statement in their future actions.

During the past few years, our Party members and our people have exercised the greatest restraint in the face of a series of grave incidents which were in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and despite the many difficulties and losses which have been imposed on us. The spirit of proletarian internationalism of the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people has stood a severe test.

The Communist Party of China is unswervingly loyal to proletarian internationalism, upholds and defends the principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries, and safeguards and strengthens the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

23. In order to carry out the common programme of the international communist movement unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, an uncompromising struggle must be waged against all forms of opportunism, which is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that revisionism, or, in other words, Right opportunism, is the main danger

in the international communist movement. Yugoslav revisionism typifies modern revisionism.

The Statement points out particularly:

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist “theories” in concentrated form.

It goes on to say:

After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the League of Communists of Yugoslavia against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called “aid” from U.S. and other imperialists. . . .

The Statement says further:

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

Therefore, it draws the following conclusion:

Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The question raised here is an important one of principle for the international communist movement.

Only recently the Tito clique have publicly stated that they are persisting in their revisionist programme and anti-Marxist-Leninist stand in opposition to the Declaration and the Statement.

U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners have spent several thousand millions of U.S. dollars nursing the Tito clique for a long time. Cloaked as “Marxist-Leninists” and flaunting the banner of a “socialist country”, the Tito clique has been undermining the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, serving as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

It is completely groundless and out of keeping with the facts to assert that Yugoslavia is showing “definite positive tendencies”, that it is a “socialist country”, and that the Tito clique is an “anti-imperialist force”.

Certain persons are now attempting to introduce the Yugoslav revisionist clique into the socialist community and the international communist ranks. This is openly to tear up the agreement unanimously reached at the 1960 meeting of the fraternal Parties and is absolutely impermissible.

Over the past few years, the revisionist trend flooding the international working-class movement and the many experiences and lessons of the international communist movement have fully confirmed the correctness of the conclusion in the Declaration and the Statement that revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement at present.

However, certain persons are openly saying that dogmatism and not revisionism is the main danger, or that dogmatism is every bit as dangerous as revisionism, etc. What sort of principle underlies all this?

Firm Marxist-Leninists and genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties must put principles first. They must not barter away principles, approving one thing today and another tomorrow, advocating one thing today and another tomorrow.

Together with all Marxist-Leninists, the Chinese Communists will continue to wage an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principled stand of the Declaration and the Statement.

While combating revisionism, which is the main danger in the international communist movement, Communists must also combat dogmatism.

As stated in the 1957 Declaration, proletarian parties “should firmly adhere to the principle of combining . . . universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific practice of revolution and construction in their countries”.

That is to say:

On the one hand, it is necessary at all times to adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Failure to do so will lead to Right opportunist or revisionist errors.

On the other hand, it is always necessary to proceed from reality, maintain close contact with the masses, constantly sum up the experience of mass struggles, and independently work out and apply policies and tactics suited to the conditions of one’s own country. Errors of dogmatism will be committed if one fails to do so, if one mechanically copies the policies and tactics of another Communist Party, submits blindly to the will of others or accepts without analysis the programme and resolutions of another Communist Party as one’s own line.

Some people are now violating this basic principle, which was long ago affirmed in the Declaration. On the pretext of “creatively developing Marxism-Leninism”, they cast aside the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, they describe as “universal Marxist-Leninist truths” their own prescriptions which are based on nothing but subjective conjecture and are divorced from reality and from the masses, and they force others to accept these prescriptions unconditionally.

That is why many grave phenomena have come to pass in the international communist movement.

24. A most important lesson from the experience of the international communist movement is that the development and victory of a revolution depend on the existence of a revolutionary proletarian party.

There must be a revolutionary party.

There must be a revolutionary party built according to the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism.

There must be a revolutionary party able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country.

There must be a revolutionary party able to link the leadership closely with the broad masses of the people.

There must be a revolutionary party that perseveres in the truth, corrects its errors and knows how to conduct criticism and self-criticism.

Only such a revolutionary party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its lackeys, winning a thorough victory in the national democratic revolution and winning the socialist revolution.

If a party is not a proletarian revolutionary party but a bourgeois reformist party;

If it is not a Marxist-Leninist party but a revisionist party;

If it is not a vanguard party of the proletariat but a party tailing after the bourgeoisie;

If it is not a party representing the interests of the proletariat and all the working people but a party representing the interests of the labour aristocracy;

If it is not an internationalist party but a nationalist party;

If it is not a party that can use its brains to think for itself and acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious investigation and study, and knows how to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but instead is a party that parrots the words of others, copies foreign experience without analysis, runs hither and thither in response to the baton of certain persons abroad, and has become a hodgepodge of revisionism, dogmatism and everything but Marxist-Leninist principle;

Then such a party is absolutely inculpable of leading the proletariat and the masses in revolutionary struggle, absolutely

incapable of winning the revolution and absolutely incapable of fulfilling the great historical mission of the proletariat.

This is a question all Marxist-Leninists, all class-conscious workers and all progressive people everywhere need to ponder deeply.

25. It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to distinguish between truth and falsehood with respect to the differences that have arisen in the international communist movement. In the common interest of the unity for struggle against the enemy, we have always advocated solving problems through inter-Party consultations and opposed bringing differences into the open before the enemy.

As the comrades of the CPSU know, the public polemics in the international communist movement have been provoked by certain fraternal Party leaders and forced on us.

Since a public debate has been provoked, it ought to be conducted on the basis of equality among fraternal Parties and of democracy, and by presenting the facts and reasoning things out.

Since certain Party leaders have publicly attacked other fraternal Parties and provoked a public debate, it is our opinion that they have no reason or right to forbid the fraternal Parties attacked to make public replies.

Since certain Party leaders have published innumerable articles attacking other fraternal Parties, why do they not publish in their own press the articles those Parties have written, in reply?

Latterly, the Communist Party of China has been subjected to preposterous attacks. The attackers have raised a great hue and cry and, disregarding the facts, have fabricated many charges against us. We have published these articles and speeches attacking us in our own press.

We have also published in full in our press the Soviet leader's report at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet on December 12, 1962, the *Pravda* Editorial Board's article of January 7,

1963, the speech of the head of the CPSU delegation at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on January 16, 1963 and the Pravda Editorial Board's article of February 10, 1963.

We have also published the full text of the two letters from the Central Committee of the CPSU dated February 21 and March 30, 1963.

We have replied to some of the articles and speeches in which fraternal Parties have attacked us, but have not yet replied to others. For example, we have not directly replied to the many articles and speeches of the comrades of the CPSU.

Between December 15, 1962 and March 8, 1963, we wrote seven articles in reply to our attackers. These articles are entitled:

“Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy!”,

“The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us”,

“Leninism and Modern Revisionism”,

“Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement”,

“Whence the Differences? — A Reply to Thorez and Other Comrades”,

“More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us — Some Important Problems of Leninism in the Contemporary World”,

“A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.”.

Presumably, you are referring to these articles when towards the end of your letter of March 30 you accuse the Chinese press of making “groundless attacks” on the CPSU. It is turning things upside down to describe articles replying to our attackers as “attacks”.

Since you describe our articles as “groundless” and as so very bad, why do you not publish all seven of these “groundless attacks”, in the same way as we have published your

articles, and let all the Soviet comrades and Soviet people think for themselves and judge who is right and who wrong? You are of course entitled to make a point-by-point refutation of these articles you consider “groundless attacks”.

Although you call our articles “groundless” and our arguments wrong, you do not tell the Soviet people what our arguments actually are. This practice can hardly be described as showing a serious attitude towards the discussion of problems by fraternal Parties, towards the truth or towards the masses.

We hope that the public debate among fraternal Parties can be stopped. This is a problem that has to be dealt with in accordance with the principles of independence, of equality and of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties. In the international communist movement, no one has the right to launch attacks whenever he wants, or to order the “ending of open polemics” whenever he wants to prevent the other side from replying.

It is known to the comrades of the CPSU that, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for convening the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided temporarily to suspend, as from March 9, 1963, public replies to the public attacks directed by name against us by comrades of fraternal Parties. We reserve the right of public reply.

In our letter of March 9, we said that on the question of suspending public debate “it is necessary that our two Parties and the fraternal Parties concerned should have some discussion and reach an agreement that is fair and acceptable to all”.

* * *

The foregoing are our views regarding the general line of the international communist movement and some related questions of principle. We hope, as we indicated at the beginning of this letter, that the frank presentation of our views will be conducive to mutual understanding. Of course, comrades may agree or disagree with these views. But in our opinion, the questions we discuss here are the crucial

questions calling for attention and solution by the international communist movement. We hope that all these questions and also those raised in your letter will be fully discussed in the talks between our two Parties and at the meeting of representatives of all the fraternal Parties.

In addition, there are other questions of common concern, such as the criticism of Stalin and some important matters of principle regarding the international communist movement which were raised at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, and we hope that on these questions, too, there will be a frank exchange of opinion in the talks.

With regard to the talks between our two Parties, in our letter of March 9 we proposed that Comrade Khrushchov come to Peking; if this was not convenient, we proposed that another responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the CPSU lead a delegation to Peking or that we send a delegation to Moscow.

Since you have stated in your letter of March 30 that Comrade Khrushchov cannot come to China, and since you have not expressed a desire to send a delegation to China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has decided to send a delegation to Moscow.

In your letter of March 30, you invited Comrade Mao Tse-tung to visit the Soviet Union. As early as February 23, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his conversation with the Soviet Ambassador to China clearly stated the reason why he was not prepared to visit the Soviet Union at the present time. You were well aware of this.

When a responsible comrade of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China received the Soviet Ambassador to China on May 9, he informed you that we would send a delegation to Moscow in the middle of June. Later, in compliance with the request of the Central Committee of the CPSU, we agreed to postpone the talks between our two Parties to July 5.

We sincerely hope that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties will yield positive results and contribute to the preparations for convening the meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is now more than ever necessary for all Communists to unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of the Declaration and the Statement unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

Together with Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary people the world over, the Communist Party of China will continue its unremitting efforts to uphold the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples and nations, and the struggle against imperialism and for world peace.

We hope that events which grieve those near and dear to us and only gladden the enemy will not recur in the international communist movement in the future.

The Chinese Communists firmly believe that the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people everywhere will unite more closely, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and win still greater victories in the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, and in the fight for the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and the cause of international communism.

Workers of all countries, unite! Workers and oppressed peoples and nations of the world, unite! Oppose our common enemy!

With communist greetings,

The Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China

**THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF
THE CPSU AND OURSELVES**

**Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(September 6, 1963)

IT is more than a month since the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published its Open Letter of July 14 to Party organizations and all Communists in the Soviet Union. This Open Letter, and the steps taken by the leadership of the CPSU since its publication, have pushed Sino-Soviet relations to the brink of a split and have carried the differences in the international communist movement to a new stage of unprecedented gravity.

Now Moscow, Washington, New Delhi and Belgrade are joined in a love feast and the Soviet press is running an endless assortment of fantastic stories and theories attacking China. The leadership of the CPSU has allied itself with U.S. imperialism, the Indian reactionaries and the renegade Tito clique against socialist China and against all Marxist-Leninist Parties, in open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in brazen repudiation of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and in flagrant violation of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.

The present differences within the international communist movement and between the Chinese and Soviet Parties involve a whole series of important questions of principle. In its letter of June 14 to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the CPC systematically and comprehensively discussed the essence of these differences. It pointed out that, in the last analysis, the present differences within the international communist movement and between the Chinese and Soviet Parties involve the questions of whether or not to accept the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, whether or not to accept Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, whether or not there is need for revolution, whether or

not imperialism is to be opposed, and whether or not the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is desired.

How have the differences in the international communist movement and between the leadership of the CPSU and ourselves arisen? And how have they grown to their present serious dimensions? Everybody is concerned about these questions.

In our article "Whence the Differences?"¹ we dealt with the origin and growth of the differences in the international communist movement in general outline. We deliberately refrained from giving certain facts concerning this question, and particularly certain important facts involving the leadership of the CPSU, and left the leadership of the CPSU some leeway, though we were ready to provide a fuller picture and to thrash out the rights and wrongs when necessary. Now that the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU has told many lies about the origin and development of the differences and completely distorted the facts, it has become necessary for us to set forth certain facts in order to explain the matter in greater detail.

In its Open Letter, the Central Committee of the CPSU dares not state the truth to its Party members and the masses of the people. Instead of being open and above-board and respecting the facts as Marxist-Leninists should, the leadership of the CPSU resorts to the customary practice of bourgeois politicians, distorting the facts and confusing truth and falsehood in its determined attempt to shift the blame for the emergence and growth of the differences on to the Chinese Communist Party.

Lenin once said, "Honesty in politics is the result of strength; hypocrisy is the result of weakness."² Honesty and respect for the facts mark the attitude of Marxist-Leninists.

¹ *Renmin Ribao* editorial, February 27, 1963.

² V. I. Lenin, "Polemical Notes", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XVII, p. 166.

Only those who have degenerated politically depend on telling lies for a living.

The facts are most eloquent. Facts are the best witness. Let us look at the facts.

THE DIFFERENCES BEGAN WITH THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

There is a saying, "It takes more than one cold day for the river to freeze three feet deep." The present differences in the international communist movement did not, of course, begin just today.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU spreads the notion that the differences in the international communist movement were started by "Long Live Leninism!" and two other articles which we published in April 1960. This is a big lie.

What is the truth?

The truth is that the whole series of differences of principle in the international communist movement began more than seven years ago.

To be specific, it began with the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU was the first step along the road of revisionism taken by the leadership of the CPSU. From the 20th Congress to the present, the revisionist line of the leadership of the CPSU has gone through the process of emergence, formation, growth and systematization. And by a gradual process, too, people have come to understand more and more deeply the revisionist line of the CPSU leadership.

From the very outset we held that a number of views advanced at the 20th Congress concerning the contemporary international struggle and the international communist movement were wrong, were violations of Marxism-Leninism. In

particular, the complete negation of Stalin on the pretext of “combating the personality cult” and the thesis of peaceful transition to socialism by “the parliamentary road” are gross errors of principle.

The criticism of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU was wrong both in principle and in method.

Stalin’s life was that of a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary. For thirty years after Lenin’s death, Stalin was the foremost leader of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, as well as the recognized leader of the international communist movement and the standard-bearer of the world revolution. During his lifetime, Stalin made some serious mistakes, but compared to his great and meritorious deeds his mistakes are only secondary.

Stalin rendered great services to the development of the Soviet Union and the international communist movement. In the article “On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat” published in April 1956, we said:

After Lenin’s death Stalin creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism as the chief leader of the Party and the state. Stalin expressed the will and aspirations of the people, and proved himself an outstanding Marxist-Leninist fighter, in the struggle in defence of the legacy of Leninism against its enemies — the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and other bourgeois agents. Stalin won the support of the Soviet people and played an important role in history primarily because, together with the other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he defended Lenin’s line on the industrialization of the Soviet Union and the collectivization of agriculture. By pursuing this line, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union brought about the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and created the conditions for the victory of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler; these victories of the Soviet people accorded with the interests of the working class of the

world and all progressive mankind. It was therefore natural that the name of Stalin was greatly honoured throughout the world.¹

It was necessary to criticize Stalin's mistakes. But in his secret report to the 20th Congress, Comrade Khrushchov completely negated Stalin, and in doing so defamed the dictatorship of the proletariat, defamed the socialist system, the great CPSU, the great Soviet Union and the international communist movement. Far from using a revolutionary proletarian party's method of criticism and self-criticism for the purpose of making an earnest and serious analysis and summation of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he treated Stalin as an enemy and shifted the blame for all mistakes on to Stalin alone.

Khrushchov viciously and demagogically told a host of lies in his secret report, and threw around charges that Stalin had a "persecution mania", indulged in "brutal arbitrariness", took the path of "mass repressions and terror", "knew the country and agriculture only from films" and "planned operations on a globe", that Stalin's leadership "became a serious obstacle in the path of Soviet social development", and so on and so forth. He completely obliterated the meritorious deeds of Stalin who led the Soviet people in waging resolute struggle against all internal and external foes and achieving great results in socialist transformation and socialist construction, who led the Soviet people in defending and consolidating the first socialist country in the world and winning the glorious victory in the anti-fascist war, and who defended and developed Marxism-Leninism.

In completely negating Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchov in effect negated the dictatorship of the proletariat and the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism which Stalin defended and developed. It was at that

¹ *The Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, p. 7.

Congress that Khrushchov, in his report, began the repudiation of Marxism-Leninism on a number of questions of principle.

In his report to the 20th Congress, under the pretext that “radical changes” had taken place in the world situation, Khrushchov put forward the thesis of “peaceful transition”. He said that the road of the October Revolution was “the only correct road in those historical conditions”, but that as the situation had changed, it had become possible to effect the transition from capitalism to socialism “through the parliamentary road”. In essence, this erroneous thesis is a clear revision of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state and revolution and a clear denial of the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution.

In his report, under the same pretext that “radical changes” had taken place in the world situation, Khrushchov also questioned the continued validity of Lenin’s teachings on imperialism and on war and peace, and in fact tampered with Lenin’s teachings.

Khrushchev pictured the U.S. Government and its head as people resisting the forces of war, and not as representatives of the imperialist forces of war. He said, “. . . the advocates of settling outstanding issues by means of war still hold strong positions there [in the United States], and . . . they continue to exert big pressure on the President and the Administration.” He went on to say that the imperialists were beginning to admit that the positions-of-strength policy had failed and that “symptoms of a certain sobering up are appearing” among them. It was as much as saying that it was possible for the U.S. Government and its head not to represent the interests of the U.S. monopoly capital and for them to abandon their policies of war and aggression and that they had become forces defending peace.

Khrushchov declared: “We want to be friends with the United States and to co-operate with it for peace and international security and also in the economic and cultural spheres.”

This wrong view later developed into the line of “Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the settlement of world problems”.

Distorting Lenin’s correct principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, Khrushchov declared that peaceful coexistence was the “general line of the foreign policy” of the U.S.S.R. This amounted to excluding from the general line of foreign policy of the socialist countries their mutual assistance and co-operation as well as assistance by them to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, or to subordinating all this to the policy of so-called “peaceful coexistence”.

The questions raised by the leadership of the CPSU at the 20th Congress, and especially the question of Stalin and of “peaceful transition”, are by no means simply internal affairs of the CPSU; they are vital issues of common interest for all fraternal Parties. Without any prior consultation with the fraternal Parties, the leadership of the CPSU drew arbitrary conclusions; it forced the fraternal Parties to accept a fait accompli and, on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, crudely interfered in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties and countries and tried to subvert their leaderships, thus pushing its policy of sectarianism and splittism in the international communist movement.

Subsequent developments show with increasing clarity that the revision and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by the leaders of the CPSU have grown out of the above errors.

The CPC has always differed in principle in its view of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and the leading comrades of the CPSU are well aware of this. Yet the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU asserts that the Communist Party of China previously gave the 20th Congress full support, that we “have made a 180-degree turn” in our evaluation of the 20th Congress, and that our position is full of “vacillation and wavering” and is “false”.

It is impossible for the leadership of the CPSU to shut out the heavens with one palm. Let the facts speak for themselves.

On many occasions in internal discussions after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, leading comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC solemnly criticized the errors of the CPSU leadership.

In April 1956, less than two months after the 20th Congress, in conversations both with Comrade Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and with the Soviet Ambassador to China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung expressed our views on the question of Stalin. He emphasized that Stalin's "merits outweighed his faults" and that it was necessary to "make a concrete analysis" and "an all-round evaluation" of Stalin.

On October 23, 1956, on receiving the Soviet Ambassador to China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, "Stalin deserves to be criticized, but we do not agree with the method of criticism, and there are some other matters we do not agree with."

On November 30, 1956, on receiving the Soviet Ambassador to China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out that the basic policy and line during the period when Stalin was in power were correct and that methods that are used against enemies must not be used against one's comrades.

Both Comrade Liu Shao-chi in his conversation with leaders of the CPSU in October 1956, and Comrade Chou En-lai in his conversations on October 1, 1956 with the delegation of the CPSU to the Eighth Congress of the CPC and on January 18, 1957 with leaders of the CPSU, also expressed our views on the question of Stalin, and both criticized the errors of the leaders of the CPSU as consisting chiefly of "total lack of an overall analysis" of Stalin, "lack of self-criticism" and "failure to consult with the fraternal Parties in advance".

In internal discussions with comrades of the CPSU, leading comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC also stated where eve differed on the question of peaceful transition. Furthermore, in November 1957 the Central Committee of the CPC presented the Central Committee of the CPSU with a written “Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition”, comprehensively and clearly explaining the viewpoint of the CPC.

In their many internal discussions with comrades of the CPSU, leading comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC also systematically set forth our views on the international situation and the strategy of the international communist movement, with direct reference to the errors of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

These are plain facts. How can the leadership of the CPSU obliterate them by bare-faced lying?

Attempting to conceal these important facts, the Central Committee of the CPSU in its Open Letter quotes out of context public statements by Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping to show that at one time the Chinese Communist Party completely affirmed the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This is futile.

The fact is that at no time and in no place did the Chinese Communist Party completely affirm the 20th Congress of the CPSU, agree with the complete negation of Stalin or endorse the view of peaceful transition to socialism through the “parliamentary road”.

Not long after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, on April 5, 1956, we published “On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat”; then, on December 29, 1956, we published “More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat”. While refuting the anti-Communist slanders of the imperialists and reactionaries, these two articles made an all-round analysis of the life of Stalin, affirmed the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, summed up the historical experience of

the dictatorship of the proletariat, and tactfully but unequivocally criticized the erroneous propositions of the 20th Congress. Is this not a widely known fact?

Since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Chinese Communist Party has continued to display the portrait of Stalin along with those of the other great revolutionary leaders, Marx, Engels and Lenin. Is not this, too, a widely known fact?

It needs to be said, of course, that for the sake of unity against the enemy and out of consideration for the difficult position the leaders of the CPSU were in, we refrained in those days from open criticism of the errors of the 20th Congress, because the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries were exploiting these errors and carrying on frenzied activities against the Soviet Union, against communism and against the people, and also because the leaders of the CPSU had not yet departed so far from Marxism-Leninism as they did later. We fervently hoped at the time that the leaders of the CPSU would put their errors right. Consequently, we always endeavoured to seek out positive aspects and on public occasions gave them whatever support was appropriate and necessary.

Even so, by stressing positive lessons and principles in their public speeches, leading comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC explained our position with regard to the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU asserts that in his political report to the Eighth Congress of the CPC, Comrade Liu Shao-chi completely affirmed the 20th Congress of the CPSU. But it was in this very report that Comrade Liu Shao-chi spoke on the lessons of the Chinese revolution and explained that the road of “peaceful transition” was wrong and impracticable.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU asserts that in his report to the Eighth Congress of the CPC on the revision of the Party Constitution, Comrade Teng

Hsiao-ping completely affirmed the “struggle against the personality cult” conducted at the 20th Congress. But it was in this very report that Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping discussed at some length democratic centralism in the Party and the interrelationship between leaders and masses, explained the consistent and correct style of work of our Party, and thus in effect criticized the error of the 20th Congress concerning the “struggle against the personality cult”.

Is there anything wrong in the way we acted? Have we not done exactly what a Marxist-Leninist Party ought to do by persevering in principle and upholding unity?

How can this consistently correct attitude of the Chinese Communist Party towards the 20th Congress be described as full of “vacillation and wavering”, as “false” and as representing “a 180-degree turn”?

In making these charges against us in the Open Letter, perhaps the Central Committee of the CPSU thought it could deny the criticisms we made because they were known only to a few leaders of the CPSU, and that it could use falsehoods to deceive the broad masses of the CPSU membership and the Soviet people. But does this not prove its own falseness?

THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU loudly proclaims the “splendid” and “majestic results” of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

But history cannot be altered. People not suffering from too short a memory will recall that by its errors the 20th Congress produced not “splendid” or “majestic results” but a discrediting of the Soviet Union, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism and communism, and gave an opportunity to the imperialists, the reactionaries and all the

other enemies of communism, with extremely serious consequences for the international communist movement.

After the Congress, swollen with arrogance the imperialists and reactionaries everywhere stirred up a world-wide tidal wave against the Soviet Union, against communism and against the people. The U.S. imperialists saw the all-out attack on Stalin by the leadership of the CPSU as something that was “never so suited to our purposes”,¹ they talked openly about using Khrushchov’s secret report as a “weapon with which to destroy the prestige and influence of the Communist movement”² and they took the opportunity to advocate “peaceful transformation” in the Soviet Union.³

The Titoites became most aggressive. Flaunting their reactionary slogan of “anti-Stalinism”, they wildly attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. They declared that the 20th Congress of the CPSU “created sufficient elements” for the “new course” which Yugoslavia had started and that “the question now is whether this course will win or the course of Stalinism will win again”.⁴

The Trotskyites, enemies of communism, who had been in desperate straits, feverishly resumed activity. In its Manifesto to the Workers and Peoples of the Entire World the so-called Fourth International said:

Today, when the Kremlin leaders are themselves admitting the crimes of Stalin, they implicitly recognize that the indefatigable struggle carried on . . . by the world Trotskyist movement against the degeneration of the workers’ state, was fully justified.

The errors of the 20th Congress brought great ideological confusion in the international communist movement and

¹ Radio talk by T. C. Streibert, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, June 11, 1956.

² “The Communist Crisis”, *New York Times* editorial, June 23, 1956.

³ J. F. Dulles, Statement at the Press Conference, April 3, 1956.

⁴ J. B. Tito, Speech Made in Pula, November 11, 1956.

caused it to be deluged with revisionist ideas. Along with the imperialists, the reactionaries and the Tito clique, renegades from communism in many countries attacked Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement.

Most striking among the events which took place during this period were the incident in Soviet-Polish relations and the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. The two events were different in character. But the leadership of the CPSU made grave errors in both. By moving up troops in an attempt to subdue the Polish comrades by armed force it committed the error of great-power chauvinism. And at the critical moment when the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries had occupied Budapest, for a time it intended to adopt a policy of capitulation and abandon socialist Hungary to counter-revolution.

These errors of the leadership of the CPSU inflated the arrogance of all the enemies of communism, created serious difficulties for many fraternal Parties and caused the international communist movement great damage.

In the face of this situation, the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties persevering in Marxism-Leninism firmly demanded repulsing the assaults of imperialism and reaction and safeguarding the socialist camp and the international communist movement. We insisted on the taking of all necessary measures to smash the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary and firmly opposed the abandonment of socialist Hungary. We insisted that in the handling of problems between fraternal Parties and countries correct principles should be followed so as to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, and we firmly opposed the erroneous methods of great-power chauvinism. At the same time, we made very great efforts to safeguard the prestige of the CPSU.

At that time the leaders of the CPSU accepted our suggestion and on October 30, 1956 issued the Soviet Government's Declaration on the Foundations of the Development and Further Strengthening of Friendship and Co-operation Be-

tween the Soviet Union and Other Socialist Countries”, in which they examined some of their own past mistakes in handling their relations with fraternal countries. On November 1, the Chinese Government issued a statement expressing support for the Soviet Government’s declaration.

All this we did in the interests of the international communist movement, and also in order to persuade the leaders of the CPSU to draw the proper lessons and correct their errors in good time and not slide farther away from Marxism-Leninism. But subsequent events showed that the leaders of the CPSU nursed rancour against us and regarded the CPC which perseveres in proletarian internationalism as the biggest obstacle to their wrong line.

THE 1957 MOSCOW MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES

The 1957 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties took place in Moscow after the repulse of the heavy attacks of the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries on the international communist movement.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU says that the 20th Congress of the CPSU played an “immense part” in defining the general line of the international communist movement. The facts show the very reverse. The erroneous views of the 20th Congress on many important questions of principle were rejected and corrected by the 1957 meeting of fraternal Parties.

The well-known Declaration of 1957, adopted by the Moscow Meeting, summed up the experience of the international communist movement, set forth the common fighting tasks of all the Communist Parties, affirmed the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, outlined the common laws governing socialist revolution and socialist

construction and laid down the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries. The common line of the international communist movement which was thus worked out at the meeting embodies the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and is opposed to the erroneous views deviating from Marxism-Leninism which were advanced by the 20th Congress. The principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries laid down in the Declaration are concrete expressions of the principle of proletarian internationalism and stand opposed to the great-power chauvinism and sectarianism of the leadership of the CPSU.

The delegation of the CPC, which was headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, did a great deal of work during the meeting. On the one hand, it had full consultations with the leaders of the CPSU, and where necessary and appropriate waged struggle against them, in order to help them correct their errors; on the other hand, it held repeated exchanges of views with the leaders of other fraternal Parties in order that a common document acceptable to all might be worked out.

At this meeting, the chief subject of controversy between us and the delegation of the CPSU was the transition from capitalism to socialism. In their original draft of the Declaration the leadership of the CPSU insisted on the inclusion of the erroneous views of the 20th Congress on peaceful transition. The original draft said not a word about non-peaceful transition, mentioning only peaceful transition; moreover, it described peaceful transition as "securing a majority in parliament and transforming parliament from an instrument of the bourgeois dictatorship into an instrument of a genuine people's state power". In fact, it substituted the "parliamentary road" advocated by the opportunists of the Second International for the road of the October Revolution and tampered with the basic Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and revolution.

The Chinese Communist Party resolutely opposed the wrong views contained in the draft declaration submitted by

the leadership of the CPSU. We expressed our views on the two successive drafts put forward by the Central Committee of the CPSU and made a considerable number of major changes of principle which we presented as our own revised draft. Repeated discussions were then held between the delegations of the Chinese and Soviet Parties on the basis of our revised draft before the Joint Draft Declaration by the CPSU and the CPC was submitted to the delegations of the other fraternal Parties for their opinions.

As a result of the common efforts of the delegations of the CPC and the other fraternal Parties, the meeting finally adopted the present version of the Declaration, which contains two major changes on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism compared with the first draft put forward by the leadership of the CPSU. First, while indicating the possibility of peaceful transition, the Declaration also points to the road of non-peaceful transition and stresses that "Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily". Secondly, while speaking of securing "a firm majority in parliament", the Declaration emphasizes the need to "launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution".

Despite these changes, the formulation in the Declaration on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism was still unsatisfactory. We finally conceded the point only out of consideration for the repeatedly expressed wish of the leaders of the CPSU that the formulation should show some connection with that of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

However, we presented the Central Committee of the CPSU with an outline of our views on the question of peaceful transition in which the views of the CPC were explained comprehensively and clearly. The outline emphasizes the following:

“In the present situation of the international communist movement, it is advantageous from the point of view of tactics to refer to the desire for peaceful transition. But it would be inappropriate to over-emphasize the possibility of peaceful transition.”

“They [the proletariat and the Communist Party] must be prepared at all times to repulse counter-revolutionary attacks and, at the critical juncture of the revolution when the working class is seizing state power, to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force if it uses armed force to suppress the peoples revolution (generally speaking, it is inevitable that the bourgeoisie will do so).”

“To obtain a majority in parliament is not the same as smashing the old state machinery (chiefly the armed forces) and establishing new state machinery (chiefly the armed forces). Unless the military-bureaucratic state machinery of the bourgeoisie is smashed, a parliamentary majority for the proletariat and its reliable allies will either be impossible . . . or undependable. . . .” (*See Appendix I.*)

As a result of the common efforts of the delegations of the CPC and the other fraternal Parties, the 1957 Declaration also corrected the erroneous views which the CPSU leadership had put forward at the 20th Congress on such questions as imperialism and war and peace, and it added many important points on a number of questions of principle. The main additions were the thesis that U.S. imperialism is the centre of world reaction and the sworn enemy of the people, the thesis that if imperialism should unleash a world war it would doom itself to destruction, the common laws governing the socialist revolution and the building of socialism; the principle of combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in different countries, the formulation on the importance of applying dialectical materialism in practical work, the

thesis that the seizure of political power by the working class is the beginning of the revolution and not its end; the thesis that it will take a fairly long time to solve the question of who will win — capitalism or socialism, the thesis that the existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source; and so on.

At the same time, the delegation of the CPC made some necessary compromises. In addition to the formulation on the question of peaceful transition, we did not agree with the reference to the 20th Congress of the CPSU and suggested changes. But out of consideration for the difficult position of the leadership of the CPSU at the time, we did not insist on the changes.

Who could have imagined that these concessions which we made out of consideration for the larger interest would later be used by the leadership of the CPSU as an excuse for aggravating differences and creating a split in the international communist movement?

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU constantly equates the resolution of the 20th Congress of the CPSU with the Declaration of 1957 in its attempt to substitute the wrong line of the 20th Congress for the common line of the international communist movement. We pointed out long ago and now deem it necessary to reiterate, that in accordance with the principle that all fraternal Parties are independent and equal, no one is entitled to demand of fraternal Parties that they accept the resolutions of the Congress of one Party or for that matter anything else; and the resolutions of a Party Congress, whatever the Party, cannot be regarded as the common line of the international communist movement and have no binding force on other fraternal Parties. Only Marxism-Leninism and the documents unanimously agreed upon constitute the common code binding us and all fraternal Parties.

THE GROWTH OF THE REVISIONISM OF THE CPSU LEADERSHIP

After the Moscow Meeting of 1957 with its unanimously agreed Declaration, we hoped that the leadership of the CPSU would follow the line laid down in the Declaration and correct its errors. We regret to say that contrary to the expectations we and all other Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties entertained, the leadership of the CPSU perpetrated increasingly serious violations of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries, and departed farther and farther from the path of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The revisionism of the leadership of the CPSU grew. This development aggravated the differences in the international communist movement and carried them to a new stage.

In complete disregard of the common conclusion of the 1957 Declaration that U.S. imperialism is the enemy of all the people of the world, the leadership of the CPSU passionately sought collaboration with U.S. imperialism and the settlement of world problems by the heads of the Soviet Union and the United States. Particularly around the time of the Camp David Talks in September 1959, Khrushchov lauded Eisenhower to the skies, hailing him as a man who "enjoys the absolute confidence of his people"¹ and who "also worries about ensuring peace just as we do".² Moreover, comrades of the CPSU energetically advertised the so-called "spirit of Camp David", whose existence Eisenhower himself denied, alleging that it marked "a new era in international relations"³ and "a turning-point in history".⁴

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Mass Meeting in Moscow, September 28, 1959.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Press Conference in Washington, September 27, 1959.

³ A. A. Gromyko Speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, October 31, 1959.

⁴ New Year message of greetings from N. S. Khrushchov and K. Y. Voroshilov to D. D. Eisenhower, January 1, 1960.

Completely disregarding the revolutionary line of the 1957 Declaration, in statements by Khrushchov and in the Soviet press the leaders of the CPSU vigorously advocated their revisionist line of “peaceful coexistence”, “peaceful competition” and “peaceful transition”, praised the “wisdom” and “goodwill” of the imperialists, preached that “a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars” could be brought into being while the greater part of the globe was still ruled and controlled by imperialism,¹ that universal and complete disarmament could “open up literally a new epoch in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America”,² etc., etc.

The CPSU published many books and articles in which it tampered with the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, emasculated their revolutionary spirit and propagated its revisionist views on a whole series of important problems of principle in the fields of philosophy, political economy, socialist and communist theory, history, literature and art.

The leadership of the CPSU actively endeavoured to impose its erroneous views on the international democratic organizations and to change their correct lines. An outstanding case in point was the behaviour of the Soviet comrades at the Peking session of the General Council Of the World Federation of Trade Unions in June 1960.

Completely disregarding the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries which were laid down in the 1957 Declaration, the leaders of the CPSU, eager to curry favour with U.S. imperialism, engaged in unbridled activities against China. They regarded the Chinese Communist Party, which adheres to Marxism-Leninism, as an obstacle to their revisionist line. They thought they had solved their internal problems and had “stabilized” their own

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Replies to Questions by Roberto J. Noble, Director of the Argentine paper *Clarín*, December 30, 1959.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 18, 1959.

position and could therefore step up their policy of “being friendly to enemies and tough with friends”.

In 1958 the leadership of the CPSU put forward unreasonable demands designed to bring China under Soviet military control. These unreasonable demands were rightly and firmly rejected by the Chinese Government. Not long afterwards, in June 1959, the Soviet Government unilaterally tore up the agreement on new technology for national defense concluded between China and the Soviet Union in October 1957, and refused to provide China with a sample of an atomic bomb and technical data concerning its manufacture.

Then, on the eve of Khrushchov’s visit to the United States, ignoring China’s repeated objections the leadership of the CPSU rushed out the TASS statement of September 9 on the Sino-Indian border incident, siding with the Indian reactionaries. In this way, the leadership of the CPSU brought the differences between China and the Soviet Union right into the open before the whole world.

The tearing up of the agreement on new technology for national defence by the leadership of the CPSU and its issuance of the statement on the Sino-Indian border clash on the eve of Khrushchov’s visit to the United States were presentation gifts to Eisenhower so as to curry favour with the U.S. imperialists and create the so-called “spirit of Camp David”.

The leaders of the CPSU and Soviet publications also levelled many virulent attacks on the domestic and foreign policies of the Chinese Communist Party. These attacks were almost invariably led by Khrushchov himself. He insinuated that China’s socialist construction was “skipping over a stage” and was “equalitarian communism”¹ and that China’s People’s Communes were “in essence reactionary”.² By innuendo he

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the 21st Congress of the CPSU, January 1959.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Conversation with the U.S. Senator H. H. Humphrey, December 1, 1958.

maligned China as warlike, guilty of “adventurism”,¹ and so on and so forth. Back from the Camp David Talks, he went so far as to try to sell China the U.S. plot of “two Chinas” and, at the state banquet celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China, he read China a lecture against “testing by force the stability of the capitalist system”.

The line of revisionism and splittism pursued by the leadership of the CPSU created serious confusion in the ranks of the international communist movement. It seemed as though U.S. imperialism had ceased to be the sworn enemy of the people of the world. Eisenhower was welcomed by certain Communists as a “peace envoy”. Marxism-Leninism and the Declaration of 1957 seemed to be outmoded.

In the circumstances, in order to defend Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 Declaration and clear up the ideological confusion in the international communist movement, the Communist Party of China published “Long Live Leninism!” and two other articles in April 1960. Keeping to our consistent stand of persevering in principle and upholding unity, we concentrated on explaining the revolutionary theses of the 1957 Declaration and the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theories on imperialism, war and peace, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The views in these three articles were totally different from the series of erroneous views that were being propagated by the leaders of the CPSU. However, for the sake of the larger interest, we refrained from publicly criticizing the comrades of the CPSU and directed the spearhead of struggle against the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU spends much energy distorting and attacking “Long Live Leninism!” and the two other articles, but is unable to support its attacks with any convincing arguments. We should

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, October 1959.

like to put this question: In those circumstances, should we have kept silent on the wrong views and absurd arguments which had become current? Did we not have the right, and indeed the duty, to come forward in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the Declaration of 1957?

THE SURPRISE ASSAULT ON THE CPC BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU

A week after the publication of “Long Live Leninism!” and our two other articles, an American U-2 plane intruded into Soviet air space and the United States aborted the four-power summit conference. The “spirit of Camp David” completely vanished. Thus events entirely confirmed our views.

In face of the arch enemy, it was imperative for the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union and the fraternal Parties of the whole world to eliminate their differences, strengthen their unity and wage a common struggle against the enemy. But that was not what happened. In the summer of 1960 there was a widening of the differences in the international communist movement, a large-scale campaign was launched against the Chinese Communist Party, and the leadership of the CPSU extended the ideological differences between the Chinese and Soviet Parties to the sphere of state relations.

In early June 1960 the Central Committee of the CPSU made the proposal that the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party to be held in Bucharest later in June, should be taken as an opportunity for representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries to meet and exchange views on the international situation following the miscarriage of the four-power summit conference caused by the United States. The Chinese Communist Party did not approve of this idea of a hasty meeting nor of the idea of a representative meeting of the Parties of the

socialist countries alone. We made the positive proposal that there should be a meeting of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world and maintained that adequate preparations were necessary to make that meeting a success. Our proposal was agreed to by the CPSU. The two Parties thereupon agreed that, in preparation for the international meeting, the representatives of the fraternal Parties attending the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party could provisionally exchange views on the date and place for the meeting, but not take any decision.

At Bucharest, to our amazement, the leaders of the CPSU went back on their word and unleashed a surprise assault on the Chinese Communist Party, turning the spearhead of struggle against us and not against U.S. imperialism.

The Bucharest meeting of representatives of fraternal Parties took place from June 24 to June 26. It is a plain lie for the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to describe that meeting as "comradely assistance" to the Chinese Communist Party.

Indeed, on the eve of the meeting, the delegation of the CPSU headed by Khrushchov distributed among the representatives of some fraternal Parties, and read out to those of others, a Letter of Information dated June 21 from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the CPC. This Letter of Information groundlessly slandered and attacked the CPC all along the line; it constituted a programme for the anti-China campaign which was launched by the leadership of the CPSU.

In the meeting, Khrushchov took the lead in organizing a great converging onslaught on the Chinese Communist Party. In his speech, he wantonly vilified the Chinese Communist Party as "madmen", "wanting to unleash war", "picking up the banner of the imperialist monopoly capitalists", being "pure nationalist" on the Sino-Indian boundary question and employing "Trotskyite ways" against the CPSU. Some of the fraternal Party representatives who obeyed Khrushchov and

followed his lead also wantonly charged the CPC with being “dogmatic”, “Left adventurist”, “pseudo-revolutionary”, “sectarian”, “worse than Yugoslavia”, and so on and so forth.

The anti-China campaign launched by Khrushchov at this meeting was also a surprise to many fraternal Parties. The representatives of a number of Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties took exception to the wrong action of the leadership of the CPSU.

At this meeting, the delegation of the Albanian Party of Labour refused to obey the baton of the leaders of the CPSU and firmly opposed their sectarian activities. Consequently the leaders of the CPSU regarded the Albanian Party of Labour as a thorn in their side. Whereupon they took increasingly drastic steps against the Albanian Party.

Can this dastardly attack on the CPC launched by the leadership of the CPSU be called “comradely assistance”? Of course not. It was a pre-arranged anti-Chinese performance staged by the leadership of the CPSU; it was a serious and crude violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the 1957 Declaration; it was a large-scale attack on a Marxist-Leninist Party by the revisionists, represented by the leaders of the CPSU.

In the circumstances, the Communist Party of China waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the leadership of the CPSU in defence of the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the Declaration. For the sake of the larger interest, the CPC delegation in Bucharest signed the Communiqué on the meeting, and at the same time, on June 26, 1960 distributed a written statement upon the instructions of the Central Committee of the CPC. In this statement, the CPC delegation pointed out that Khrushchov’s behaviour at the Bucharest meeting created an extremely bad precedent in the international communist movement. It solemnly declared:

“There are differences between us and Comrade Khrushchov on a series of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.” “The future of the international communist movement depends on the needs and the struggles of the people of all countries and on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, and will never be decided by the baton of any individual.” “. . . our Party believes in and obeys the truth of Marxism-Leninism and Marxism-Leninism alone, and will never submit to erroneous views which run counter to Marxism-Leninism.” (See Appendix II.)

The leaders of the CPSU did not reconcile themselves to their failure to subdue the Chinese Communist Party in Bucharest. Immediately after the Bucharest meeting, they brought more pressure to bear on China by taking a series of steps to extend the ideological differences between the Chinese and Soviet Parties to the sphere of state relations.

In July the Soviet Government suddenly took a unilateral decision recalling all the Soviet experts in China within one month, thereby tearing up hundreds of agreements and contracts. The Soviet side unilaterally scrapped the agreement on the publication of the magazine *Druzhba (Friendship)* by China for Soviet readers and of *Su Chung You Hao (Soviet-Chinese Friendship)* by the Soviet Union for Chinese readers and their distribution on reciprocal terms; it took the unwarranted step of demanding the recall by the Chinese Government of a staff member of the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union; and it provoked troubles on the Sino-Soviet border.

Apparently the leaders of the CPSU imagined that once they waved their baton, gathered a group of hatchet-men to make a converging assault, and applied immense political and economic pressures, they could force the Chinese Communist Party to abandon its Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist stand and submit to their revisionist and great-power chauvinist behests. But the tempered and long-tested Chinese Communist Party and Chinese people could neither

be vanquished nor subdued. Those who tried to subjugate us by engineering a converging assault and applying pressures completely miscalculated.

We shall leave the details of the way the leadership of the CPSU sabotaged Sino-Soviet relations for other articles. Here we shall simply point out that on the subject of Sino-Soviet relations, the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU falsely charges China with extending the ideological differences to the sphere of state relations and with curtailing trade between the two countries, while deliberately concealing the fact that the Soviet Government withdrew all its experts from China and unilaterally tore up hundreds of agreements and contracts, and that it was these unilateral Soviet actions which made Sino-Soviet trade shrink. For the leadership of the CPSU to deceive its members and the Soviet people in such a bare-faced way is truly sad.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES AT THE 1960 MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES

In the latter half of 1960, a sharp struggle developed in the international communist movement around the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties. It was a struggle between the line of Marxism-Leninism and the line of revisionism and between the policy of persevering in principle and upholding unity and the policy of abandoning principle and creating splits.

It had become evident before the meeting that the leadership of the CPSU was stubbornly persisting in its wrong stand and was endeavouring to impose its wrong line on the international communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party was keenly aware of the gravity of the differences. In the interests of the international communist movement we made many efforts, hoping

that the leadership of the CPSU would not proceed too far down the wrong path.

On September 10, 1960 the Central Committee of the CPC replied to the June 21 Letter of Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU. In its reply which set forth the facts and reasoned things out, the Central Committee of the CPC systematically explained its views on a series of important questions of principle concerning the world situation and the international communist movement, refuted the attacks of the leadership of the CPSU on us, criticized its wrong views and put forward to the Central Committee of the CPSU five positive proposals for settling the differences and attaining unity. (*For the five proposals, see Appendix III.*)

The Central Committee of the CPC subsequently sent a delegation to Moscow in September for talks with the delegation of the CPSU. During these talks, the delegation of the CPC pointed out that, while prettifying U.S. imperialism, the leadership of the CPSU was actively opposing China and extending the ideological differences between the two Parties to state relations, and was thus treating enemies as brothers and brothers as enemies. Again and again the delegation of the CPC urged the leaders of the CPSU to change their wrong stand, return to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries, and strengthen the unity between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and between the two countries in order to fight the common enemy. However, the leaders of the CPSU showed not the slightest intention of correcting their errors.

Thus a sharp struggle became inevitable. This struggle first unfolded in the Drafting Committee, attended by the representatives of 26 fraternal Parties, which prepared the documents for the meeting of fraternal Parties, and later grew to unprecedented acuteness at the meeting of the representatives of 81 fraternal Parties.

In the meetings of the Drafting Committee in Moscow during October, the leaders of the CPSU attempted to force

through their own draft statement, which contained a whole string of erroneous views. As a result of principled struggle by the delegations of the CPC and some other fraternal Parties, the Drafting Committee after heated debates made many important changes of principle in the draft statement put forward by the CPSU. The committee reached agreement on most of the draft. However, in their determination to continue the debate, the leadership of the CPSU refused to arrive at agreement on several important points at issue in the draft and, moreover, on Khrushchov's return from New York, even scrapped the agreements which had already been reached on some questions.

The meeting of the representatives of the 81 fraternal Parties was held in Moscow in November 1960. Ignoring the desire of the Chinese and many other delegations to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity, on the eve of the meeting the leadership of the CPSU distributed among the representatives of the fraternal Parties gathered in Moscow a letter of 127 pages, which attacked the Chinese Communist Party more savagely than ever, thus provoking still sharper controversy.

Such was the most unnatural atmosphere in which the meeting of the representatives of the 81 fraternal Parties was held. By their base conduct, the leaders of the CPSU brought the meeting to the brink of rupture. But the meeting finally reached agreement and achieved positive results, because the delegations of the Chinese Communist Party and some other fraternal Parties kept to principle, persevered in struggle and upheld unity, and because the majority of the delegations of the fraternal Parties demanded unity and were against a split.

In its Open Letter, the Central Committee of the CPSU declares that at this meeting the delegation of the CPC "signed the Statement only when the danger of its full isolation became clear". This is another lie.

What was the actual state of affairs?

It is true that, both before and during the meeting, the leadership of the CPSU engineered converging assaults on the Chinese Communist Party by a number of representatives of fraternal Parties, and relying on a so-called majority endeavoured to bring the delegations of the Chinese and other Marxist-Leninist Parties to their knees and compel them to accept its revisionist line and views. However, the attempts by the leaders of the CPSU to impose things on others met with failure, both in the Drafting Committee of the 26 fraternal Parties and in the meeting of the representatives of the 81 fraternal Parties.

The fact remains that many of the wrong theses they put forward in their draft statement were rejected. Here are some examples:

The wrong thesis of the leadership of the CPSU that peaceful coexistence and economic competition form the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries was rejected.

Its wrong thesis that the emergence of a new stage in the general crisis of capitalism is the result of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition was rejected.

Its wrong thesis that there is a growing possibility of peaceful transition was rejected.

It's wrong thesis about opposing the policy of "going it alone" on the part of socialist countries, which in effect meant opposing the policy of their relying mainly on themselves in construction, was rejected.

Its wrong thesis concerning opposition to so-called "cliquish activities" and "factional activities" in the international communist movement was rejected. In effect this thesis meant demanding that fraternal Parties should obey its baton, liquidating the principles of independence and equality in relations among fraternal Parties, and replacing the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation by the practice of subduing the minority by the majority.

Its wrong thesis of underestimating the serious danger of modern revisionism was rejected.

The fact remains that many correct views on important principles set forth by the delegations of the Chinese and other fraternal Parties were written into the Statement. The theses on the unaltered nature of imperialism; on U.S. imperialism as the enemy of the people of the whole world; on the formation of the most extensive united front against U.S. imperialism; on the national liberation movement as an important force in preventing world war; on the thoroughgoing completion by the newly-independent countries of their national democratic revolutions; on support by the socialist countries and the international working-class movement for the national liberation struggle; on the need for the working class and the masses in the advanced capitalist countries under U.S. imperialist political, economic and military domination to direct their chief blows at U.S. imperialist domination and also at the monopoly capital and other reactionary forces at home which betray their national interests; on the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties; against the revisionist emasculation of the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism; on the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; and so on — all these theses are in the Statement as a result of the acceptance of the views of the Chinese and some other delegations.

It is, of course, necessary to add that after the leaders of the CPSU agreed to drop their erroneous propositions and accepted the correct propositions of other Parties, the delegations of the CPC and some other fraternal Parties also made certain concessions. For instance, we differed on the questions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and of the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, but out of consideration for the needs of the CPSU and certain other fraternal Parties we agreed to the inclusion of the same wording on these two questions as that used in the 1957 Declaration. But we made it plain at the time to the leaders of the CPSU that this would be the last time we accommodated ourselves to

such a formulation about the 20th Congress; we would never do so again.

From all the above it can be seen that the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement dominated the 1960 Moscow Meeting from beginning to end. The errors of the leadership of the CPSU as revealed at this meeting had developed further. From the draft statement of the leaders of the CPSU and their speeches during the meeting, it could be clearly seen that the main political content of the wrong line they were attempting to impose on the fraternal Parties consisted of the erroneous theories of “peaceful coexistence”, “peaceful competition” and “peaceful transition”, while its organizational content consisted of erroneous sectarian and splitting policies. It was a revisionist line in fundamental conflict with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The delegations of the Chinese and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties resolutely opposed it and firmly upheld the line of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The outcome of the struggle at this meeting was that the revisionist line and views of the leadership of the CPSU were in the main repudiated and that the Marxist-Leninist line gained a great victory. The revolutionary principles embodied in the Statement adopted at the meeting are powerful weapons in the hands of all fraternal Parties in the struggles against imperialism and for world peace, national liberation, people’s democracy and socialism; they are also powerful weapons in the hands of Marxist-Leninists throughout the world in combating modern revisionism.

At the meeting the fraternal Parties which upheld Marxism-Leninism earnestly criticized the erroneous views of the leadership of the CPSU and compelled it to accept many of their correct views; in doing so they changed the previous highly abnormal situation, in which not even the slightest criticism of the errors of the leadership of the CPSU was tolerated and its word was final. This was an event of great

historical significance in the international communist movement.

The Central Committee of the CPSU asserts in its Open Letter that the delegation of the CPC was “completely isolated” at the meeting. This is merely an impudent attempt on the part of the leadership of the CPSU to represent its defeat as a victory.

The principles of mutual solidarity as well as independence and equality among fraternal Parties and of reaching unanimity through consultation were observed at the meeting and the mistaken attempt of the leaders of the CPSU to use a majority to overrule the minority and to impose their views on other fraternal Parties was frustrated. The meeting demonstrated once again that in resolving differences among fraternal Parties it is highly necessary for Marxist-Leninist Parties to stick to principle, persevere in struggle and uphold unity.

THE REVISIONISM OF THE CPSU LEADERSHIP BECOMES SYSTEMATIZED

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU asserts that “in appending their signatures to the 1960 Statement, the CPC leaders were only manoeuvring”. Is that really a fact? No. On the contrary, it was the leaders of the CPSU and not we who were manoeuvring.

The facts have shown that at the 1960 meeting of fraternal Parties the leaders of the CPSU agreed to delete or change the erroneous propositions in their draft statement against their will and they were insincere in their acceptance of the correct propositions of fraternal Parties. They did not care two hoots about the document which was jointly agreed upon by the fraternal Parties. The ink was scarcely dry on their signature to the 1960 Statement before they began wrecking it. On December 1 Khrushchov signed the Statement on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and twenty-four

hours later, violating what the fraternal Parties had agreed on, the same Khrushchov brazenly described Yugoslavia as a socialist country at the banquet for the delegations of the fraternal Parties.

After the meeting of the 81 fraternal Parties, the leaders of the CPSU became more and more blatant in wrecking the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. On the one hand, they took as their friend U.S. imperialism which the Statement declares to be the enemy of the people of the world, advocating "U.S.-Soviet co-operation" and expressing the desire to work together with Kennedy to "set about building durable bridges of confidence, mutual understanding and friendship".¹ On the other hand, they took some fraternal Parties and countries as their enemies and drastically worsened the Soviet Union's relations with Albania.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU in October 1961 marked a new low in the CPSU leadership's efforts to oppose Marxism-Leninism and split the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It marked the systematization of the revisionism which the leadership of the CPSU had developed step by step from the 20th Congress onward.

The leadership of the CPSU unleashed a great public attack on the Albanian Party of Labour at the 22nd Congress. In his speech Khrushchov went so far as openly to call for the overthrow of the Albanian leadership under Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu. Thus the leadership of the CPSU established the vicious precedent of a Party congress being used for public attacks on other fraternal Parties.

Another great thing the leadership of the CPSU did at the Congress was the renewed concentrated onslaught on Stalin five years after the complete negation of him at the 20th Congress and eight years after his death.

¹ Message of greetings from N. S. Khrushchov and L. I. Brezhnev to J. F. Kennedy on the 185th Anniversary of the Independence of the United States, July 4, 1961.

In the final analysis, this was done in order that the leaders of the CPSU should be able to throw the Declaration and the Statement overboard, oppose Marxism-Leninism and pursue a systematically revisionist line.

Their revisionism was expressed in concentrated form in the new Programme of the CPSU which that Congress adopted.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU says that the line of the 22nd Congress was “approved at the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties and set out in the Declaration and Statement”. Is it not very careless of the leaders of the CPSU to make such a statement? How can they describe what happened in 1961 as having been “approved” or “set out” at the meeting of the Communist and Workers’ Parties in 1960, or as far back as that in 1957?

But leaving aside such silly self-commendation for the moment, let us first see the kind of stuff the Programme adopted at the 22nd Congress is made of.

Even a cursory study of the Programme and the report on it made by Khrushchov shows that it is an out-and-out revisionist programme which totally violates the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

It runs counter to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement on many important questions of principle. Many of the erroneous views of the leadership of the CPSU which were rejected at the 1960 meeting of fraternal Parties reappear. For instance, it describes peaceful coexistence as the general principle of foreign policy, one-sidedly stresses the possibility of peaceful transition and slanders the policy of a socialist country’s relying mainly on its own efforts in construction as “going it alone”.

The Programme goes a step further in systematizing the wrong line pursued by the leadership of the CPSU since its 20th Congress, the main content of which is “peaceful coexistence”, “peaceful competition” and “peaceful transition”.

The Programme crudely revises the essence of Marxism-Leninism, namely, the teachings on proletarian revolution, on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the party of the proletariat, declaring that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer needed in the Soviet Union and that the nature of the CPSU as the vanguard of the proletariat has changed, and advancing fallacies of a “state of the whole people” and a “party of the entire people”.

It substitutes humanism for the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and substitutes the bourgeois slogan of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity for the ideals of communism.

It is a programme which opposes revolution on the part of the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world’s population, and opposes the carrying of revolution through to completion on the part of the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world’s population. It is a revisionist programme for the preservation or restoration of capitalism.

The Communist Party of China resolutely opposed the errors of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. Comrade Chou En-lai, who headed the CPC delegation to the Congress, stated our Party’s position in his speech there, and he also frankly criticized the errors of the leadership of the CPSU in subsequent conversations with Khrushchov and other leaders of the CPSU.

In his conversation with the delegation of the CPC, Khrushchov flatly turned down our criticisms and advice and even expressed undisguised support for anti-Party elements in the Chinese Communist Party. He openly stated that after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, when the leaders of the CPSU were beginning to take a “road different from that of Stalin” (that is, the road of revisionism), they still needed the support of the fraternal Parties. He said, “The voice of the Chinese Communist Party was then of great significance to us”, but

“things are different now”, and “we are doing well” and “we shall go our own way”.

Khrushchov’s remarks showed that the leaders of the CPSU had made up their minds to go all the way down the road of revisionism and splitting. Although the Chinese Communist Party has frequently given them comradely advice, they have simply ignored it and shown not the slightest intention of mending their ways.

AN ADVERSE CURRENT THAT IS OPPOSED TO MARXISM-LENINISM AND IS SPLITTING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In the Open Letter the leaders of the CPSU try hard to make people believe that after the 22nd Congress they “made fresh efforts” to improve relations between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and to strengthen unity among the fraternal Parties and countries.

This is another lie.

What are the facts?

They show that since the 22nd Congress the leadership of the CPSU has become more unbridled in violating the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and in pursuing policies of great-power chauvinism, sectarianism and splittism in order to promote its own line of systematic revisionism, which is in complete violation of Marxism-Leninism. This has brought about a continuous deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations and grave damage to the unity of the fraternal Parties and countries.

The following are the main facts about how the leaders of the CPSU have sabotaged Sino-Soviet unity and the unity of fraternal Parties and countries since the 22nd Congress:

1. The leaders of the CPSU have tried hard to impose their erroneous line upon the international communist movement

and to replace the Declaration and the Statement with their own revisionist programme. They describe their erroneous line as the “whole set of Leninist policies of the international communist movement of recent years”,¹ and they call their revisionist programme the “real Communist Manifesto of our time”² and the “common programme” of the “Communist and Workers’ Parties and of the people of countries of the socialist community”.³

Any fraternal Party which rejects the erroneous line and programme of the CPSU and perseveres in the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement is looked upon as an enemy by the leaders of the CPSU, who oppose, attack and injure it and try to subvert its leadership by every possible means.

2. Disregarding all consequences, the leadership of the CPSU broke off diplomatic relations with socialist Albania, an unprecedented step in the history of relations between fraternal Parties and countries.

3. The leadership of the CPSU has continued to exert pressure on China and to make outrageous attacks on the Chinese Communist Party. In its letter of February 22, 1962 to the Central Committee of the CPC, the Central Committee of the CPSU accused the CPC of taking a “special stand of their own” and pursuing a line at variance with the common course of the fraternal Parties, and even made a crime out of our support for the Marxist-Leninist Albanian Party of Labour. As pre-conditions for improving Sino-Soviet relations, the leaders of the CPSU attempted to compel the CPC to abandon its Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist stand,

¹ J. Y. Andropov, “The 22nd Congress of the CPSU and the Development of the World Socialist System”, *Pravda*, December 2, 1961.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Conference of the Agricultural Workers of the Uzbek and Other Republics, November 16, 1961.

³ “Unity Multiplies Tenfold the Forces of Communism”, *Pravda* editorial, August 25, 1961.

abandon its consistent line, which is in full conformity with the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, accept their erroneous line, and also accept as a *fait accompli* their violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries. In its Open Letter, the Central Committee of the CPSU boasted of its letters to the Central Committee of the CPC during this period, of Khrushchov's remarks about his desire for unity in October 1962 to our Ambassador to the Soviet Union and so on, but in fact these were all acts for realizing their base attempt.

4. The Central Committee of the CPSU rejected the proposals made by the fraternal Parties of Indonesia, Viet Nam, New Zealand, etc., that a meeting of representatives of the fraternal Parties should be convened, as well as the five positive proposals made by the Central Committee of the CPC in its letter of April 7, 1962 to the Central Committee of the CPSU for the preparation for the meeting of fraternal Parties. In its reply of May 31, 1962 to the Central Committee of the CPC, the Central Committee of the CPSU went so far as to make the demand that the Albanian comrades abandon their own stand as a precondition for improving Soviet-Albanian relations and also for convening a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

5. In April and May 1962 the leaders of the CPSU used their organs and personnel in Sinkiang, China, to carry out large-scale subversive activities in the Ili region and enticed and coerced several tens of thousands of Chinese citizens into going to the Soviet Union. The Chinese Government lodged repeated protests and made repeated representations, but the Soviet Government refused to repatriate these Chinese citizens on the pretext of "the sense of Soviet legality"¹ and "humanitarianism".² To this day this incident remains unsettled.

¹ Memorandum presented to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Soviet Embassy in China on August 9, 1962.

² Memorandum presented to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Soviet Embassy in China on April 29, 1962.

This is indeed an astounding event, unheard of in the relations between socialist countries.

6. In August 1962 the Soviet Government formally notified China that the Soviet Union would conclude an agreement with the United States on the prevention of nuclear proliferation. This was a joint Soviet-U.S. plot to monopolize nuclear weapons and an attempt to deprive China of the right to possess nuclear weapons to resist the U.S. nuclear threat. The Chinese Government lodged repeated protests against this.

7. The leadership of the CPSU has become increasingly anxious to strike political bargains with U.S. imperialism and has been bent on forming a reactionary alliance with Kennedy, even at the expense of the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. An outstanding example was the fact that, during the Caribbean crisis, the leadership of the CPSU committed the error of capitulationism by submitting to the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists and accepting the U.S. Government's demand for "international inspection" in violation of Cuban sovereignty.

8. The leadership of the CPSU has become increasingly anxious to collude with the Indian reactionaries and is bent on forming a reactionary alliance with Nehru against socialist China. The leadership of the CPSU and its press openly sided with Indian reaction, condemned China for its just stand on the Sino-Indian border conflict and defended the Nehru government. Two-thirds of Soviet economic aid to India have been given since the Indian reactionaries provoked the Sino-Indian border conflict. Even after large-scale armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border began in the autumn of 1962, the leadership of the CPSU has continued to extend military aid to the Indian reactionaries.

9. The leadership of the CPSU has become increasingly anxious to collude with the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and is bent on forming a reactionary alliance with the renegade Tito to oppose all Marxist-Leninist Parties. After the 22nd Con-

gress, it took a series of steps to reverse the verdict on the Tito clique and thus openly tore up the 1960 Statement.

10. Since November 1962 the leadership of the CPSU has launched still fiercer attacks, on an international scale, against the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties and whipped up a new adverse current in order to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Khrushchov made one statement after another and the Soviet press carried hundreds of articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party on a whole set of issues. Directed by the leaders of the CPSU, the Congresses of the fraternal Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the Democratic Republic of Germany became stages for anti-China performances, and more than forty fraternal Parties published resolutions, statements or articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The facts cited above cannot possibly be denied by the leaders of the CPSU. These iron-clad facts prove that the "fresh efforts" they made after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU were aimed, not at improving Sino-Soviet relations and strengthening unity between the fraternal Parties and countries, but on the contrary, at further ganging up with the U.S. imperialists, the Indian reactionaries and the renegade Tito clique in order to create a wider split in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In these grave circumstances, the Chinese Communist Party had no alternative but to make open replies to the attacks of some fraternal Parties. Between December 15, 1962 and March 8, 1963 we published seven such replies. In these articles we continued to leave some leeway and did not criticize the leadership of the CPSU by name.

Despite the serious deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations resulting from the errors of the leadership of the CPSU, the Chinese Communist Party agreed to send its delegation to Moscow for the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties, and, in order that there might be a systematic exchange of

views in the talks, put forward its proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement in its letter of reply to the Central Committee of the CPSU dated June 14.

As subsequent facts have shown, the leaders of the CPSU were not only insincere about eliminating differences and strengthening unity, but used the talks as a smokescreen for covering up their activities to further worsen Sino-Soviet relations.

On the eve of the talks, the leaders of the CPSU publicly attacked the Chinese Communist Party by name, through statements and resolutions. At the same time, they unjustifiably expelled a number of Chinese Embassy personnel and research students from the Soviet Union.

On July 14, that is, on the eve of the U.S.-British-Soviet talks, while the Sino-Soviet talks were still in progress, the leadership of the CPSU hastily published the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to Party organizations and all Communists in the Soviet Union and launched unbridled attacks on the Chinese Communist Party. This was another precious presentation gift made by the leaders of the CPSU to the U.S. imperialists in order to curry favour with them.

Immediately afterwards in Moscow, the leadership of the CPSU signed the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests with the United States and Britain in open betrayal of the interests of the Soviet people, the people in the socialist camp including the Chinese people, and the peace-loving people of the world; there was a flurry of contacts between the Soviet Union and India; Khrushchov went to Yugoslavia for a "vacation"; the Soviet press launched a frenzied anti-Chinese campaign; and so on and so forth. This whole train of events strikingly demonstrates that, disregarding everything, the leadership of the CPSU is allying with the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the renegade Tito clique in order to oppose fraternal socialist countries and fraternal

Marxist-Leninist Parties. All this completely exposes the revisionist and divisive line which the leadership of the CPSU is following.

At present, the “anti-Chinese chorus” of the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the revisionists is making a lot of noise. And the campaign led by Khrushchov to oppose Marxism-Leninism and split the socialist camp and the international communist ranks is being carried on with growing intensity.

WHAT HAVE THE FACTS OF THE PAST SEVEN YEARS DEMONSTRATED?

In the foregoing we have reviewed at some length the origin and development of the differences. Our aim is to clarify the facts which were distorted in the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU and to help our Party members and our people and also the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world to see the truth.

The facts of the past seven years have amply proved that the differences between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and within the international communist movement have arisen solely because the leadership of the CPSU has departed from Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and pursued a revisionist and splitting line in the international communist movement. The process in which the leadership of the CPSU has gone farther and farther down the road of revisionism and splittism is the very process which has widened and aggravated the differences.

The facts of the past seven years have amply proved that the present differences within the international communist movement are differences between the line of adhering to Marxism-Leninism and the line of clinging to revisionism, between the revolutionary line and the non-revolutionary and

anti-revolutionary line, between the anti-imperialist line and the line of capitulation to imperialism. They are differences between proletarian internationalism and great-power chauvinism, sectarianism and splittism.

The facts of the past seven years have amply proved that the road taken by the leadership of the CPSU is the course of allying with imperialism against socialism, allying with the United States against China, allying with the reactionaries of all countries against the people of the world, and allying with the renegade Tito clique against fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties. This erroneous line of the leadership of the CPSU has led to a revisionist flood on an international scale, brought the international communist movement face to face with the danger of a split of unprecedented gravity, and brought serious damage to the peoples' cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

The facts of the past seven years have also amply proved that the Communist Party of China has constantly striven to prevent the situation from deteriorating and to uphold principle, eliminate differences, strengthen unity and wage a common struggle against the enemy. We have exercised great restraint and done our very best.

The Communist Party of China has always stressed the importance of the unity of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the two countries. It has always held in respect the Communist Party of the Soviet Union created by the great Lenin. We have always cherished deep proletarian affection for the great CPSU and the great Soviet people. We have rejoiced over every achievement of the CPSU and the Soviet people, and we have been saddened by every error of the leadership of the CPSU that has harmed the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

It is not just today that the Chinese Communists have begun to discover the errors of the CPSU leadership. Ever since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, we have watched with concern as the CPSU leadership took the road of revisionism.

Confronted with this grave situation, our Party has scores of times and for a long period considered: what should we do?

We asked ourselves, should we follow the CPSU leadership and suit all our actions to its wishes? In that case, the leadership of the CPSU would of course rejoice, but would not we ourselves then turn into revisionists?

We also asked ourselves, should we keep silent about the errors of the CPSU leadership? We believed that the errors of the CPSU leadership were not just accidental, individual and minor errors, but rather a whole series of errors of principle, which endanger the interests of the entire socialist camp and international communist movement. As a member in the ranks of the international communist movement, how could we be indifferent and keep silent about these errors? If we should do that, would not we be abandoning our duty to defend Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism?

We foresaw that if we criticized the errors of the leaders of the CPSU, they would certainly strike at us vindictively and thus inevitably cause serious damage to China's socialist construction. But should Communists take a stand of national egoism and not dare to uphold truth for fear of vindictive blows? Should Communists barter away principles?

We took into consideration the fact that the CPSU was built by Lenin, that it is the Party of the first socialist state, and that it enjoyed high prestige in the international communist movement and among the people of the whole world. Therefore, over a considerable period of time, we were particularly careful and patient in criticizing the leaders of the CPSU, trying our best to confine such criticism to inter-Party talks between the leaders of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and to solve the differences through private discussions without resorting to public polemics.

But all the comradely criticism and advice given to the leaders of the CPSU by responsible comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC in scores of inter-Party talks did not succeed in enabling them to return to the correct path. The

CPSU leaders went farther and farther down the road of revisionism and splittism. In return for the advice we gave in goodwill, they applied a succession of political, economic and military pressures against us and launched attacks which became increasingly violent.

The CPSU leaders have a bad habit: they indiscriminately stick labels on anyone who criticizes them.

They say, "You are anti-Soviet!" No, friends! The label "anti-Soviet" cannot be stuck on us. Our criticism of your errors is precisely for the sake of defending the great CPSU and the great Soviet Union and preventing the prestige of the CPSU and the Soviet Union from being badly damaged by you. To put it plainly, it is you, and not we, who are really anti-Soviet and who are defaming and discrediting the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Ever since the complete negation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, you have committed innumerable foul deeds. Not all the water in the Volga can wash away the great shame you have brought upon the CPSU and upon the Soviet Union.

They say, "You want to seize the leadership!" No, friends! It is not at all clever of you to make this slander. The way you put it, it would seem that some people are contending with you for some such thing as "the leadership". Is this not tantamount to shamelessly claiming that some sort of "leadership" exists in the international communist movement and that you have this "leadership"? It is a very, very bad habit of yours thus to put on the airs of a patriarchal party. It is entirely illegitimate. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement clearly state that all Communist Parties are independent and equal. According to this principle, the relations among fraternal Parties should under no circumstances be like the relations between a leading Party and the led, and much less like the relations between a patriarchal father and his son. We have always opposed any one Party commanding other fraternal Parties, and it has never occurred to us that we ourselves should command other

fraternal Parties, and so the question of contending for leadership simply does not arise. What confronts the international communist movement now is not whether this or that Party should assume leadership but whether to respond to the baton of revisionism or to uphold the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and persevere in the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism. Our criticism of the leadership of the CPSU concerns its attempt to lord it over fraternal Parties and to impose its line of revisionism and splittism on them. What we desire is merely the independent and equal status of the fraternal Parties stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement and their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It is the leaders of the CPSU who have provoked and extended the present great debate in the international communist movement and forced it on us. Since they have levelled large-scale attacks and all kinds of unscrupulous slanders against us, and since they have openly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and torn up the Declaration and the Statement, they cannot expect us to abstain from replying, from refuting their slanders, from safeguarding the Declaration and the Statement and from defending Marxism-Leninism. The debate is on, and right and wrong must be thoroughly clarified.

We Chinese Communists persevere in principle and uphold unity; we did so in the past, we do so now and we shall continue to do so in the future. While engaging in polemics with the leaders of the CPSU, we still hope they will realize that they have taken a most dangerous road by abandoning revolution, abandoning the revolutionary people of the world, abandoning the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement and eagerly collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the renegade Tito clique.

The interests of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, of the socialist camp, of the international communist movement, and

of the people throughout the world demand that all Communist and Workers' Parties should become united and oppose the common enemy.

We hereby appeal once again to the leadership of the CPSU to correct its errors and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the path of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The international communist movement is going through an important period. The present debate has a vital bearing on the future of the proletarian world revolution and the destiny of mankind. As history will prove, after this great debate Marxism-Leninism will shine forth more brilliantly and the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world will win still greater victories.

APPENDIX I

OUTLINE OF VIEWS ON THE QUESTION OF PEACEFUL TRANSITION

(November 10, 1957)

1. On the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism, it would be more flexible to refer to the two possibilities, peaceful transition and non-peaceful transition, than to just one, and this would place us in a position where we can have the initiative politically at any time.

a. Referring to the possibility of peaceful transition indicates that for us the use of violence is primarily a matter of self-defence. It enables the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries to sidestep attacks on them on this issue, and it is politically advantageous — advantageous for winning the masses and also for depriving the bourgeoisie of its pretexts for such attacks and isolating it.

b. If practical possibilities for peaceful transition were to arise in individual countries in the future when the international or domestic situation changes drastically, we could then make timely use of the opportunity to win the support of the masses and solve the problem of state power by peaceful means.

c. Nevertheless, we should not tie our own hands because of this desire. The bourgeoisie will not step down from the stage of history voluntarily. This is a universal law of class struggle. In no country should the proletariat and the Communist Party slacken their preparations for the revolution in any way. They must be prepared at all times to repulse counter-revolutionary attacks and, at the critical juncture of the revolution when the working class

is seizing state power, to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force if it uses armed force to suppress the people's revolution (generally speaking, it is inevitable that the bourgeoisie will do so).

2. In the present situation of the international communist movement, it is advantageous from the point of view of tactics to refer to the desire for peaceful transition. But it would be inappropriate to over-emphasize the possibility of peaceful transition. The reasons are:

a. Possibility and reality, the desire and whether or not it can be fulfilled, are two different matters. We should refer to the desire for peaceful transition, but we should not place our hopes mainly on it and therefore should not over-emphasize this aspect.

b. If too much stress is laid on the possibility of peaceful transition, and especially on the possibility of seizing state power by winning a majority in parliament it is liable to weaken the revolutionary will of the proletariat, the working people and the Communist Party and disarm them ideologically.

c. To the best of our knowledge, there is still not a single country where this possibility is of any practical significance. Even if it is slightly more apparent in a particular country, over-emphasizing this possibility is inappropriate because it does not conform with the realities in the overwhelming majority of countries. Should such a possibility actually occur in some country, the Communist Party there must on the one hand strive to realize it, and on the other hand always be prepared to repulse the armed attacks of the bourgeoisie.

d. The result of emphasizing this possibility will neither weaken the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie nor lull them.

e. Nor will such emphasis make the social democratic parties any more revolutionary.

f. Nor will such emphasis make Communist Parties grow any stronger. On the contrary, if some Communist Parties should as a result obscure their revolutionary features and thus become confused with the social democratic parties in the eyes of the people, they would only be weakened.

g. It is very hard to accumulate strength and prepare for the revolution, and after all parliamentary struggle is easy in comparison. We must fully utilize the parliamentary form of struggle, but its role is limited. What is most important is to proceed with the hard work of accumulating revolutionary strength.

3. To obtain a majority in parliament is not the same as smashing the old state machinery (chiefly the armed forces) and establishing new state machinery (chiefly the armed forces). Unless the military-bureaucratic state machinery of the bourgeoisie is smashed, a parliamentary majority for the proletariat and its reliable allies will either be impossible (because the bourgeoisie will amend the constitution whenever necessary in order to facilitate the consolidation of its dictatorship) or undependable (for instance, elections may be declared null and void, the Communist Party may be outlawed, parliament may be dissolved, etc.).

4. Peaceful transition to socialism should not be interpreted in such a way as solely to mean transition through a parliamentary majority. The main question is that of the state machinery. In the 1870's, Marx was of the opinion that there was a possibility of achieving socialism in Britain by peaceful means, because "at that time England was a country in which militarism and bureaucracy were less pronounced than in any other". For a period after the February Revolution, Lenin hoped that through "all power to the Soviets" the revolution would develop peacefully and triumph, because at that time "the arms were in the hands of the people". Neither Marx nor Lenin meant that peaceful transition could be

realized by using the old state machinery. Lenin repeatedly elaborated on the famous saying of Marx and Engels, "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes."

5. The social democratic parties are not parties of socialism. With the exception of certain Left wings, they are parties serving the bourgeoisie and capitalism. They are a variant of bourgeois political parties. On the question of socialist revolution, our position is fundamentally different from that of the social democratic parties. This distinction must not be obscured. To obscure this distinction only helps the leaders for the social democratic parties to deceive the masses and hinders us from winning the masses away from the influence of the social democratic parties. However, it is unquestionably very important to strengthen our work with respect to the social democratic parties and strive to establish a united front with their left and middle groups.

6. Such is our understanding of this question. We do hold differing views on this question, but out of various considerations we did not state our views after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since a joint Declaration is to be issued, we must now explain our views. However, this need not prevent us from attaining common language in the draft Declaration. In order to show a connection between the formulation of this question in the draft Declaration and the formulation of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, we agree to take the draft put forward today by the Central Committee of the CPSU as a basis, while proposing amendments in certain places.

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AT THE BUCHAREST MEETING OF FRATERNAL PARTIES

(June 26, 1960)

1. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China maintains that at this meeting Comrade Khrushchov of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has completely violated the long-standing principle in the international communist movement that questions of common concern should be settled by consultation among fraternal Parties, and has completely broken the agreement made prior to the meeting to confine it to an exchange of views and not to make any decision; this he has done by his surprise attack of putting forward a draft communique of the meeting without having consulted the fraternal Parties on its contents beforehand and without permitting full and normal discussion in the meeting. This is an abuse of the prestige enjoyed by the CPSU in the international communist movement, a prestige which has been built up over the long years since Lenin's time, and it is, moreover, an extremely crude act of imposing one's own will on other people. This attitude has nothing in common with Lenin's style of work and this way of doing things creates an extremely bad precedent in the international communist movement. The Central Committee of the CPC considers that this attitude and this way of doing things on the part of Comrade Khrushchov will have extraordinarily grave consequences for the international communist movement.

2. The Communist Party of China has always been faithful to Marxism-Leninism and has always steadfastly adhered to the theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism. In the past two years and more, it has been completely faithful to the Moscow Declaration of 1957, and has firmly upheld all the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Declaration. There are differences between us and Comrade Khrushchov on a series of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. These differences have a vital bearing on the interests of the entire socialist camp, on the interests of the proletariat and the working people of the whole world, on the question of whether the people of all countries will be able to preserve world peace and prevent the imperialists from launching a world war, and on the question of whether socialism will continue to score victories in the capitalist world, which comprises two-thirds of the world's population and three-fourths of its land space. All Marxist-Leninists should adopt a serious attitude towards these differences, give them serious thought and hold comradely discussions, so as to achieve unanimous conclusions. However, the attitude Comrade Khrushchov has adopted is patriarchal, arbitrary and tyrannical. He has in fact treated the relationship between the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our Party not as one between brothers, but as one between patriarchal father and son. At this meeting he has exerted pressure in an attempt to make our Party submit to his non-Marxist-Leninist views. We hereby solemnly declare that our Party believes in and obeys the truth of Marxism-Leninism and Marxism-Leninism alone, and will never submit to erroneous views which run counter to Marxism-Leninism. We consider that certain views expressed by Comrade Khrushchov in his speech at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Party are erroneous and in contravention of the Moscow Declaration. His speech will be welcomed by the imperialists and the Tito clique and has indeed already been welcomed by them. When the occasion arises, we shall be ready to carry on serious discussions with

the CPSU and other fraternal Parties on our differences with Comrade Khrushchov. As for the Letter of Information of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party of China, which Comrade Khrushchov has distributed in Bucharest, the Central Committee of the CPC will reply to it in detail after carefully studying it; the reply will explain the differences of principle between the two Parties, setting forth the relevant facts, and the Central Committee of the CPC will hold serious, earnest and comradely discussions with fraternal Parties. We are convinced that in any case the truth of Marxism-Leninism will triumph in the end. Truth does not fear contention. Ultimately, it is impossible to portray truth as error or error as truth. The future of the international communist movement depends on the needs and the struggles of the people of all countries and on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, and will never be decided by the baton of any individual.

3. We, the Communist Party of China, have always striven to safeguard the unity of all Communist Parties and the unity of all socialist countries. For the sake of genuine unity in the international communist ranks and for the sake of the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, we hold that it is necessary to unfold normal discussions on the differences and that serious questions of principle should not be settled in a hurry by abnormal methods or simply by vote. Nor should one impose on others arbitrary views which have not been tested in practice or which have already proved to be wrong in such tests. Comrade Khrushchov's way of doing things at this meeting is entirely detrimental to the unity of international communism. But however Comrade Khrushchov may act, the unity of the Chinese and Soviet Parties and the unity of all the Communist and Workers' Parties is bound to be further strengthened and developed. We are deeply convinced that, as the international communist movement and Marxism-Leninism develop, the unity of our ranks will constantly grow stronger.

4. If the relations between our two Parties are viewed as a whole, the above-mentioned differences between Comrade Khrushchov and ourselves are only of a partial character. We hold that the main thing in the relations between our two Parties is their unity in the struggle for the common cause; this is so because both our countries are socialist countries and both our Parties are built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and are fighting to advance the cause of the whole socialist camp, to oppose imperialist aggression and to win world peace. We believe that Comrade Khrushchov and the Central Committee of the CPSU and we ourselves will be able to find opportunities to hold calm and comradely discussions and resolve our differences, so that the Chinese and Soviet Parties may become more united and their relations further strengthened. This will be highly beneficial to the socialist camp and to the struggle of the people of the world against imperialist aggression and for world peace.

5. We are glad to see that the draft Communiqué of the Meeting put forward here affirms the correctness of the Moscow Declaration. But the presentation of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Moscow Declaration in this draft is inaccurate and one-sided. And it is wrong that the draft avoids taking a clear stand on the major problems in the current international situation and makes no mention at all of modern revisionism, the main danger in the international working-class movement. Therefore, this draft is unacceptable to us. For the sake of unity in the common struggle against the enemy, we have submitted a revised draft and propose that it be discussed. If it is not possible to reach agreement this time, we propose that a special drafting committee be set up to work out, after full discussions, a document which is acceptable to all.

APPENDIX III

THE FIVE PROPOSALS FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE DIFFERENCES AND ATTAINMENT OF UNITY CON- TAINED IN THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPC IN REPLY TO THE LETTER OF INFORMATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

(September 10, 1960)

Striving to settle the differences successfully and to attain unity, we put forward the following proposals in all sincerity:

1. The fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Declaration and the Manifesto of the 1957 Moscow Meeting are the ideological foundation for the unity between our two Parties and among all fraternal Parties. All our statements and actions must be absolutely loyal to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Moscow Declaration, which we should use as the criteria for judging between truth and falsehood.

2. The relations among the socialist countries and among the fraternal Parties must strictly conform to the principles of equality, comradeship and internationalism as stipulated by the Moscow Declaration.

3. All disputes among the socialist countries and among the fraternal Parties must be settled in accordance with the stipulations of the Moscow Declaration, through comradely and unhurried discussion. Both the Soviet Union and China, and both the Soviet and Chinese Parties, bear great responsibilities regarding the international situation and towards the international communist movement. They should have

full consultations and unhurried discussions on all important questions of common concern in order to have unity of action. If the disputes between the Chinese and Soviet Parties cannot be settled for the time being in consultations between the two Parties, then unhurried discussions should be continued. When necessary, the views of both sides should be presented completely objectively to the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries so that these Parties may make correct judgments after serious deliberation and in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Moscow Declaration.

4. It is of the utmost importance for Communists to draw a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, between truth and falsehood. Our two Parties should treasure and value our friendship and join hands to oppose the enemy, and should not make statements or take actions liable to undermine the unity between the two Parties and the two countries and thus give the enemy the opportunity of driving a wedge between us.

5. On the basis of the above principles, our two Parties, together with other Communist and Workers' Parties, should strive through full preparation and consultation to make a success of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to be held in Moscow in November this year, and, at this meeting, should work out a document conforming to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration to serve as a programme to which we should all adhere, a programme for our united struggle against the enemy.

ON THE QUESTION OF STALIN

**Second Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(September 13, 1963)

THE question of Stalin is one of world-wide importance which has had repercussions among all classes in every country and which is still a subject of much discussion today, with different classes and their political parties and groups taking different views. It is likely that no final verdict can be reached on this question in the present century. But there is virtual agreement among the majority of the international working class and of revolutionary people, who disapprove of the complete negation of Stalin and more and more cherish his memory. This is also true of the Soviet Union. Our controversy with the leaders of the CPSU is with a section of people. We hope to persuade them in order to advance the revolutionary cause. This is our purpose in writing the present article.

The Communist Party of China has always held that when Comrade Khrushchov completely negated Stalin on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, he was quite wrong and had ulterior motives.

The Central Committee of the CPC pointed out in its letter of June 14 that the “struggle against the personality cult” violates Lenin’s integral teachings on the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and undermines the Communist principle of democratic centralism.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU avoids making any reply to our principled arguments, but merely labels the Chinese Communists as “defenders of the personality cult and peddlers of Stalin’s erroneous ideas”.

When he was fighting the Mensheviks, Lenin said, “Not to reply to an argument of one’s opponent on a question of principle, and to ascribe only ‘pathos’ to him, means not to argue

but to turn to abuse.”¹ The attitude shown by the Central Committee of the CPSU in its Open Letter is exactly like that of the Mensheviks.

Even though the Open Letter resorts to abuse in place of debate, we on our part prefer to reply to it with principled arguments and a great many facts.

The great Soviet Union was the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the beginning, the foremost leader of the Party and the Government in this state was Lenin. After Lenin’s death, it was Stalin.

After Lenin’s death, Stalin became not only the leader of the Party and Government of the Soviet Union but the acknowledged leader of the international communist movement as well.

It is only forty-six years since the first socialist state was inaugurated by the October Revolution. For nearly thirty of these years Stalin was the foremost leader of this state. Whether in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat or in that of the international communist movement, Stalin’s activities occupy an extremely important place.

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently maintained that the question of how to evaluate Stalin and what attitude to take towards him is not just one of appraising Stalin himself; more important, it is a question of how to sum up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international communist movement since Lenin’s death.

Comrade Khrushchov completely negated Stalin at the 20th Congress of the CPSU. He failed to consult the fraternal Parties in advance on this question of principle which involves the whole international communist movement, and afterwards tried to impose a *fait accompli* on them. Whoever makes an appraisal of Stalin different from that of the leadership of the CPSU is charged with “defence of the personality cult” as well as “interference” in the internal affairs of the CPSU.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Some Remarks on the ‘Reply’ by P. Maslov”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XV, p. 255.

But no one can deny the international significance of the historical experience of the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the historical fact that Stalin was the leader of the international communist movement; consequently, no one can deny that the appraisal of Stalin is an important question of principle involving the whole international communist movement. On what ground, then, do the leaders of the CPSU forbid other fraternal Parties to make a realistic analysis and appraisal of Stalin?

The Communist Party of China has invariably insisted on an overall, objective and scientific analysis of Stalin's merits and demerits by the method of historical materialism and the presentation of history as it actually occurred, and has opposed the subjective, crude and complete negation of Stalin by the method of historical idealism and the wilful distortion and alteration of history.

The Communist Party of China has consistently held that Stalin did commit errors, which had their ideological as well as social and historical roots. It is necessary to criticize the errors Stalin actually committed, not those groundlessly attributed to him, and to do so from a correct stand and with correct methods. But we have consistently opposed improper criticism of Stalin, made from a wrong stand and with wrong methods.

Stalin fought tsarism and propagated Marxism during Lenin's lifetime; after he became a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin he took part in the struggle to pave the way for the 1917 Revolution; after the October Revolution he fought to defend the fruits of the proletarian revolution.

Stalin led the CPSU and the Soviet people, after Lenin's death, in resolutely fighting both internal and external foes, and in safeguarding and consolidating the first socialist state in the world.

Stalin led the CPSU and the Soviet people in upholding the line of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectiviza-

tion and in achieving great successes in socialist transformation and socialist construction.

Stalin led the CPSU, the Soviet people and the Soviet army in an arduous and bitter struggle to the great victory of the anti-fascist war.

Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various kinds of opportunism, against the enemies of Leninism, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and other bourgeois agents.

Stalin made an indelible contribution to the international communist movement in a number of theoretical writings which are immortal Marxist-Leninist works.

Stalin led the Soviet Party and Government in pursuing a foreign policy which on the whole was in keeping with proletarian internationalism and in greatly assisting the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, including the Chinese people.

Stalin stood in the forefront of the tide of history guiding the struggle, and was an irreconcilable enemy of the imperialists and all reactionaries.

Stalin's activities were intimately bound up with the struggles of the great CPSU and the great Soviet people and inseparable from the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole world.

Stalin's life was that of a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary.

It is true that while he performed meritorious deeds for the Soviet people and the international communist movement, Stalin, a great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary, also made certain mistakes. Some were errors of principle and some were errors made in the course of practical work; some could have been avoided and some were scarcely avoidable at a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat had no precedent to go by.

In his way of thinking, Stalin departed from dialectical materialism and fell into metaphysics and subjectivism on certain questions and consequently he was sometimes divorced

from reality and from the masses. In struggles inside as well as outside the Party, on certain occasions and on certain questions he confused two types of contradictions which are different in nature, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, and also confused the different methods needed in handling them. In the work led by Stalin of suppressing the counter-revolution, many counter-revolutionaries deserving punishment were duly punished, but at the same time there were innocent people who were wrongly convicted; and in 1937 and 1938 there occurred the error of enlarging the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. In the matter of Party and government organization, he did not fully apply proletarian democratic centralism and, to some extent, violated it. In handling relations with fraternal Parties and countries, he made some mistakes. He also gave some bad counsel in the international communist movement. These mistakes caused some losses to the Soviet Union and the international communist movement.

Stalin's merits and mistakes are matters of historical, objective reality. A comparison of the two shows that his merits outweighed his faults. He was primarily correct, and his faults were secondary. In summing up Stalin's thinking and his work in their totality, surely every honest Communist with a respect for history will first observe what was primary in Stalin. Therefore, when Stalin's errors are being correctly appraised, criticized and overcome, it is necessary to safeguard what was primary in Stalin's life, to safeguard Marxism-Leninism which he defended and developed.

It would be beneficial if the errors of Stalin, which were only secondary, are taken as historical lessons so that the Communists of the Soviet Union and other countries might take warning and avoid repeating those errors or commit fewer errors. Both positive and negative historical lessons are beneficial to all Communists, provided they are drawn correctly and conform with and do not distort historical facts.

Lenin pointed out more than once that Marxists were totally different from the revisionists of the Second International in their attitude towards people like Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg, who, for all their mistakes, were great proletarian revolutionaries. Marxists did not conceal these people's mistakes but through such examples learned "how to avoid them and live up to the more rigorous requirements of revolutionary Marxism".¹ By contrast, the revisionists "crowed" and "cackled" over the mistakes of Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg. Ridiculing the revisionists, Lenin quoted a Russian fable in this connection. "Sometimes eagles may fly lower than hens, but hens can never rise to the height of eagles."² Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg were "great Communists" and, in spite of their mistakes, remained "eagles", while the revisionists were a flock of "hens" "in the backyard of the working class movement, among the dung heaps".³

The historical role of Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg is by no means comparable to that of Stalin. Stalin was the great leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the international communist movement over a whole historical era, and greater care should be exercised in evaluating him.

The leaders of the CPSU have accused the Chinese Communist Party of "defending" Stalin. Yes, we do defend Stalin. When Khrushchov distorts history and completely negates Stalin, naturally we have the inescapable duty to come forward and defend him in the interests of the international communist movement.

In defending Stalin, the Chinese Communist Party defends his correct side, defends the glorious history of struggle of the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Pamphlet by Voinov (A. V. Lunacharsky) on the Attitude of the Party Towards the Trade Unions", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. XIII, p. 165.

² V. I. Lenin, "Notes of a Publicist", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. X, p. 312.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

created by the October Revolution; it defends the glorious history of struggle of the CPSU; it defends the prestige of the international communist movement among working people throughout the world. In brief, it defends the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. It is not only the Chinese Communists who are doing this; all Communists devoted to Marxism-Leninism, all staunch revolutionaries and all fair-minded people have been doing the same thing.

While defending Stalin, we do not defend his mistakes. Long ago the Chinese Communists had first-hand experience of some of his mistakes. Of the erroneous "Left" and Right opportunist lines which emerged in the Chinese Communist Party at one time or another, some arose under the influence of certain mistakes of Stalin's, in so far as their international sources were concerned. In the late twenties, the thirties and the early and middle forties, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists represented by Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi resisted the influence of Stalin's mistakes; they gradually overcame the erroneous lines of "Left" and Right opportunism and finally led the Chinese revolution to victory.

But since some of the wrong ideas put forward by Stalin were accepted and applied by certain Chinese comrades, we Chinese should bear the responsibility. In its struggle against "Left" and Right opportunism, therefore, our Party criticized only its own erring comrades and never put the blame on Stalin. The purpose of our criticism was to distinguish between right and wrong, learn the appropriate lessons and advance the revolutionary cause. We merely asked the erring comrades that they should correct their mistakes. If they failed to do so, we waited until they were gradually awakened by their own practical experience, provided they did not organize secret groups for clandestine and disruptive activities. Our method was the proper method of inner-Party criticism and self-criticism; we started from the desire for unity and arrived at a new unity on a new basis through criticism and struggle, and thus good results were achieved. We held that

these were contradictions among the people and not between the enemy and ourselves, and that therefore we should use the above method.

What attitude have Comrade Khrushchov and other leaders of the CPSU taken towards Stalin since the 20th Congress of the CPSU?

They have not made an overall historical and scientific analysis of his life and work but have completely negated him without any distinction between right and wrong.

They have treated Stalin not as a comrade but as an enemy.

They have not adopted the method of criticism and self-criticism to sum up experience but have blamed Stalin for all errors, or ascribed to him the “mistakes” they have arbitrarily invented.

They have not presented the facts and reasoned things out but have made demagogic personal attacks on Stalin in order to poison people’s minds.

Khrushchov has abused Stalin as a “murderer”, a “criminal”, a “bandit”,¹ a “gambler”, a “despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible”, “the greatest dictator in Russian history”, a “fool”,² an “idiot”,³ etc. When we are compelled to cite all this filthy, vulgar and malicious language, we are afraid it may soil our pen and paper.

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as “the greatest dictator in Russian history”. Does not this mean that the Soviet people lived for thirty long years under the “tyranny” of “the greatest dictator in Russian history” and not under the socialist system? The great Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a “despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible”. Does not this mean that the experience

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Conversation with the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, October 22, 1961.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the May Day Reception of 1962. Given by the Soviet Government.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Conversation with the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, October 22, 1961.

the great CPSU and the great Soviet people provided over thirty years for people the world over was not the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat but that of life under the rule of a feudal “despot”? The great Soviet people, the Soviet Communists and Marxist-Leninists of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a “bandit”. Does not this mean that the first socialist state in the world was for a long period headed by a “bandit”? The great Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a “fool”. Does not this mean that the CPSU which waged heroic revolutionary struggles over the past decades had a “fool” as its leader? The Soviet Communists and Marxist-Leninists of the whole world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as an “idiot”. Does not this mean that the great Soviet army which triumphed in the anti-fascist war had an “idiot” as its supreme commander? The glorious Soviet commanders and fighters and all anti-fascist fighters of the world completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a “murderer”. Does not this mean that the international communist movement had a “murderer” as its teacher for decades? Communists of the whole world, including the Soviet Communists, completely disagree with this slander!

Khrushchov has maligned Stalin as a “gambler”. Does not this mean that the revolutionary peoples had a “gambler” as their standard-bearer in the struggles against imperialism and reaction? All revolutionary people of the world, including the Soviet people, completely disagree with this slander!

Such abuse of Stalin by Khrushchov is a gross insult to the great Soviet people, a gross insult to the CPSU, to the Soviet army, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the socialist

system to the international communist movement, to the revolutionary people the world over and to Marxism-Leninism.

In what position does Khrushchov, who participated in the leadership of the Party and the state during Stalin's period place himself when he beats his breast, pounds the table and shouts abuse of Stalin at the top of his voice? In the position of an accomplice to a "murderer" or a "bandit"? Or in the same position as a "fool" or an "idiot"?

What difference is there between such abuse of Stalin by Khrushchov and the abuse by the imperialists, the reactionaries in various countries, and the renegades to communism? Why such inveterate hatred of Stalin? Why attack him more ferociously than you do the enemy?

In abusing Stalin, Khrushchov is in fact wildly denouncing the Soviet system and state. His language in this connection is by no means weaker but is actually stronger than that of such renegades as Kautsky, Trotsky, Tito and Djilas.

People should quote the following passage from the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU and ask Khrushchov: "How can they say these things about the party of the great Lenin, about the motherland of socialism, about the people who were the first in the world to accomplish a socialist revolution, upheld its great gains in fierce battles against international imperialism and domestic counter-revolution, are displaying miracles of heroism and dedication in the effort to build communism are faithfully fulfilling their internationalist duty to the working people of the world"!

In his article, "The Political Significance of Abuse", Lenin said, "Abuse in politics often covers up the utter lack of ideological content, the helplessness and the impotence, the annoying impotence of the abuser." Does this not apply to the leaders of the CPSU who, feeling constantly haunted by the spectre of Stalin, try to cover up their total lack of principle, their helplessness and annoying impotence by abusing Stalin? The great majority of the Soviet people disapprove of such abuse of Stalin. They increasingly cherish the memory of

Stalin. The leaders of the CPSU have seriously isolated themselves from the masses. They always feel they are being threatened by the haunting spectre of Stalin, which is in fact the broad masses' great dissatisfaction with the complete negation of Stalin. So far Khrushchov has not dared to let the Soviet people and the other people in the socialist camp see the secret report completely negating Stalin which he made to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, because it is a report which cannot bear the light of day, a report which would seriously alienate the masses.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that while they abuse Stalin in every possible way, the leaders of the CPSU regard Eisenhower, Kennedy and the like "with respect and trust".¹ They abuse Stalin as a "despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible" and "the greatest dictator in Russian history", but compliment both Eisenhower and Kennedy as "having the support of the absolute majority of the American people"!² They abuse Stalin as an "idiot" but praise Eisenhower and Kennedy as "sensible"! On the one hand, they viciously lash at a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary and a great leader of the international communist movement, and on the other, they laud the chieftains of imperialism to the skies. Is there any possibility that the connection between these phenomena is merely accidental and that it does not follow with inexorable logic from the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism?

If his memory is not too short, Khrushchov ought to remember that at a mass rally held in Moscow in January 1937 he himself rightly condemned those who had attacked Stalin, saying, "In lifting their hand against Comrade Stalin, they lifted it against all of us, against the working class and the working people! In lifting their hand against Comrade Stalin,

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Letter in Reply to J. F. Kennedy, October 28, 1962.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Replies to the Questions by the Editors-in-Chief of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, in *Pravda*, June 15, 1963.

they lifted it against the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin!" Khrushchev himself repeatedly extolled Stalin as an "intimate friend and comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin",¹ as "the greatest genius, teacher and leader of mankind"² and "the great, ever-victorious marshal",³ as "the sincere friend of the people"⁴ and as his "own father".⁵

If one compares the remarks made by Khrushchov when Stalin was alive with those made after his death, one will not fail to see that Khrushchov has made a 180-degree turn in his evaluation of Stalin.

If his memory is not too short, Khrushchov should of course remember that during the period of Stalin's leadership he himself was particularly active in supporting and carrying out the then prevailing policy for suppressing counter-revolutionaries.

On June 6, 1937, at the Fifth Party Conference of Moscow Province, Khrushchov declared:

Our Party will mercilessly crush the band of traitors and betrayers, and wipe out all the Trotskyist-Right dregs. . . . The guarantee of this is the unshakable leadership of our Central Committee, the unshakable leadership of our leader Comrade Stalin. . . . We shall totally annihilate the enemies — to the last man — and scatter their ashes to the winds.

On June 8, 1938, at the Fourth Party Conference of Kiev Province, Khrushchov declared:

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, "Stalin and the Great Friendship of the Peoples of the Soviet Union", *Pravda*, December 21, 1939.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the 18th Congress of the CPSU(B), *Pravda*, March 15, 1939.

³ N. S. Khrushchov and others, Letter to All the Officers and Men of the Soviet Red Army, *Pravda*, May 13, 1945.

⁴ N. S. Khrushchov, "Stalin and the Great Friendship of the Peoples of the Soviet Union", *Pravda*, December 21, 1939.

⁵ N. S. Khrushchov, "Stalinist Friendship Among the Peoples — Guarantee of the Invincibility of Our Motherland", *Pravda*, December 21, 1949.

The Yakyirs, Balyitskys, Lyubehenkys, Zatonskys and other scum wanted to bring Polish landowners to the Ukraine, wanted to bring here the German fascists, landlords and capitalists. . . . We have annihilated a considerable number of enemies, but still not all. Therefore, it is necessary to keep our eyes open. We should bear firmly in mind the words of Comrade Stalin, that as long as capitalist encirclement exists, spies and saboteurs will be smuggled into our country.

Why does Khrushchov, who was in the leadership of the Party and the state in Stalin's period and who actively supported and firmly executed the policy for suppressing counter-revolutionaries, repudiate everything done during this period and shift the blame for all errors on to Stalin alone, while altogether whitewashing himself?

When Stalin did something wrong, he was capable of criticizing himself. For instance, he had given some bad counsel with regard to the Chinese revolution. After the victory of the Chinese revolution, he admitted his mistake. Stalin also admitted some of his mistakes in the work of purifying the Party ranks in his report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU (B) in 1939. But what about Khrushchov? He simply does not know what self-criticism is; all he does is to shift the entire blame on to others and claim the entire credit for himself.

It is not surprising that these ugly actions of Khrushchov's should have taken place when modern revisionism is on the rampage. As Lenin said in 1915 when he criticized the revisionists of the Second International for their betrayal of Marxism:

This is not at all surprising in this day of words forgotten, principles lost, philosophies overthrown, and resolutions and solemn promises discarded.¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, *Imperialism and the World Economy*", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXII, p. 104.

As the train of events since the 20th Congress of the CPSU has fully shown, the complete negation of Stalin by the leadership of the CPSU has had extremely serious consequences.

It has provided the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries with exceedingly welcome anti-Soviet and anti-Communist ammunition. Shortly after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the imperialists exploited Khrushchov's secret anti-Stalin report to stir up a world-wide tidal wave against the Soviet Union and against communism. The imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries, the Tito clique and opportunists of various descriptions all leapt at the chance to attack the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the Communist Parties; thus many fraternal Parties and countries were placed in serious difficulties.

The frantic campaign against Stalin by the leadership of the CPSU enabled the Trotskyites, who had long been political corpses, to come to life again and clamour for the "rehabilitation" of Trotsky. In November 1961, at the conclusion of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the International Secretariat of the so-called Fourth International stated in a Letter to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and Its New Central Committee that in 1937 Trotsky said a monument would be erected to the honour of the victims of Stalin. "Today," it continued, "this prediction has come true. Before your Congress the First Secretary of your Party has promised the erection of this monument." In this letter the specific demand was made that the name of Trotsky be "engraved in letters of gold on the monument erected in honour of the victims of Stalin". The Trotskyites made no secret of their joy, declaring that the anti-Stalin campaign started by the leadership of the CPSU had "opened the door for Trotskyism" and would "greatly help the advance of Trotskyism and its organization — the Fourth International".

In completely negating Stalin, the leaders of the CPSU have motives that cannot bear the light of day.

Stalin died in 1953; three years later the leaders of the CPSU violently attacked him at the 20th Congress, and eight years after his death they again did so at the 22nd Congress, removing and burning his remains. In repeating their violent attacks on Stalin, the leaders of the CPSU aimed at erasing the indelible influence of this great proletarian revolutionary among the people of the Soviet Union and throughout the world, and at paving the way for negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin had defended and developed, and for the all-out application of a revisionist line. Their revisionist line began exactly with the 20th Congress and became fully systematized at the 22nd Congress. The facts have shown ever more clearly that their revision of the Marxist-Leninist theories on imperialism, war and peace, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, the proletarian party, etc., is inseparably connected with their complete negation of Stalin.

It is under the cover of “combating the personality cult” that the leadership of the CPSU tries to negate Stalin completely.

In launching “the combat against the personality cult”, the leaders of the CPSU are not out to restore what they call “the Leninist standards of Party life and principles of leadership”. On the contrary, they are violating Lenin’s teachings on the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses and contravening the principle of democratic centralism in the Party.

Marxist-Leninists maintain that if the revolutionary party of the proletariat is genuinely to serve as the headquarters of the proletariat in struggle, it must correctly handle the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses and must be organized on the principle of democratic centralism. Such a Party must have a fairly stable nucleus of leadership, which should consist of a group of long-tested leaders who are good at integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution.

The leaders of the proletarian party, whether members of the Central or local committees, emerge from the masses in the course of class struggles and mass revolutionary movements. They are infinitely loyal to the masses, have close ties with them and are good at correctly concentrating the ideas of the masses and then carrying them through. Such leaders are genuine representatives of the proletariat and are acknowledged by the masses. It is a sign of the political maturity of a proletarian party for it to have such leaders, and herein lies the hope of victory for the cause of the proletariat.

Lenin was absolutely right in saying that “not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organise a movement and lead it”.¹ He also said:

The training of experienced and most influential Party leaders is a long-term and difficult task. But without this, the dictatorship of the proletariat, its “unity of will”, will remain a phrase.²

The Communist Party of China has always adhered to the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the role of the masses and the individual in history and on the interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and upheld democratic centralism in the Party. We have always maintained collective leadership; at the same time, we are against belittling the role of leaders. While we attach importance to this role, we are against dishonest and excessive eulogy of individuals and exaggeration of their role. As far back as 1949 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s suggestion, took a decision forbidding public celebrations of any kind on the birthdays of Party leaders and the naming of places, streets or enterprises after them.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. II, p. 13.

² V. I. Lenin, “A Letter to the German Communists”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXII, p. 492.

This consistent and correct approach of ours is fundamentally different from the “combat against the personality cult” advocated by the leadership of the CPSU.

It has become increasingly clear that in advocating the “combat against the personality cult” the leaders of the CPSU do not intend, as they themselves claim, to promote democracy, practise collective leadership and oppose exaggeration of the role of the individual but have ulterior motives.

What exactly is the gist of their “combat against the personality cult”?

To put it bluntly, it is nothing but the following:

1. on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, to counterpose Stalin, the leader of the Party, to the Party organization, the proletariat and the masses of the people;

2. on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, to besmirch the proletarian party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist system;

3. on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, to build themselves up and to attack revolutionaries loyal to Marxism-Leninism so as to pave the way for revisionist schemers to usurp the Party and state leadership;

4. on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, to interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties and countries and strive to subvert their leadership to suit themselves; and

5. on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, to attack fraternal Parties which adhere to Marxism-Leninism and to split the international communist movement.

The “combat against the personality cult” launched by Khrushchov is a despicable political intrigue. Like someone described by Marx, “He is in his element as an intriguer, while a nonentity as a theorist.”¹

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU states that “while rejecting the personality cult and combat-

¹ “Marx to F. Bolte”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Ger. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1950, Vol. II, p. 438.

ing its consequences” they have “a high regard for leaders who . . . enjoy deserved prestige”. What does this mean? It means that, while trampling Stalin underfoot, the leaders of the CPSU laud Khrushchov to the skies.

They describe Khrushchov, who was not yet a Communist at the time of the October Revolution and who was a low-ranking political worker during the Civil War, as an “active creator of the Red Army”.¹

They ascribe the great victory of the decisive battle in the Soviet Patriotic War entirely to Khrushchov, saying that in the Battle Of Stalingrad “Khrushchov’s voice was very frequently heard”² and that he was “the soul of the Stalin-graders”.³

They attribute the great achievements in nuclear weapons and rocketry wholly to Khrushchov, calling him “cosmic father”.⁴ But as everybody knows, the success of the Soviet Union in manufacturing the atom and hydrogen bombs was a great achievement of the Soviet scientists and technicians and the Soviet people under Stalin’s leadership. The foundations of rocketry were also laid in Stalin’s time. How can these important historical facts be obliterated? How can all credit be given to Khrushchev?

They laud Khrushchov who has revised the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and who holds that Leninism is outmoded as the “brilliant model who creatively developed and enriched Marxist-Leninist theory”.⁵

What the leaders of the CPSU are doing under the cover of “combating the personality cult” is exactly as Lenin said:

¹ “Life for the People”, *Zarya Vostoka*, December 17, 1961.

² “Created and Reared by the Party”, *Agitator*, No. 2, 1963.

³ V. I. Chuikov, Speech at the Rally Marking the 20th Anniversary of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, *Pravda*, June 22, 1961.

⁴ G. S. Titov, Speech at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, October 26, 1961.

⁵ A. N. Kosygin, Speech at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, October 21, 1961.

. . . in place of the old leaders, who hold ordinary human views on ordinary matters, new leaders are put forth . . . who talk supernatural nonsense and confusion.¹

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU slanders our stand in adhering to Marxism-Leninism, asserting that we “are trying to impose upon other Parties the order of things, the ideology and morals, the forms and methods of leadership that flourished in the period of the personality cult”. This remark again exposes the absurdity of the “combat against the personality cult”.

According to the leaders of the CPSU, after the October Revolution put an end to capitalism in Russia there followed a “period of the personality cult”. It would seem that the “social system” and “the ideology and morals” of that period were not socialist. In that period the Soviet working people were under a “heavy burden”, there prevailed an “atmosphere of fear, suspicion and uncertainty which poisoned the life of the people”,² and Soviet society was impeded in its development.

In his speech at the Soviet-Hungarian friendship rally on July 19, 1963, Khrushchov dwelt on what he called Stalin’s rule of “terror”, saying that Stalin “maintained his power with an axe”. He described the social order of the time in the following terms: “. . . in that period a man leaving for work often did not know whether he would return home, whether he would see his wife and children again.”

“The period of the personality cult” as described by the leadership of the CPSU was one when society was more “hateful” and “barbarous” than in the period of feudalism or capitalism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “‘Left-Wing’ Communism, an Infantile Disorder”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. X, p. 82.

² Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to all Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

According to the leadership of the CPSU, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system of society which were established as a result of the October Revolution failed to remove the oppression of the working people or accelerate the development of Soviet society for several decades; only after the 20th Congress of the CPSU carried out the “combat against the personality cult” was the “heavy burden” removed from the working people and “the development of Soviet society” suddenly “accelerated”.¹

Khrushchov said, “Ah! If only Stalin had died ten years earlier!”² As everybody knows, Stalin died in 1953; ten years earlier would have been 1943, the very year when the Soviet Union began its counter-offensive in the Great Patriotic War. At that time, who wanted Stalin to die? Hitler!

It is not a new thing in the history of the international communist movement for the enemies of Marxism-Leninism to vilify the leaders of the proletariat and try to undermine the proletarian cause by using some such slogan as “combating the personality cult”. It is a dirty trick which people saw through long ago.

In the period of the First International the schemer Bakunin used similar language to rail at Marx. At first, to worm himself into Marx’s confidence, he wrote him, “I am your disciple and I am proud of it.”³ Later, when he failed in his plot to usurp the leadership of the First International, he abused Marx and said, “As a German and a Jew, he is authoritarian from head to heels”⁴ and a “dictator”.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Rally in Moscow, July 19, 1963.

³ M. A. Bakunin’s Letter to Karl Marx, December 22, 1868, *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 1, 1900.

⁴ Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx, the Story of His Life*, Eng. ed., Covici Friede Publishers, New York, 1935, p. 429.

⁵ “Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 432.

In the period of the Second International the renegade Kautsky used similar language to rail at Lenin. He slandered Lenin, likening him to “the God of monotheists”¹ who had reduced Marxism “to the status not only of a state religion but of a medieval or oriental faith”.²

In the period of the Third International the renegade Trotsky similarly used such language to rail at Stalin. He said that Stalin was a “tyrant”³ and that “the Stalinist bureaucracy has created a vile leader-cult, attributing to leaders divine qualities”.⁴

The modern revisionist Tito clique also use similar words to rail at Stalin, saying that Stalin was the “dictator” “in a system of absolute personal power”.⁵

Thus it is clear that the issue of “combating the personality cult” raised by the leadership of the CPSU has come down through Bakunin, Kautsky, Trotsky and Tito, all of whom used it to attack the leaders of the proletariat and undermine the proletarian revolutionary movement.

The opportunists in the history of the international communist movement were unable to negate Marx, Engels or Lenin by vilification, nor is Khrushchov able to negate Stalin by vilification.

As Lenin pointed out, a privileged position cannot ensure the success of vilification.

Khrushchov was able to utilize his privileged position to remove the body of Stalin from the Lenin Mausoleum, but try as he may, he can never succeed in removing the great image

¹ Karl Kautsky, *Social Democracy Versus Communism*, Eng. ed., Rand School Press, New York, 1946, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³ Leon Trotsky, *Stalin, an Appraisal of the Man and His Influence*, Eng. ed., Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1941, p. 490.

⁴ Leon Trotsky, “The Stalinist Bureaucracy and the Assassination of Kirov”, *On the Kirov Assassination*, Eng. ed., Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1956, p. 17.

⁵ Edvard Kardelj, “Five Years Later”, *Borba*, June 28, 1953.

of Stalin from the minds of the Soviet people and of the people throughout the world.

Khrushchov can utilize his privileged position to revise Marxism-Leninism one way or another, but try as he may, he can never succeed in overthrowing Marxism-Leninism which Stalin defended and which is defended by Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.

We would like to offer a word of sincere advice to Comrade Khrushchov. We hope you will become aware of your errors and return from your wrong path to the path of Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the great revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

IS YUGOSLAVIA A SOCIALIST COUNTRY?

**Third Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(September 26, 1963)

IS Yugoslavia a socialist country?

This is not only a question of ascertaining the nature of the Yugoslav state, but it also involves the question of which road the socialist countries should follow: whether they should follow the road of the October Revolution and carry the socialist revolution through to the end or follow the road of Yugoslavia and restore capitalism. In addition, it involves the question of how to appraise the Tito clique: whether it is a fraternal Party and a force against imperialism or a renegade from the international communist movement and a lackey of imperialism.

On this question there are fundamental differences of opinion between the leaders of the CPSU, on the one hand, and ourselves and all other Marxist-Leninists, on the other.

All Marxist-Leninists hold that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country. The leading clique of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the Yugoslav people and consists of renegades from the international communist movement and lackeys of imperialism.

The leaders of the CPSU, on the other hand, hold that Yugoslavia is a socialist country and that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia bases itself on Marxism-Leninism and is a fraternal Party and a force against imperialism.

In its Open Letter of July 14 the Central Committee of the CPSU declares that Yugoslavia is a “socialist country” and that the Tito clique is a “fraternal Party” that “stands at the helm of the ship of state”.

Recently Comrade Khrushchov paid a visit to Yugoslavia and in a number of speeches he revealed the real standpoint of the leaders of the CPSU still more clearly, and completely discarded the fig-leaf with which they had been covering themselves on this question.

In Khrushchov's opinion, Yugoslavia is not only a socialist country but an "advanced" socialist country. There, one finds not "idle talk about revolution" but "actual construction of socialism", and the development of Yugoslavia is "a concrete contribution to the general world revolutionary workers' movement",¹ which Khrushchov rather envies and wishes to emulate.

In Khrushchov's opinion, the leaders of the CPSU and the Titoites are "not only class brothers" but "brothers tied together . . . by the singleness of aims confronting us". The leadership of the CPSU is a "reliable and faithful ally" of the Tito clique.²

Khrushchov believes he has discovered genuine Marxism-Leninism in the Tito clique. The Central Committee of the CPSU was merely pretending when it asserted in its Open Letter that "differences on a number of fundamental ideological questions still remain between the CPSU and the Yugoslav League of Communists". Now Khrushchov has told the Tito clique that "we belong to one and the same idea and are guided by the same theory", and that both stand on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.³

Khrushchov has cast the Statement of 1960 to the winds. The Statement says:

The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form.

It says:

After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yu-

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at a Mass Rally in Velenje, Yugoslavia, August 30, 1963.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at a Meeting in a Factory of Rakovica, Yugoslavia, August 21, 1963.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Interview with Foreign Correspondents at Brioni, Yugoslavia, August 28, 1963, as reported by Tanjug.

goslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole. . . .

It says:

[The leaders of the L.C.Y. were] dependent on so-called “aid” from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle.

It further says:

The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. . . . they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

The Statement is absolutely clear, and yet the leaders of the CPSU dare to say: “In accordance with the 1960 Statement, we consider Yugoslavia a socialist country.”¹ How can they say such a thing!

One would like to ask:

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it is guided by a variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist theories?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and sets itself against the international communist movement as a whole?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it carries on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement?

Can a country be socialist when, as the Statement says, it engages in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries?

¹“For the Victory of Creative Marxism-Leninism and Against the Revision of the Course of the World Communist Movement”, editorial board article in *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 11, 1963.

Can a country be socialist when the imperialist countries headed by the United States have nurtured it with several billions of U.S. dollars?

This is indeed out of the ordinary and unheard of!

Apparently, Comrade Togliatti speaks more plainly than Comrade Khrushchov. Togliatti did not mince his words; he said the position taken by the Statement of 1960 on the Tito clique was “wrong”.¹ Since Khrushchov is bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique, he should be more explicit; there is no need to pretend to uphold the Statement.

Is the Statement’s verdict on Yugoslavia wrong and should it be reversed? Togliatti says it is wrong and should be reversed. Khrushchov in effect also says it is wrong and should be reversed. We say it is not wrong and must not be reversed. All fraternal Parties adhering to Marxism-Leninism and upholding the Statement of 1960 likewise say it is not wrong and must not be reversed.

In doing so, in the opinion of the leaders of the CPSU, we are clinging to a “stereotyped formula” and to the “jungle laws” of the capitalist world² and are “‘excommunicating’ Yugoslavia from socialism”.³ Furthermore, whoever does not regard Yugoslavia as a socialist country is said to be going contrary to facts and making the mistake of subjectivism,⁴ whereas in shutting their eyes to the facts and asserting that Yugoslavia is a socialist country they are “proceeding from objective laws, from the teaching of Marxism-Leninism” and have drawn a conclusion based on “a profound analysis of reality”.⁵

¹ Palmiro Togliatti, “Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit”, *L’Unita*, January 10, 1963.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, December 1962.

³ Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, December 1962.

What are the realities in Yugoslavia? What sort of conclusion ought one to draw if one proceeds from objective laws, from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and makes a profound analysis of the realities in Yugoslavia?

Let us now look into this question.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE CAPITAL IN YUGOSLAV CITIES

One of Khrushchov's arguments to affirm that Yugoslavia is a socialist country is that private capital, private enterprise and capitalists do not exist in Yugoslavia.

Is that true? No, it is not.

The fact is private capital and private enterprise exist on a very big scale in Yugoslavia and are developing apace.

Judging by the record in all socialist countries, it is not strange to find different sectors, including a private capitalist sectors existing in the national economy of a socialist country for a considerable period after the proletariat has taken political power. What matters is the kind of policy adopted by the government towards private capitalism — the policy of utilizing, restricting, transforming and eliminating it, or the policy of laissez-faire and fostering and encouraging it. This is an important criterion for determining whether a country is developing towards socialism or towards capitalism.

On this question the Tito clique is going in the opposite direction from socialism. The social changes Yugoslavia introduced in the early post-war period were in the first place not thoroughgoing. The policy the Tito clique has adopted since its open betrayal is not one of transforming and eliminating private capital and private enterprise but of fostering and expanding them.

Regulations issued by the Tito clique in 1953 stipulate that "citizens' groups" have the right to "found enterprises" and "hire labour". In the same year, it issued a decree stipulat-

ing that private individuals have the right to purchase fixed assets from state economic establishments.

In 1956 the Tito clique encouraged local administrations to foster private capital by its taxation and other policies.

In 1961 the Tito clique decreed that private individuals have the right to purchase foreign exchange.

In 1963 the Tito clique embodied the policy of developing private capitalism in its constitution. According to provisions of the constitution, private individuals in Yugoslavia may found enterprises and hire labour.

With the Tito clique's help and encouragement, private enterprise and private capital have mushroomed in the cities in Yugoslavia.

According to the official *Statistical Pocket-Book of Yugoslavia*, 1963 published in Belgrade, there are over 115,000 privately-owned craft establishments in Yugoslavia. But in fact the owners of many of these private enterprises are not "craftsmen" but typical private capitalists.

The Tito clique admits that although the law allows private owners to employ a maximum of five workers each, there are some who employ ten or twenty times as many and even some who employ "five to six hundred workers".¹ And the annual turnover of some private enterprises is over 100 million dinars.²

Politika disclosed on December 7, 1961 that in many cases these private entrepreneurs are actually "big entrepreneurs". It says:

It is difficult to ascertain how wide the net of these private entrepreneurs spreads and how many workers they have. According to the law, they are entitled to keep five workers who are supposed to help them in their work. But to those who know the ins and outs of the matter, these five persons are actually contractors who in turn have their own

¹ M. Todorović, "The Struggle on Two Fronts", *Nasha Stvarnost*, March issue, 1954.

² *Vesnik u sredu*, December 27, 1961.

‘sub-contractors’. . . . As a rule, these contractors no longer engage in labour but only give orders, make plans and conclude contracts, travelling by car from one enterprise to another.

From the profits made by these entrepreneurs, one can see that they are one hundred per cent capitalists. *Svet* reported on December 8, 1961 that “the net income of some private handicraftsmen reaches one million dinars per month”, and the Belgrade *Večernje novosti* said on December 20, 1961 that in Belgrade “last year 116 owners of private enterprises each received an income of more than 10 million dinars”. Some entrepreneurs “received an income of about 70 million dinars” in one year, which is nearly U.S.\$100,000 according to the official rate of exchange.

In Yugoslav cities not only are there private industrial enterprises, private service establishments, private commerce, private housing estates and private transport business, there are also usurers, who are known as “private bankers”. These usurers operate openly and even advertise their business in the newspapers; one such advertisement runs as follows: “A loan of 300,000 dinars for three months offered. 400,000 dinars to be returned. Security necessary.”¹

All these are indisputable facts.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you assert that Yugoslavia has no private capital, no private enterprise and no capitalists?

YUGOSLAV COUNTRYSIDE SWAMPED BY CAPITALISM

Let us now consider the situation in the Yugoslav countryside.

Does it no longer have capitalists, as Khrushchov asserts?

¹ *Vesnik u sredu*, December 6, 1961.

No, the facts are quite the reverse.

The fact that Yugoslavia has been swamped by capitalism is even more striking in the countryside.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that individual economy, petty-producer economy, generates capitalism daily and hourly, and that only collectivization can lead agriculture on to the path of socialism.

Stalin pointed out:

Lenin says that so long as individual peasant economy, which engenders capitalists and capitalism, predominates in the country, the danger of a restoration of capitalism will exist. Clearly, so long as this danger exists there can be no serious talk of the victory of socialist construction in our country.¹

On this question the Tito clique pursues a line running counter to socialism.

In the initial post-war period a land reform took place in Yugoslavia and a number of peasants' working co-operatives were organized. But in the main the rich-peasant economy was left untouched.

In 1951 the Tito clique openly declared its abandonment of the road of agricultural collectivization and began to disband the peasants' working co-operatives. This was a serious step taken by the Tito clique in betraying the socialist cause. Such co-operatives decreased from over 6,900 in 1950 to a little more than 1,200 at the end of 1953, and to 147 in 1960. The Yugoslav countryside is submerged in a sea of individual economy.

The Tito clique declares that collectivization has not proved of value in Yugoslavia. It makes the vicious slander that

¹ J. V. Stalin, "Grain Procurements and the Prospects for the Development of Agriculture", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. XI, p. 8.

“collectivization is the same as expropriation”¹ and is a path which “preserves serfdom and poverty in the countryside for the longest possible time”.² It advocates the ridiculous idea that the development of agriculture should be “based on the free competition of economic forces”.³

While dissolving many of the peasants’ working co-operatives, the Tito clique has promulgated one law and decree after another since 1953 to encourage the development of capitalism in the rural areas, granting freedom to buy, sell and rent land and to hire farm hands, abolishing the planned purchase of agricultural produce and replacing it with free trading in this sphere.

Under this policy, the forces of capitalism spread rapidly in the rural areas and the process of polarization quickened. This has been an important aspect of the Tito clique’s work of restoring capitalism.

Polarization in the countryside is firstly revealed in the changes occurring in land ownership. Slavko Komar, formerly Yugoslav Secretary for Agriculture and Forestry, admitted that in 1959 poorer peasant households with less than 5 hectares of land each, which constitute 70 per cent of all peasant households, owned only 43 per cent of all privately-owned land, whereas well-to-do peasant households with more than 8 hectares of land each, which form only 13 per cent of all peasant households, owned 33 per cent of all privately-owned land. Komar also admitted that about 10 per cent of the peasant households bought or sold land every year.⁴ Most of the sellers were poorer families.

¹ Edvard Kardelj, Opening Address at the Ninth Plenum of the Fourth Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, May 5, 1959.

² Vladimir Bakarić, Speech at the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

³ Edvard Kardelj, “On Some Problems of Our Policy in the Villages” *Komunist*, Belgrade, No. 4, 1953.

⁴ Slavko Komar, “Some Problems Concerning the Countryside and the Peasant Households”, *Socializam*, No. 5, 1962.

The concentration of land is actually much more serious than is apparent from the above data. As revealed in the July 19, 1963 issue of *Borba*, the organ of the Tito clique, in one district alone there were "thousands of peasant households with far more than the legal maximum of 10 hectares of land". In Bijeljina Commune, "it was found that five hundred peasant households owned estates of 10 to 30 hectares". These are not isolated cases.

Polarization in the rural areas also manifests itself in the great inequalities in the ownership of draught animals and farm implements. Of the 308,000 peasant households in the province of Vojvodina, which is a leading grain-producing area, 55 per cent have no draught animals. Peasant households with less than 2 hectares of land each, which constitute 40.7 per cent of all peasant households, have only 4.4 per cent of all the ploughs in this region, or an average of one plough to 20 households. On the other hand, the rich peasants own more than 1,300 tractors and a great deal of other farm machinery as well as large numbers of ploughs and animal-drawn carts.¹

Polarization likewise manifests itself in the growth of such forms of capitalist exploitation as the hiring of labour.

The February 7, 1958 issue of *Komunist* revealed that 52 per cent of the peasant households in Serbia owning more than 8 hectares of land hired labourers in 1956.

In 1962 Slavko Komar said that the heads of some peasant households had in recent years "become powerful" and that "their income is derived not from their own labour but from unlawful trade, from the processing of both their own products and those of others, from illicit distilling of spirits, from the possession of more than the prescribed maximum of 10 hectares of farmland, which is obtained by purchasing, or more often by leasing land, fictitious partition of land among family members, seizure or concealment of public land, from the

¹ The Yugoslav journal *Index*, No. 2, 1962.

acquisition of tractors through speculation and from the exploitation of poor neighbours by cultivating their land for them”.¹

Borba stated on August 30, 1962 that “the so-called kind-hearted producer . . . is a leaseholder of land, a hirer of labour and an experienced merchant. . . . Such people are not producers, but entrepreneurs. Some never touch a hoe all the year round. They hire labour and only supervise the work in the field and they engage in trading”.

Usurers, too, are very active in the Yugoslav countryside. Interest rates often run to more than 100 per cent per annum. In addition, there are people who, taking advantage of the plight of the unemployed, monopolize the labour market and practise exploitation in the process.

Deprived of land and other means of production, large numbers of poverty-stricken peasants can live only by selling their labour power. According to figures given in *Politika* of August 20, 1962, about 70 per cent of the 1961 cash income of Yugoslav peasant households with less than 2 hectares of land came from selling their labour power. These peasants are fleeced right and left and lead a miserable life.

As facts show, the Yugoslav countryside is dominated by the exploiting class.

In arguing that Yugoslavia is a socialist country, the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU states that the “socialist sector” in the rural areas of Yugoslavia has increased from 6 to 15 per cent.

Unfortunately, even this pitiable percentage is not socialist.

By the socialist sector of 15 per cent the leaders of the CPSU can only mean such organizations as the “agricultural farms” and “general agricultural co-operatives” promoted by the Tito clique. But in fact the “agricultural farms” are capitalist farms and the “general agricultural co-operatives” are capitalist economic organizations engaging mainly in commerce. They

¹ Slavko Komar, *op. cit.*

do not affect the private ownership of land; what is more, their main function is to foster the development of the rich-peasant economy.

Problems of Agriculture in Yugoslavia, a work published in Belgrade, states that “judging by how they are organized today and how they function”, the co-operatives “do not in the least signify socialist reconstruction of agriculture and of the countryside. They are working not so much for the creation of socialist strongholds as for the development and promotion of capitalist elements. There are cases in which these co-operatives are kulak associations”.

The Tito clique has given the “general agricultural co-operatives” the monopoly right to purchase agricultural products from the peasants. Taking advantage of this special privilege and of uncontrolled fluctuations in prices of farm produce, the so-called co-operatives speculate and through such commercial activities exploit the peasants in a big way. In 1958 Yugoslavia had a poor harvest. The co-operatives and other commercial organs took the opportunity to raise the selling prices of farm produce. The year 1959 brought a better harvest and the co-operatives broke their contracts with the peasants and reduced their purchases, not even hesitating to let the crops rot in the fields.

The “general agricultural co-operatives” and the “agricultural farms” hire and exploit a large number of long-term and temporary workers. According to data in *The Statistical Year-Book of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* of 1962, long-term workers hired by the “cooperatives” alone totalled more than 100,000 in 1961. A large number of temporary workers were also employed. As disclosed by *Rad* on December 1, 1962, hired labourers “are very often subject to the crudest exploitation (the working day may be as long as 15 hours), and usually their personal income is extremely low”.

It is thus clear that these agricultural organizations of the so-called socialist sector are nothing but capitalist agricultural organizations.

Expropriation of poorer peasants and promotion of capitalist farms form the Tito clique's basic policy in the sphere of agriculture. Back in 1955, Tito said:

We do not abandon the idea that the day will come in Yugoslavia when small farms will be combined in one way or another. . . . In America they have already done so. We must find a solution to this problem.

In order to take the capitalist path, in 1959 the Tito clique promulgated the Law on the Utilization of Cultivated Land, stipulating that the land of peasants working on their own, who cannot farm it according to requirements, is subject to the "compulsory management" of the "general agricultural co-operatives" and "agricultural farms". In effect, this means the expropriation of poorer peasants and the forcible annexation of their land to develop capitalist farms. This is the path of capitalist agriculture, pure and simple.

In speaking of the transition from small peasant economy to an economy of large-scale farming, Stalin said:

There you have two paths, the capitalist path and the socialist path: the path forward — to socialism, and the path backward — to capitalism.

Is there a third path? Stalin said, "The so-called third path is actually the second path, the path leading back to capitalism." "For what does it mean to return to individual farming and to restore the kulaks? It means restoring kulak bondage, restoring the exploitation of the peasantry by the kulaks and giving the kulaks power. But is it possible to restore the kulaks and at the same time to preserve the Soviet power? No, it is not possible. The restoration of the kulaks is bound to lead to the creation of a kulak power and to the liquidation of the Soviet power — hence, it is bound to lead to the formation of a bourgeois government. And the formation of a bourgeois government is bound to lead in its turn to the

restoration of the landlords and capitalists, to the restoration of capitalism.”¹

The path taken by Yugoslavia in agriculture during the past ten years and more is precisely the path of restoring capitalism.

All these are indisputable facts.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you assert that there are no capitalists in Yugoslavia?

THE DEGENERATION OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY OWNED BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE INTO CAPITALIST ECONOMY

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia manifests itself not only in the fact that private capitalism is spreading freely both in the cities and in the countryside. Still more important, the “public” enterprises, which play a decisive role in the Yugoslav economy, have degenerated.

The Tito clique’s economy of “workers’ self-government” is state capitalism of a peculiar kind. It is not state capitalism under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat but state capitalism under conditions in which the Tito clique has turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie. The means of production of the enterprises under “workers’ self-government” do not belong to one or more private capitalists but to the new type of bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie of Yugoslavia, which includes the bureaucrats and managers and which the Tito clique represents. Usurping the name of the state, depending on U.S. imperialism and disguising itself under the cloak of

¹J. V. Stalin, “Speech Delivered at the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Brigaders”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1955, Vol. XIII, p. 248.

socialism, this bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie has robbed the working people of the property originally belonging to them. In reality, “workers’ self-government” is a system of ruthless exploitation under the domination of bureaucrat-comprador capital.

Since 1950, the Tito clique has issued a series of decrees instituting “workers’ self-government” in all state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises in communications, transport, trade, agriculture, forestry and public utilities. The essence of “workers’ self-government” consists of handing over the enterprises to “working collectives”, with each enterprise operating independently, purchasing its own raw materials, deciding on the variety, output and prices of its products and marketing them, and determining its own wage scale and the division of part of its profits. Yugoslav decrees further stipulate that economic enterprises have the right to buy, sell or lease fixed assets.

In the enterprises under “workers’ self-government”, ownership is described by the Tito clique as “a higher form of socialist ownership”. They assert that only with “workers’ self-government” can one “really build socialism”.

This is sheer deception.

Theoretically speaking, as anyone with a slight knowledge of Marxism knows, slogans like “workers’ self-government” and “factories to the workers” have never been Marxist slogans but slogans advanced by anarchist syndicalists, bourgeois socialists and old-line opportunists and revisionists.

The theory of “workers’ self-government” and “factories to the workers” runs counter to the fundamental Marxist theory of socialism. It was completely refuted by the classical Marxist writers long ago.

As Marx and Engels pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*, “The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State. . . .”

Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring*, “The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property.”

Having seized political power, the proletariat must concentrate the means of production in the hands of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a fundamental principle of socialism.

In the early period of Soviet power following the October Revolution when some people advocated handing the factories over to the producers so that they could “organize production” directly, Lenin sternly criticized this view, saying that in reality it meant opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He acutely pointed out:

. . . Any direct or indirect legalization of the possession of their own production by the workers of individual factories or individual professions or of their right to weaken or impede the decrees of the state power is the greatest distortion of the basic principles of Soviet power and the complete renunciation of socialism.¹

It is thus clear that “workers’ self-government” has nothing to do with socialism.

In fact, the “workers’ self-government” of the Tito clique does not provide self-government on the part of the workers; it is a hoax.

The enterprises under “workers’ self-government” are actually in the clutches of the new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie represented by the Tito clique. It controls the enterprises’ property and personnel and takes away much the greater part of their income.

Through the banks the Tito clique controls the credit of the entire country and the investment funds and liquid capital of all enterprises and supervises their financial affairs.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “On the Democracy and Socialist Character of the Soviet Power”.

The Tito clique plunders the income of these enterprises by various means, such as the collection of taxes and interest. According to the statistics of the "Report on the Work in 1961 by the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia", it took away about three-quarters of the enterprises' net income in this way.

The Tito clique seizes the fruits of the people's labour which it appropriates chiefly for meeting the extravagant expenses of this clique of bureaucrats, for maintaining its reactionary rule, for strengthening the apparatus which suppresses the working people, and for paying tribute to the imperialists in the form of the servicing of foreign debts.

Moreover, the Tito clique controls these enterprises through their managers. The managers are nominally chosen by competition by the enterprises but are in fact appointed by the Tito clique. They are agents of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in these enterprises.

In the enterprises under "workers' self-government", the relations between managers and workers are actually relations between employers and employees, between the exploiters and the exploited.

As matters stand, the managers can determine the production plans and the direction of development of these enterprises, dispose of the means of production, take the decisions on the distribution of the enterprises' income, hire or fire workers and overrule the resolutions of the workers' councils or management boards.

Abundant information published in the Yugoslav press proves that the workers' council is merely formal, a kind of voting machine, and that all power in the enterprise is in the hands of the manager.

The fact that the manager of an enterprise controls its means of production and the distribution of its income enables him to appropriate the fruits of the workers' labour by means of various privileges.

The Tito clique itself admits that in these enterprises there is a wide gap between managers and workers not only in wages but also in bonuses. In some enterprises, the bonuses of the managers and higher staff are forty times those of the workers. "In certain enterprises, the total amount of the bonus which a group of leaders received is equal to the wage fund of the entire collective."¹

Moreover, the managers of the enterprises use their privileges to make a lot of money by various subterfuges. Bribery, embezzlement and theft are still bigger sources of income for the managers.

The broad masses of the workers live in poverty. There is no guarantee of employment. Large numbers of workers lose their jobs with the closing down of enterprises. According to official statistics, in February 1963 the number of the unemployed reached 339,000, or about 10 per cent of the number of the employed. In addition, every year many workers go abroad seeking work.

Politika admitted on September 25, 1961 that "there exists a great gap between some workers and office employees; the former look upon the latter as 'bureaucrats' who 'swallow up' their wages".

These facts show that in the Yugoslav enterprises under "workers' self-government", a new social group has come into being consisting of the few who appropriate the fruits of labour of the many. It is an important component of the new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie in Yugoslavia.

By promoting "workers' self-government", the Tito clique has completely pushed the enterprises originally owned by the whole people off the path of socialist economy.

The main manifestations of this are the following:

First, the abandonment of unified economic planning by the state.

¹ Letter of the Central Committee of the L.C.Y. to Its Organizations and Leaderships at All Levels, February 17, 1958.

Second, the use of profits as the primary incentive in the operation of the enterprises. They may adopt a variety of methods to increase their income and profits. In other words, in the enterprises under “workers’ self-government” the aim of production is not to meet the needs of society but to seek profits, just as in any capitalist enterprise.

Third, the pursuance of the policy of encouraging capitalist free competition. Tito has said to the managers of the enterprises, “Competition at home will be beneficial to our ordinary people, the consumers.” The Tito clique also openly declares that it allows “competition, the seeking of profits, speculation and the like” because “they play a positive role in promoting the initiative of the producers, their collective, the communes, etc.”.¹

Fourth, the use of credit and the banks as important levers to promote capitalist free competition. In granting loans, the Tito regime’s credit and banking system invites tenders for investment. Whoever is capable of repaying the loan in the shortest period and paying the highest rate of interest will obtain the loan. In their words, this is “to use competition as the usual method of allocating investment credits”.²

Fifth, relations among the enterprises are not socialist relations of mutual support and co-ordination under a unified government plan but capitalist relations of competition and rivalry in a free market.

All this has undermined the very foundation of socialist planned economy.

Lenin said:

Socialism . . . is inconceivable without planned state organization which subjects tens of millions of people to

¹ Vladimir Bakarić, Report to the Fourth Congress of the League of Communists of Croatia, April 7, 1959.

² Augustin Papić, “Investment Financing in Yugoslavia”, *Annals of Collective Economy*, Belgrade, April-November 1959.

the strictest observance of a single standard in production and distribution.¹

He also said:

. . . without all-sided state accounting and control of production and distribution of goods, the power of the toilers, the freedom of the toilers, cannot be maintained, and . . . a return to the yoke of capitalism is *inevitable*.²

Under the signboard of “workers’ self-government”, all the economic departments and enterprises in Yugoslavia are locked in fierce capitalist competition. It is quite common for the enterprises under “workers’ self-government” to engage in embezzlement, speculation and hoarding, to inflate prices, bribe, hide technical secrets, grab technical personnel and even to attack one another in the press or over the radio in rivalry for markets and profits.

The fierce competition among Yugoslav enterprises goes on not only in the home market but also in foreign trade. The Yugoslav press says that it is not unusual for twenty or thirty agents of Yugoslav foreign trade establishments to visit the same market abroad, compete among themselves for business, and take away the others’ customers or suppliers. “From selfish motives”, these enterprises engaged in foreign trade seek to “make profits at any cost” and “is not choosy about their means”.

A result of this fierce competition is chaos in the Yugoslav market. Prices vary considerably not only in different cities or regions but also in different shops in the same place, and even for the same kind of goods from the same producer. In order to maintain high prices, some enterprises do not hesitate to destroy large quantities of farm produce.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “‘Left-Wing’ Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VII, p. 365.

² V. I. Lenin, “The Immediate Tasks Of the Soviet Government”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VII, p. 327.

Another result of this fierce competition is the closing down of large numbers of enterprises in Yugoslavia. According to information provided by the *Official Bulletin of the FPRY*, five hundred to six hundred enterprises closed down annually in recent years.

All this shows that the “public” economy of Yugoslavia is governed not by the laws of socialist planned economy but by those of capitalist competition and anarchy of production. The Tito clique’s enterprises under “workers’ self-government” are not socialist but capitalist in nature.

We would like to ask those who are bent on reversing the verdict on the Tito clique: Unless it is your intention to deceive, how can you describe the state capitalist economy controlled by the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie as a socialist economy?

A DEPENDENCY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

The process of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia is interwoven with the process in which the Tito clique has become subservient towards U.S. imperialism and Yugoslavia has degenerated into a U.S. imperialist dependency.

With its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, the Tito clique embarked on the shameful course of selling out the sovereignty of the state and living off the alms of U.S. imperialism.

According to incomplete statistics, from the conclusion of World War II to January 1963 the United States and other imperialist powers extended to the Tito clique “aid” totalling some U.S. \$5,460 million, of which more than 60 per cent, or about \$3,500 million, was U.S. “aid”. The greatest part of this U.S. aid was granted after 1950.

U.S. aid has been the mainstay of Yugoslavia’s finances and economy. Official statistics show that in 1961 the loans the Tito clique obtained from the United States and U.S.-controlled international financial organizations totalled U.S. \$346 million,

or 47.4 per cent of the federal budgetary income of Yugoslavia in that year. With the inclusion of aid from other Western countries, the money received by the Tito clique from Western countries in 1961 totalled U.S. \$493 million, or 67.6 per cent of the federal budgetary income in that year.

In order to obtain U.S. aid, the Tito clique has concluded a series of traitorous treaties with the United States.

The notes exchanged between Yugoslavia and the United States in 1951 concerning the Agreement Relating to Mutual Defense Assistance stipulated that U.S. Government officials have the "freedom . . . , without restriction", to observe and supervise the receipt and distribution in Yugoslavia of U.S. military aid material and has "full access to communication and information facilities". The agreement also required Yugoslavia to provide the United States with strategic raw materials.

The Agreement Regarding Military Assistance signed between Yugoslavia and the United States in 1951 stipulated that Yugoslavia should "make the full contribution . . . to the development and maintenance of the defensive Strength of the free world" and should be ready to provide troops for the United Nations. Under this agreement the military mission sent by the United States was to directly supervise the training of Yugoslav troops.

The Yugoslav-U.S. Economic Co-operation Agreement of 1952 stipulated that Yugoslavia must use U.S. aid for "furthering fundamental individual human rights, freedoms and democratic institutions", that is, for furthering capitalism.

In 1954 Yugoslavia concluded a Treaty of Alliance, Political Co-operation and Mutual Assistance with Greece and Turkey, both members of NATO. The treaty provided for military and diplomatic co-ordination among the three countries, thus making Yugoslavia a virtual member of the U.S.-controlled military bloc.

Since 1954 Yugoslavia has concluded a series of agreements with the United States, selling out its sovereignty. More than

fifty such agreements were signed in the period between 1957 and 1962.

Because of the conclusion of these treaties and agreements and because the Tito clique has made Yugoslavia dependent on U.S. imperialism, the United States enjoys the following rights in Yugoslavia:

- (1) to control its military affairs;
- (2) to control its foreign affairs;
- (3) to interfere in its internal affairs;
- (4) to manipulate and supervise its finance;
- (5) to control its foreign trade;
- (6) to plunder its strategic resources; and
- (7) to collect military and economic intelligence.

The independence and sovereignty of Yugoslavia have thus been auctioned off by the Tito clique.

In addition to selling out Yugoslavia's sovereign rights in a series of unequal treaties with the United States, the Tito clique, in order to secure U.S. aid, has taken one step after another in domestic and foreign policy to comply with Western monopoly capital's demand to penetrate Yugoslavia.

Starting from 1950 the Tito clique abolished the monopoly of foreign trade by the state.

The Act on Foreign Trade Activities promulgated in 1953 permitted enterprises to conduct foreign trade independently and to have direct transactions with Western monopoly capitalist enterprises.

In 1961 the Tito regime introduced reforms in the systems of foreign exchange and foreign trade. Their main content was the further relaxation of restrictions on import and export trade. Complete liberalization was effected in the import of major semi-processed materials and certain consumers goods, and restrictions on the import of other commodities were relaxed in varying degrees. Restrictions were removed on the supply of foreign exchange needed for so-called unrestricted imports.

Everybody knows that state monopoly of foreign trade is a basic principle of socialism.

Lenin said that the industrial proletariat “is absolutely not in a position to recover our industry and to make Russia an industrial country without the protection of industry, which in no way refers to its protection by customs policy, but solely and exclusively refers to its protection by monopoly of foreign trade.”¹

Stalin said that “the monopoly of foreign trade is one of the unshakable foundations of the platform of the Soviet Government” and that the abolition of the monopoly of foreign trade would mean “abandoning the industrialization of the country”, “flooding the U.S.S.R. with goods from capitalist countries”, and “transforming our country from an independent country into a semi-colonial one”.²

To abolish the state monopoly of foreign trade, as the Tito regime has done, is to throw the door wide open to imperialist monopoly capital.

What are the economic consequences of the fact that the Tito clique receives large amounts of U.S. aid and keeps Yugoslavia’s door wide open to imperialism?

First, Yugoslavia has become a market for imperialist dumping.

Huge quantities of industrial goods and farm produce from the imperialist countries have flooded the Yugoslav market. In pursuit of profits the Yugoslav comprador capitalists, who make piles of money by serving foreign monopoly capital, keep on importing commodities even though they can be produced at home and even when stocks are huge. *Politika* admitted on July 25, 1961 that it “was everywhere evident” that Yugoslav industry “was suffering blows from the continuous and very complicated competition of foreign industry”.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “On the Monopoly of Foreign Trade”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXIII, p. 420.

² J. V. Stalin, “Interview with the First American Labour Delegation”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. X, pp. 115 and 116.

Secondly, Yugoslavia has become an outlet for imperialist investment.

Many Yugoslav industrial enterprises have been built with “aid” from the United States and other imperialist countries. A great deal of foreign private monopoly capital has penetrated into Yugoslavia. According to Augustin Papić, the general manager of the Yugoslav Investment Bank, in the period between 1952 and 1956 “the participation of foreign funds reached 32.5 per cent of the total value of economic investments”. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said on February 5, 1962 that Yugoslavia’s source of capital was “largely in the West.”

Thirdly, Yugoslavia has become a base from which imperialism extracts raw materials.

In accordance with the Agreement Regarding Military Assistance, the Tito clique has since 1951 continually supplied the United States with large quantities of strategic raw materials. According to the *Statistical Year-Book of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia* of 1961, about half of Yugoslavia’s exports of important metals, such as magnesium, lead, zinc and antimony, have gone to the United States since 1957.

Fourthly, the industrial enterprises of Yugoslavia have become assembly shops for Western monopoly capitalist companies.

Many major Yugoslav industries produce under licence from Western countries and are dependent on imports of semi-processed materials, parts, spare parts and semi-manufactured products. The production of these industries is under the control of Western monopoly capital.

In fact, many of the industrial products sold as home products in Yugoslavia are assembled from imported ready-made parts and have Yugoslav trade marks attached. *Vesnik u sredu* of April 25, 1962 said that “some of our industrial enterprises are becoming a special type of commercial organization, which does not produce but assembles, only sticking its own trade mark on the products of others”.

In these circumstances, Yugoslavia has become an integral part of the world market of Western monopoly capital. In the financial and economic spheres it is tightly bound to the capitalist world market and has degenerated into a dependency of imperialism, and particularly of U.S. imperialism.

When a socialist country sells out its independence and sovereign rights and becomes an imperialist appendage, the restoration of the capitalist system is the inevitable result.

The special road of building "socialism" by relying on U.S. aid advertised by the Tito clique is nothing but a road for turning a socialist system into a capitalist system to meet the needs of imperialism, a road of degeneration from an independent country into a semi-colony.

Khrushchov insists that this dependency of U.S. imperialism is "building socialism". This is fantastic. A self-styled socialism having U.S. aid as its trade mark is a new variety to be added to the bogus brands of socialism, which were criticized by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and this is presumably a great contribution on the part of Tito and Khrushchov in "creatively developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism".

A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY SPECIAL DETACHMENT OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Judging by the counter-revolutionary role played by the Tito clique in international relations and by its reactionary foreign policy, Yugoslavia is still farther from being a socialist country.

In the international arena the Tito clique is a special detachment of U.S. imperialism for sabotaging the world revolution.

By setting the example of restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia, the Tito clique is helping U.S. imperialism to push its policy of "peaceful evolution" inside the socialist countries.

Under the signboard of a socialist country, the Tito clique is frantically opposing and disrupting the socialist camp and

serving as an active agent in the anti-Chinese campaign.

Under the cover of non-alignment and active coexistence the Tito clique is trying to wreck the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and is serving U.S neo-colonialism.

The Tito clique spares no effort to prettify U.S. imperialism and benumb the people of the world in their struggle against the imperialist policies of war and aggression.

Under the pretext of opposing “Stalinism”, the Tito clique is peddling revisionist poison everywhere and opposing revolution by the people in all countries.

The Tito clique has invariably played the role of a lackey of U.S. imperialism in the major international events of the past ten years and more.

1. The revolution in Greece. On July 10, 1949 Tito closed the border between Yugoslavia and Greece against the Greek people’s guerrillas. At the same time, he allowed the Greek fascist royalist troops to pass through Yugoslav territory in order to attack the guerrillas from the rear. In this way the Tito clique helped the U.S.-British imperialists to strangle the Greek people’s revolution.

2. The Korean War. In a statement issued on September 6, 1950, Edvard Kardelj, who was then foreign minister, brazenly slandered the Korean people’s just war of resistance to aggression and defended U.S. imperialism. On December 1, speaking at the U.N. Security Council, the representative of the Tito clique attacked China for its “active interference in the Korean War”. The Tito clique also voted in the United Nations for the embargo on China and Korea.

3. The Vietnamese people’s war of liberation. On the eve of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in April 1954, the Tito clique violently slandered the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, asserting that they were being used by Moscow and Peking “as a card in their post-war policy of cold war”.¹

¹ *Borba*, April 23, 1954.

They said of the Vietnamese people's great battle to liberate Dien Bien Phu that it was "not a gesture of goodwill".¹

4. Subversion against Albania. The Tito clique has been carrying on subversive activities and armed provocations against socialist Albania for a long time. It has engineered four major cases of treason, in 1944, 1948, 1956 and 1960. Its armed provocations on the Yugoslav-Albanian border numbered more than 470 from 1948 to 1958. In 1960 the Tito clique and the Greek reactionaries planned an armed attack on Albania in co-ordination with the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

5. The counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. The Tito clique played a shameful role of an interventionist provocateur in the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rebellion in October 1956. After the outbreak of the rebellion, Tito published a letter supporting the counter-revolutionary measures of the traitor Nagy. On November 3 the Tito clique bade Nagy seek asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy in Hungary. In a speech on November 11, Tito characterized the counter-revolutionary rebellion as resistance by "progressives" and impudently questioned whether the "course of Yugoslavia" or the "course of Stalinism" would win.

6. The Middle Eastern events. In 1958 troops were sent by U.S. imperialism to occupy Lebanon and by British imperialism to occupy Jordan. There arose a world-wide wave of protest demanding the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. and British troops. At the emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly on the Middle Eastern situation, Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, said that "it is not a question of whether we insist on condemning or approving the actions taken by the United States and Great Britain". He advocated intervention by the United Nations, an organization which is under the control of U.S. imperialism.

7. The event in the Taiwan Straits. In the autumn of 1958, the Chinese People's Liberation Army shelled Quemoy in

¹ *Borba*, May 8, 1954.

order to counter the U.S. imperialist provocations in the Taiwan Straits and to punish the Chiang Kai-shek gang, which is a U.S. imperialist lackey. The Tito clique maligned China's just struggle as "a danger to the whole world"¹ and "harmful to peace".²

8. The U-2 incident. In 1960 the United States sent a U-2 spy plane to intrude into the Soviet Union and sabotaged the four-power summit conference scheduled to be held in Paris. On May 17 Tito issued a statement attacking the correct stand then taken by the Soviet Government as creating "such large-scale disputes".

9. The Japanese people's patriotic struggle against the United States. In June 1960 the Japanese people waged a just and patriotic struggle against the United States, which was unprecedented in its scale. But the Tito clique defended U.S. imperialism, saying that the U.S. occupation of Japan "promoted the democratization of political life in Japan".³ Subsequently, it attacked the statement of Inejiro Asanuma, the late President of the Japanese Socialist Party, that "U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the Japanese and Chinese peoples", accusing him of "standing for an extremist line".⁴

10. The struggle of the Indonesian people. The Tito clique tried to sabotage the Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism. It engaged in base activities in an effort to prevent the establishment of a "Nasakom" cabinet in Indonesia, that is, a government of national unity comprising the nationalists, religious circles and the Communists.

11. The Congo event. In the summer of 1960, when U.S. imperialism carried out armed aggression in the Congo under the flag of the United Nations, the Tito clique not only voted for U.S. imperialism in the United Nations but, in accordance with the desire of U.S. imperialism, sent air force personnel

¹ *Slobodni Dom*, September 4, 1958.

² *Slovenski Porocevalec*, September 9, 1958.

³ *Komunist*, Belgrade, June 2, 1960.

⁴ *Foreign Political Bulletin*, February 1, 1962.

to the Congo to take a direct part in the bloody suppression of the Congolese people.

12. The Laotian question. When U.S. imperialism stepped up its intervention in Laos in January 1961, the Tito clique spread the view that the United States “is really concerned for the peace and neutralization of Laos”.¹ When U.S. imperialism engineered political assassinations and armed conflicts in Laos in May 1963, the Tito clique attacked the Laotian patriotic forces for “putting all the blame on the United States”.²

13. The U.S. Alliance for Progress programme. In August 1961 the United States forced various Latin American countries to sign the Alliance for Progress programme, which was a new U.S. imperialist instrument for the enslavement of the Latin American people. This programme of aggression was strongly opposed by the Latin American people but was praised by the Tito clique as “meeting in a large measure the requirements of the Latin American countries”.³

14. The Sino-Indian border conflict. Ever since the Indian reactionaries created tension on the Sino-Indian border in 1959, the Tito clique has consistently supported the expansionism, aggression and provocations of the Indian reactionaries against China. It openly spread the lie that “the demarcation of the boundary was already completed at the beginning of the present century and put into the shape of the well-known McMahon Line”,⁴ and did its best to confuse right and wrong, making the slander that China “permits itself to revise its border with India wilfully and by force”⁵ and “committed aggression” against India.⁶

15. The Cuban revolution and the Caribbean crisis. The Tito clique has made numerous comments attacking Cuba, saying

¹ *Borba*, January 13, 1961.

² *Politika*, May 5, 1963.

³ *Komunist*, Belgrade, August 17, 1961.

⁴ *Rad*, September 12, 1959.

⁵ *Borba*, December 26, 1960.

⁶ *Politika*, September 3, 1959.

that Cuba “believes only in revolution”¹ and that the Cuban revolution is “not so much a model as an exception to the road of revolution”.² During the Caribbean crisis in the autumn of 1962, the Tito clique defended U.S. imperialist aggression, saying that “the difficulties started when the Cuban revolution trod on the pet corns of the U.S. companies”,³ and that “if it is said that the United States was irritated by the establishment of rocket bases in Cuba, in its close neighbourhood, that would be understandable”.⁴

From all this, people cannot fail to see that for the past ten years and more the Tito clique has desperately opposed the socialist countries, tried to sabotage the national liberation movement, maligned the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in all countries and actively served imperialism and especially U.S. imperialism.

Khrushchov has said repeatedly that there is “unanimity” and “accord” between the leadership of the CPSU and the Tito clique in their positions on international problems.⁵ Well, then we would like to ask whether or not there is unanimity or accord between your activities and the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Tito clique. Please answer, if you have the courage.

THE DEGENERATION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE

In the final analysis, the fact that capitalism has swamped Yugoslavia in both town and country, the degeneration of an

¹ *The Rebellion of Cuba*, Belgrade, November 1962.

² *Politika*, January 1, 1963.

³ *Komunist*, Belgrade, September 13, 1962.

⁴ *Politika*, November 13, 1962.

⁵ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at a Mass Rally in Split, Yugoslavia, August 24, 1963.

economy owned by the whole people into a state capitalist economy and the decline of Yugoslavia into a dependency of U.S. imperialism are all due to the degeneration of the Party and state power in Yugoslavia.

Fighting heroically against the German and Italian fascist aggressors during World War II, the Communist Party and people of Yugoslavia overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism and its lackey in Yugoslavia and established the people's democratic state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Not long afterwards, the leading group of the Yugoslav Communist Party betrayed Marxism-Leninism and embarked on the path of revisionism, bringing about the gradual degeneration of the Party and state power in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Communist Party had a glorious tradition of revolutionary struggles. The betrayal of the Tito clique met first of all with strong resistance inside the Party. To suppress this resistance, the Tito clique used its power to expel and purge from the Party a great number of Communists loyal to Marxism-Leninism. In the period from 1948 to 1952 alone, more than 200,000 Party members, or half the original membership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, were expelled. Taking action against the so-called Cominform elements, it arrested and slaughtered large numbers of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary cadres and people, the number of Communists and active revolutionaries arrested and imprisoned alone exceeding thirty thousand. At the same time, the Tito clique opened the door wide to counter-revolutionaries, bourgeois elements, all kinds of anti-socialist elements and careerists seeking position and wealth through their membership cards. In November 1952 the Tito clique declared that "the appellation Party no longer fits" and changed the name, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, into the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In violation of the will of all honest Communists in Yugoslavia, it changed the character of the Yugoslav Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat and made

the L.C.Y. the virtual instrument for maintaining its dictatorial rule.

In the socialist countries, state power is under the leadership of communist political parties. With the degeneration of a communist into a bourgeois political party, state power inevitably degenerates from the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Yugoslavia was the fruit of the protracted and heroic struggle of the Yugoslav people. But as the Tito clique turned renegade, this state power changed its nature.

The Tito clique has declared, "The means of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, *i.e.*, of the socialist state system, become increasingly unnecessary."¹

But is there no dictatorship in Yugoslavia any longer? Yes, there is. While the dictatorship of the proletariat is indeed no more, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie not only exists, but is a brutal fascist dictatorship at that.

The Tito regime has set up many fascist prisons and concentration camps, where tens of thousands of revolutionaries have been tortured to death by every kind of inhuman punishment. At the same time, the Tito regime has pardoned large numbers of counter-revolutionaries and traitors in the anti-fascist war. Replying to a United Press correspondent on January 7, 1951, Tito admitted that 11,000 political prisoners had been pardoned in Yugoslavia. On March 13, 1962 another 150,000 counter-revolutionaries living in exile abroad were pardoned. The dictatorship over these enemies of the people was indeed abolished and they have obtained "democracy". Whatever fine-sounding phrases the Tito clique may use, its "democracy" is only a democracy for the small number of old and new bourgeois elements; for the working people it is out-and-out dictatorship. The Tito clique has transformed the revolutionary state machinery, which was built up to suppress the small

¹ Edvard Kardelj, "The New Constitution of Socialist Yugoslavia", *Borba*, September 29, 1962.

minority of exploiters, into a state machinery for suppressing the proletariat and the broad masses.

The degeneration of the state power in Yugoslavia occurred not through the overthrow of the original state power by violence and the establishment of a new state power, but through "peaceful evolution". In appearance, the same people remain in power, but in essence these people no longer represent the interests of the workers, peasants and the working people but those of imperialism and the old and new bourgeoisie of Yugoslavia.

Utilizing state power and controlling the economic lifeline of the country, the Tito clique exploited the Yugoslav working people to the utmost extent and brought into being a bureaucrat-capitalist class. Being dependent on U.S. imperialism, this class is strongly comprador in character and is also a comprador capitalist class. The state power controlled by the Tito clique is that of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie.

The above facts show from various aspects that the policy pursued by the Tito regime is one of restoring and developing capitalism, namely, of reducing Yugoslavia to a semi-colony or a dependency.

The degeneration of the state power in Yugoslavia has led to the destruction of the socialist economic system and the restoration of a capitalist economic system. When a new bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie has gradually come into being with the re-establishment of the capitalist economic system in a new form, it demands the intensification of the bourgeois dictatorship and the development of a political system suited to the capitalist economic system so as to consolidate its ruling position.

This is how the process from the degeneration of the Party and state power to the restoration of capitalism in the entire social and economic system has been realized step by step in Yugoslavia. The process of degeneration has gone on for fif-

teen years. This is the record of how a socialist state “peacefully evolves” into a capitalist state.

The Tito clique maintains its rule in Yugoslavia by relying on U.S. imperialist support, the state machine of the dictatorship of the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, the labour aristocracy bought by it, and the rich peasants in the countryside. At the same time, it uses various cunning means to disguise its reactionary features and hoodwink the people. But its reactionary policies are extremely unpopular. The degeneration of the socialist state into a capitalist state, the degeneration of an independent country into a semi-colony or a dependency of imperialism, runs counter to the basic interests of the Yugoslav people, and cannot but be opposed by all the honest Communists and the overwhelming majority of the people of Yugoslavia.

We are in deep sympathy with the people and Communists of Yugoslavia in their present predicament. Although the Tito clique can ride roughshod over the people for a time, we are confident that whatever high-handed measures and whatever tricks of deception it may resort to, no ruling group will come to a good end once it is against the people. The Tito clique is of course no exception. The deceived people will gradually wake up in the end. The people and Communists of Yugoslavia who have a glorious history will not submit to the renegade Tito clique for ever. The future of the Yugoslav people is bright.

THE PRINCIPLED STAND OF THE CPC ON THE QUESTION OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU asserts that for a time “the CPC leaders had no doubts as to the nature of the socialist system in Yugoslavia”, and that now the Chinese leaders have “changed their position on the Yugoslavian question so drastically”.

True, Yugoslavia was once a socialist state. For a time the country advanced along the path of socialism.

But soon after, owing to the Tito clique's betrayal, the Yugoslav social system began to degenerate step by step.

In 1954, when Khrushchov proposed to improve relations with Yugoslavia, we agreed to treat it as a fraternal socialist country for the purpose of winning it back to the path of socialism and watching how the Tito clique would develop.

We did not entertain very much hope for the Tito clique even then. In its letter of June 10, 1954 to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the CPC pointed out that the fact should be taken into account that as the leaders of Yugoslavia had already gone quite far in their dealings with imperialism, they might reject our effort to win it over and refuse to return to the path of socialism; "but even though this should occur, it would not involve any political loss to the camp of peace, democracy and socialism — on the contrary, it would further expose the hypocrisy of the Yugoslav leaders before the people of Yugoslavia and of the world."

Unfortunately, our words have proved all too true! Indeed the Tito clique has flatly rejected our effort to win it over and gone farther and farther along the path of revisionism.

After it refused to sign the 1957 Declaration, the Tito clique put forward its out-and-out revisionist programme in 1958 and set this banner of modern revisionism against the 1957 Declaration which is the common programme acknowledged by all Communist and Workers' Parties. The process of restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia has been realized step by step. And internationally, the Tito clique is serving more and more energetically as a counter-revolutionary special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

In these circumstances, the attitude every Marxist-Leninist Party should take towards the Tito clique is no longer the one it should take towards a fraternal Party or a fraternal country, nor should it be that of winning the Tito clique over, but it should be one of thoroughly exposing and firmly combating

this gang of renegades. The 1960 Statement has given its clear conclusion on this point.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU has deliberately evaded the series of important events which occurred after the meeting of the fraternal Parties in November 1957 and also the conclusions unanimously reached at the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1960, and tries to defend the erroneous stand of the leadership of the CPSU by quoting a sentence from the editorial on Yugoslavia in *Renmin Ribao* of September 12, 1957. This is futile.

The facts prove that our position with regard to the Tito clique conforms with reality, is a principled position, and is in accord with the common agreement of the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1960. On the other hand, the leaders of the CPSU have tried in a thousand and one ways to reverse the verdict on the Tito clique, which testifies to their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the 1960 Statement, and their rendering of assistance to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in deceiving the people of Yugoslavia and of the whole world.

HAS TITO "REMOVED HIS ERRORS"? OR DOES KHRUSHCHOV REGARD TITO AS HIS TEACHER?

Khrushchov says that the Yugoslav leaders have removed very much of what was considered erroneous. But the Titoites do not admit that they have committed any errors, much less removed them. The Titoites say that they have "no need" to correct any error¹ and that "it would just be a waste of time"² and "simply superfluous and ridiculous" to expect them to do so.³

¹ J. B. Tito, Speech at the Belgrade Railway Station, December 20, 1962.

² J. B. Tito, Speech at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, April 1958.

³ J. B. Tito, Speech at the Belgrade Railway Station, December 20, 1962.

Let us look at the facts. Have the Titoites changed their revisionist programme? No, they have not. Have they accepted the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement? No, they have not. Have they changed their revisionist domestic and foreign policies? Again, no.

The new constitution adopted by the Yugoslav Federal People's Assembly in April 1963 most clearly shows that the Tito clique has not in the least changed its revisionist stand. The constitution is the legal embodiment of the out-and-out revisionist programme of the Tito clique. Edvard Kardelj said in his report on the draft of the new constitution that it is the "legal-political and organizational embodiment" of the concepts of the programme of the L.C.Y.

Khrushchov is warmly fraternizing with the Tito clique not because it has corrected any of its errors but because he is following in Tito's footsteps.

Consider the following facts:

1. Tito denounces Stalin in order to oppose Marxism-Leninism in its very fundamentals. Khrushchov completely negates Stalin for the same purpose.

2. Both Tito and Khrushchov repudiate the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, both malign as dogmatists the Chinese and other Communists who firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism, and both describe their own revision of Marxism-Leninism as a "creative development" of Marxism-Leninism.

3. Both Tito and Khrushchov laud the chieftains of U.S. imperialism. Tito says that Eisenhower "is a man who persistently defends peace",¹ and that Kennedy's effort "will be helpful to the improvement of international relations and to the peaceful settlement of pressing world problems".² Khrushchov says that Eisenhower "has a sincere desire for peace",³

¹ J. B. Tito, Talk with a New York Times Commentator, February 28, 1958.

² J. B. Tito, Message of Greetings to J. F. Kennedy, *Borba*, January 21, 1961.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, May 1960.

and that Kennedy “shows solicitude for the preservation of peace”.¹

4. Both Tito and Khrushchov play up the horrors of nuclear war in order to intimidate the people of the world into abandoning revolutionary struggle. Tito says that once a nuclear war breaks out, it will be the “annihilation of mankind”.² Likewise, Khrushchov says that once a nuclear war breaks out, “we will destroy our Noah’s Ark — the globe”.³

5. Both Tito and Khrushchov preach that a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars can be brought into being while imperialism still exists.

6. The Tito clique proclaims that “active peaceful coexistence” is the cornerstone of Yugoslavia’s foreign policy,⁴ while Khrushchov declares that peaceful coexistence is the “general line of the foreign policy” of the Soviet Union.⁵

7. Both Tito and Khrushchov proclaim that the possibility of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism has increased. The Tito clique says that “mankind is irresistibly entering a long way into the era of socialism through different ways”.⁶ Khrushchov says that the road of the October Revolution can be replaced by the “parliamentary road”.

8. Tito advocates the introduction of “political and economic integration”⁷ of the world through “peaceful competition”. Khrushchov also advocates “all-round co-operation” with imperialism through “peaceful economic competition”.

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Letter to J. F. Kennedy, October 27, 1962.

² J. B. Tito, Report to the Session of the Federal People’s Assembly of Yugoslavia, April 19, 1958.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at a Meeting of the Austro-Soviet Society, July 2, 1960.

⁴ Koča Popović, Report on Foreign Policy to the Session of the Federal People’s Assembly of Yugoslavia, *Borba*, February 27, 1957.

⁵ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, February 1956.

⁶ Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

⁷ J. B. Tito, Replies to Questions by *Washington Post* Correspondent Drew Pearson, *Borba*, August 12, 1962.

9. The Tito clique sabotages the national liberation movement and national liberation wars in every way. Khrushchov opposes the national liberation movement and national liberation wars on the pretext that “any small ‘local war’ might spark off the conflagration of a world war”.¹

10. The Tito clique has renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the slogan of “the state of the whole people”, Khrushchov also renounces the dictatorship of the proletariat.

11. The Tito clique denies that the Communist Party should be the vanguard of the working class. Likewise, Khrushchov says that the CPSU “has become a party of the entire people”.²

12. The Tito clique, flaunting the “non-bloc” label, is opposing the socialist camp. Khrushchov also says that “expressions like blocs etc., are temporary phenomena”.³ They both want to liquidate the socialist camp.

From these facts one must conclude that, both in domestic and foreign policy, Khrushchov really regards Tito as his teacher and is sliding down the path of revisionism hard on Tito’s heels.

Khrushchov has abandoned Marxism-Leninism, scrapped the 1960 Statement and wallowed in the mire with the renegade Tito clique, in complete violation of the interests of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the people of the whole world. This will not be tolerated by the great Soviet people, the overwhelming majority of the members of the CPSU and cadres at various levels, all of whom have a glorious revolutionary tradition.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov’s collusion with the Tito

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Statement at the Press Conference in Vienna, July 8, 1960.

² N. S. Khrushchov, “On the Programme of the CPSU”, delivered at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, October 1961.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Interview with Foreign Correspondents at Brioni in Yugoslavia, August 28, 1963.

clique in opposition to the fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique and collaboration with imperialism in opposing socialist China, Albania and other fraternal countries and in disrupting the socialist camp.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's collusion with the Tito clique and collaboration with the reactionaries of all countries in opposition to the people of the world and to revolution.

The great Soviet people and the membership of the CPSU will never agree with Khrushchov's efforts to follow the example of the Yugoslav revisionists, change the nature of the Party and the state and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Khrushchov has caused dark clouds to overcast the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world. But this can only be an interlude in the history of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union. People who are deceived and hoodwinked for a time will gradually wake up in the end. History has confirmed, and will continue to confirm, that whoever wants to turn back the Soviet people in their advance is like the grasshopper in the fable which wanted to stop the chariot. He will never succeed in his aim.

BRIEF CONCLUSION

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia provides a new historical lesson to the international communist movement.

This lesson shows us that when the working class has seized power, struggle continues between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, struggle for victory continues between the two roads of capitalism and socialism, and there is a danger that

capitalism may be restored. Yugoslavia presents a typical example of the restoration of capitalism.

It shows us that not only is it possible for a working-class party to fall under the control of a labour aristocracy, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunkey of imperialism before it seizes power, but even after it seizes power it is possible for a working-class party to fall under the control of new bourgeois elements, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunkey of imperialism. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia typifies such degeneration.

It shows us that the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country can be achieved not necessarily through a counter-revolutionary *coup d'état* or armed imperialist invasion and that it can also be achieved through the degradation of the leading group in that country. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. Yugoslavia provides a typical case in point.

It shows us that revisionism is the product of imperialist policy. Old-line revisionism arose as a result of the imperialist policy of buying over and fostering a labour aristocracy. Modern revisionism has arisen in the same way. Sparing no cost, imperialism has now extended the scope of its operations and is buying over leading groups in socialist countries and pursues through them its desired policy of "peaceful evolution". U.S. imperialism regards Yugoslavia as the "bellwether" because it has set an example in this respect.

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia will make all Marxist-Leninists see better and enable people to realize more keenly the necessity and urgency of combating modern revisionism.

So long as imperialism exists, there is apparently no ground for saying that the danger of the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries has been eliminated.

The leaders of the CPSU proclaim that they have already eliminated the danger of the restoration of capitalism and are building communism. If this were true, it would of course be

heartening. But we see that in fact they are imitating Yugoslavia in every way and have taken a most dangerous road. This deeply worries and pains us.

Out of our warm love for the great Soviet Union and the great CPSU, we would like sincerely to appeal to the leaders of the CPSU: Comrades and friends! Do not follow the Yugoslav road. Turn back at once. Or it will be too late!

APOLOGISTS OF NEO-COLONIALISM?

**Fourth Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(October 22, 1963)

A great revolutionary storm has spread through Asia, Africa and Latin America since World War II. Independence has been proclaimed in more than fifty Asian and African countries. China, Viet Nam, Korea and Cuba have taken the road of socialism. The face of Asia, Africa and Latin America has undergone a tremendous change.

While revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies suffered serious setbacks after World War I owing to suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, the situation after World War II is fundamentally different. The imperialists are no longer able to extinguish the prairie fire of national liberation. Their old colonial system is fast disintegrating. Their rear has become a front of raging anti-imperialist struggles. Imperialist rule has been overthrown in some colonial and dependent countries, and in others it has suffered heavy blows and is tottering. This inevitably weakens and shakes the rule of imperialism in the metropolitan countries.

The victories of the people's revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, together with the rise of the socialist camp, sound a triumphant paean to our day and age.

The storm of the people's revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America requires every political force in the world to take a stand. This mighty revolutionary storm makes the imperialists and colonialists tremble and the revolutionary people of the world rejoice. The imperialists and colonialists say, "Terrible, terrible!" The revolutionary people say, "Fine, fine!" The imperialists and colonialists say, "It is rebellion, which is forbidden." The revolutionary people say, "It is revolution, which is the people's right and an inexorable current of history."

An important line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists is the attitude taken to-

wards this extremely sharp issue of contemporary world politics. The Marxist-Leninists firmly side with the oppressed nations and actively support the national liberation movement. The modern revisionists in fact side with the imperialists and colonialists and repudiate and oppose the national liberation movement in every possible way.

In their words, the leaders of the CPSU dare not completely discard the slogans of support for the national liberation movement, and at times, for the sake of their own interests, they even take certain measures which create the appearance of support. But if we probe into the essence and consider their views and policies over a number of years, we see clearly that their attitude towards the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a passive or scornful or negative one, and that they serve as apologists for neo-colonialism.

In the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU of July 14, 1963 and in a number of articles and statements, the comrades of the CPSU have worked hard at defending their wrong views and attacking the Chinese Communist Party on the question of the national liberation movement. But the sole outcome is to confirm the anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-revolutionary stand of the leaders of the CPSU on the subject.

Let us now look at the theory and practice of the leaders of the CPSU on the question of the national liberation movement.

ABOLITION OF THE TASK OF COMBATING IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM

Victories of great historic significance have already been won by the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This no one can deny. But can anyone assert that the task of combating imperialism and colonialism and their agents has been completed by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Our answer is, no. This fighting task is far from completed.

However, the leaders of the CPSU frequently spread the view that colonialism has disappeared or is disappearing from the present-day world. They emphasize that “there are fifty million people on earth still groaning under colonial rule”,¹ that the remnants of colonialism are to be found only in such places as Portuguese Angola and Mozambique in Africa, and that the abolition of colonial rule has already entered the “final phase”.²

What are the facts?

Consider, first, the situation in Asia and Africa. There a whole group of countries have declared their independence. But many of these countries have not completely shaken off imperialist and colonial control and enslavement and remain objects of imperialist plunder and aggression as well as arenas of contention between the old and new colonialists. In some, the old colonialists have changed into neo-colonialists and retain their colonial rule through their trained agents. In others, the wolf has left by the front door, but the tiger has entered through the back door, the old colonialism being replaced by the new, more powerful and more dangerous U.S. colonialism. The peoples of Asia and Africa are seriously menaced by the tentacles of neo-colonialism, represented by U.S. imperialism.

Next, listen to the voice of the people of Latin America.

The Second Havana Declaration says, “Latin America today is under a more ferocious imperialism, more powerful and ruthless than the Spanish colonial empire.”

It adds:

Since the end of the Second World War, . . . North American investments exceed 10 billion dollars. Latin America

¹ Speech of Mirzo Tursun-Zade, Leader of the Soviet Delegation, at the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, February 5, 1963.

² N. S. Khrushchov, “Report on the Programme of the CPSU”, delivered at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, October 1961.

moreover supplies cheap raw materials and pays high prices for manufactured articles.

It says further:

... there flows from Latin America to the United States a constant torrent of money: some \$4,000 per minute, \$5 million per day, \$2 billion per year, \$10 billion each five years. For each thousand dollars which leaves us, one dead body remains. \$1,000 per death, that is the price of what is called imperialism.

The facts are clear. After World War II the imperialists have certainly not given up colonialism, but have merely adopted a new form, neo-colonialism. An important characteristic of such neo-colonialism is that the imperialists have been forced to change their old style of direct colonial rule in some areas and to adopt a new style of colonial rule and exploitation by relying on the agents they have selected and trained. The imperialists headed by the United States enslave or control the colonial countries and countries which have already declared their independence by organizing military blocs, setting up military bases, establishing "federations" or "communities", and fostering puppet regimes. By means of economic "aid" or other forms, they retain these countries as markets for their goods, sources of raw material and outlets for their export of capital, plunder the riches and suck the blood of the people of these countries. Moreover, they use the United Nations as an important tool for interfering in the internal affairs of such countries and for subjecting them to military, economic and cultural aggression. When they are unable to continue their rule over these countries by "peaceful" means, they engineer military coups d'état, carry out subversion or even resort to direct armed intervention and aggression.

The United States is most energetic and cunning in promoting neo-colonialism. With this weapon, the U.S. imperialists are trying hard to grab the colonies and spheres of influence of other imperialists and to establish world domination.

This neo-colonialism is a more pernicious and sinister form of colonialism.

We would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU, under such circumstances how can it be said that the abolition of colonial rule has already entered the “final phase”?

In trying to bolster up such falsehoods, the leaders of the CPSU have the temerity to seek help from the 1960 Statement. They say, does not the 1960 Statement mention the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system? But this thesis about the rapid disintegration of old colonialism cannot possibly help their argument about the disappearance of colonialism. The Statement clearly points out that “the United States is the mainstay of colonialism today”, that “the imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms” and that they “try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries”. In these phrases the Statement exposes just what the leadership of the CPSU is trying so hard to cover up.

The leaders of the CPSU have also created the theory that the national liberation movement has entered upon a “new stage” having economic tasks as its core. Their argument is that, whereas “formerly, the struggle was carried on mainly in the political sphere”, today the economic question has become the “central task” and “the basic link in the further development of the revolution”.¹

The national liberation movement has entered a new stage. But this is by no means the kind of “new stage” described by the leadership of the CPSU. In the new stage, the level of political consciousness of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples has risen higher than ever and the revolutionary movement is surging forward with unprecedented intensity. They

¹ “To the Detriment of the Struggle of the Peoples”, *Pravda*, September 17, 1973.

urgently demand the thorough elimination of the forces of imperialism and its lackeys in their own countries and strive for complete political and economic independence. The primary and most urgent task facing these countries is still the further development of the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys. This struggle is still being waged fiercely in the political, economic, military, cultural, ideological and other spheres. And the struggles in all these spheres still find their most concentrated expression in political struggle, which often unavoidably develops into armed struggle when the imperialists resort to direct or indirect armed suppression. It is important for the newly independent countries to develop their independent economy. But this task must never be separated from the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys.

Like “the disappearance of colonialism”, this theory of a “new stage” advocated by the leaders of the CPSU is clearly intended to whitewash the aggression against and plunder of Asia, Africa and Latin America by neo-colonialism, as represented by the United States, to cover up the sharp contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and to paralyse the revolutionary struggle of the people of these continents.

According to this theory of theirs, the fight against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys is, of course, no longer necessary, for colonialism is disappearing and economic development has become the central task of the national liberation movement. Does it not follow that the national liberation movement can be done away with altogether? Therefore, the kind of “new stage” described by the leaders of the CPSU, in which economic tasks are in the centre of the picture, is clearly nothing but one of no opposition to imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys, a stage in which the national liberation movement is no longer desired.

PRESCRIPTIONS FOR ABOLISHING THE REVOLUTION OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS

In line with their erroneous theories the leaders of the CPSU have sedulously worked out a number of nostrums for all the ills of the oppressed nations. Let us examine them.

The first prescription is labelled peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition.

The leaders of the CPSU constantly attribute the great post-war victories of the national liberation movement won by the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to what they call "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful competition". The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU says:

In conditions of peaceful co-existence, new important victories have been scored in recent years in the class struggle of the proletariat and in the struggle of the peoples for national freedom. The world revolutionary process is developing successfully.

They also say that the national liberation movement is developing under conditions of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, and of economic competition between the two opposing social systems¹ and that peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition "assist the unfolding of a process of liberation on the part of peoples fighting to free themselves from the domination of foreign monopolies",² and can deliver "a crushing blow" to "the entire system of capitalist relationships".³

All socialist countries should practise the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social

¹ "The General Line of the International Communist Movement and the Schismatic Platform of the Chinese Leaders", editorial board article in *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 14, 1963.

² *Ibid.*

³ B. N. Ponomarev, "Some Problems of the Revolutionary Movement", *World Marxist Review*, No. 12, 1962.

systems. But peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The victory of the national revolution of all colonies and dependent countries must be won primarily through the revolutionary struggle of their own masses, which can never be replaced by that of any other countries.

The leaders of the CPSU hold that the victories of the national liberation revolution are not due primarily to the revolutionary struggles of the masses, and that the people cannot emancipate themselves, but must wait for the natural collapse of imperialism through peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. In fact, this is equivalent to telling the oppressed nations to put up with imperialist plunder and enslavement for ever, and not to rise up in resistance and revolution.

The second prescription is labelled aid to backward countries.

The leaders of the CPSU boast of the role played by their economic aid to the newly independent countries. Comrade Khrushchov has said that such aid can enable these countries "to avoid the danger of a new enslavement", and that "it stimulates their progress and contributes to the normal development and even acceleration of those internal processes which may take these countries onto the highway leading to socialism".¹

It is necessary and important for the socialist countries to give the newly independent countries economic aid on the basis of internationalism. But in no case can it be said that their national independence and social progress are due solely to the economic aid they receive from the socialist countries and not mainly to the revolutionary struggles of their own people.

To speak plainly, the policy and the purpose of the leaders of the CPSU in their aid to newly independent countries in recent years are open to suspicion. They often take an attitude of great-power chauvinism and national egoism in matters concerning aid to newly independent countries, harm the eco-

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, "Vital Questions of the Development of the Socialist World System", *World Marxist Review*, No. 9, 1962.

conomic and political interests of the receiving countries, and as a result discredit the socialist countries. As for their aid to India, here their ulterior motives are especially clear. India tops the list of newly independent countries to which the Soviet Union gives economic aid. This aid is obviously intended to encourage the Nehru government in its policies directed against communism, against the people and against socialist countries. Even the U.S. imperialists have stated that such Soviet aid “is very much to our [U.S.] interest”.¹

In addition, the leaders of the CPSU openly propose co-operation with U.S. imperialism in “giving aid to the backward countries”. Khrushchov said in a speech in the United States in September 1959:

Your and our economic successes will be hailed by the whole world, which expects our two Great Powers to help the peoples who are centuries behind in their economic development to get on their feet more quickly.

Look! The mainstay of modern colonialism [namely, U.S. imperialism] will help the oppressed nations “to get on their feet more quickly”! It is indeed astonishing that the leaders of the CPSU are not only willing but even proud to be the partners of the neo-colonialists.

The third prescription is labelled disarmament. Khrushchov has said:

Disarmament means disarming the war forces, abolishing militarism, ruling out armed interference in the internal affairs of any country, and doing away completely and finally with all forms of colonialism.²

He has also said:

Disarmament would create proper conditions for a tremendous increase in the scale of assistance to the newly

¹ W. A. Harriman, Radio and Television Interview, December 9, 1962.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, July 10, 1962.

established national states. If a mere 8-10 per cent of the 120,000 million dollars spent for military purposes throughout the world were turned to the purpose, it would be possible to end hunger, disease and illiteracy in the distressed areas of the globe within twenty years.¹

We have always maintained that the struggle for general disarmament should be carried on in order to expose and oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations. But one cannot possibly say that colonialism will be eliminated through disarmament.

Khrushchov here sounds like a preacher. Downtrodden people of the world, you are blessed! If only you are patient, if only you wait until the imperialists lay down their arms, freedom will descend upon you. Wait until the imperialists show mercy, and the poverty-stricken areas of the world will become an earthly paradise flowing with milk and honey! . . .

This is not just the fostering of illusions, it is opium for the people.

The fourth prescription is labelled elimination of colonialism through the United Nations.

Khrushchov maintains that if the United Nations takes measures to uproot the colonial system, "the peoples who are now suffering the humiliation arising out of foreign domination, would acquire a clear and immediate prospect of peaceful liberation from foreign oppression".²

In a speech at the United Nations General Assembly in September 1960, Khrushchov asked, "Who, if not the United Nations Organization, should champion the abolition of the colonial system of government?"

This is a strange question to ask. According to Khrushchov, the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America should not and cannot themselves eliminate colonialism, but must look to the United Nations for help.

¹ *Ibid.*

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

At the United Nations General Assembly, Khrushchov also said:

This is why we appeal to the reason and far-sightedness of the peoples of the Western countries, to their governments and their representatives at this high assembly of the United Nations. Let us agree on measures for the abolition of the colonial system of government and thereby accelerate that natural historical process.

It is apparent that what he really means by looking to the United Nations for help is looking to the imperialists for help. The facts show that the United Nations, which is still under the control of the imperialists, can only defend and strengthen the rule of colonialism but can never abolish it.

In a word, the nostrums of the leaders of the CPSU for the national liberation movement have been concocted to make people believe that the imperialists will give up colonialism and bestow freedom and liberation upon the oppressed nations and peoples and that therefore all revolutionary theories, demands and struggles are outmoded and unnecessary and should and must be abandoned.

OPPOSITION TO WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

Although they talk about supporting the movements and wars of national liberation, the leaders of the CPSU have been trying by every means to make the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America abandon their revolutionary struggle, because they themselves are sorely afraid of the revolutionary storm.

The leaders of the CPSU have the famous “theory” that “even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration”¹ and that a world war must necessarily be a thermonuclear war, which

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, October 1959.

means the annihilation of mankind. Therefore, Khrushchov roars that “‘local wars’ in our time are very dangerous”,¹ and that “we will work hard . . . to put out the sparks that may set off the flames of war”.² Here Khrushchov makes no distinction between just and unjust wars and betrays the Communist stand of supporting just wars.

The history of the eighteen years since World War II has shown that wars of national liberation are unavoidable so long as the imperialists and their lackeys try to maintain their brutal rule by bayonets and use force to suppress the revolution of oppressed nations. These large-scale and small-scale revolutionary wars against the imperialists and their lackeys, which have never ceased, have hit hard at the imperialist forces of war, strengthened the forces defending world peace and effectively prevented the imperialists from realizing their plan of launching a world war. Frankly speaking, Khrushchov’s clamour about the need to “put out” the sparks of revolution for the sake of peace is an attempt to oppose revolution in the name of safeguarding peace.

Proceeding from these wrong views and policies, the leaders of the CPSU not only demand that the oppressed nations should abandon their revolutionary struggle for liberation and “peacefully coexist” with the imperialists and colonialists, but even side with imperialism and use a variety of methods to extinguish the sparks of revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Take the example of the Algerian people’s war of national liberation. The leadership of the CPSU not only withheld support for a long period but actually took the side of French imperialism. Khrushchov used to treat Algeria’s national independence as an “internal affair” of France. Speaking on the Algerian question on October 3, 1955, he said, “I had and

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Press Conference in Vienna, July 8, 1960.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Replies to Questions by Newsmen at the U.S. National Press Club in Washington, September 16, 1959.

have in view, first of all, that the USSR does not interfere in the internal affairs of other states.” Receiving a correspondent of *Le Figaro* on March 19, 1958, he said, “We do not want France to grow weaker, we want her to become still greater.”

To curry favour with the French imperialists, the leaders of the CPSU did not dare to recognize the provisional government of the Republic of Algeria for a long time; not until the victory of the Algerian people’s war of resistance against French aggression was a foregone conclusion and France was compelled to agree to Algerian independence did they hurriedly recognize Algeria. This unseemly attitude brought shame on the socialist countries. Yet the leaders of the CPSU glory in their shame and assert that the victory the Algerian people paid for with their blood should also be credited to the policy of “peaceful coexistence”.

Again, let us examine the part played by the leaders of the CPSU in the Congo question. Not only did they refuse to give active support to the Congolese people’s armed struggle against colonialism, but they were anxious to “co-operate” with U.S. imperialism in putting out the spark in the Congo.

On July 13, 1960 the Soviet Union joined with the United States in voting for the Security Council resolution on the dispatch of U.N. forces to the Congo; thus it helped the U.S. imperialists use the flag of the United Nations in their armed intervention in the Congo. The Soviet Union also provided the U.N. forces with means of transportation. In a cable to Kasavubu and Lumumba on July 15, Khrushchov said that “the United Nations Security Council has done a useful thing”. Thereafter, the Soviet press kept up a stream of praise for the United Nations for “helping the government of the Congolese Republic to defend the independence and sovereignty of the country”,¹ and expressed the hope that the United Nations would adopt “resolute measures”.² In its statements of August

¹ *Izvestia*, July 21, 1960.

² *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, July 30, 1960.

21 and September 10, the Soviet Government continued to praise the United Nations, which was suppressing the Congolese people.

In 1961 the leaders of the CPSU persuaded Gizenga to attend the Congolese parliament, which had been convened under the “protection” of U.N. troops, and to join the puppet government. The leadership of the CPSU falsely alleged that the convocation of the Congolese parliament was “an important event in the life of the young republic” and “a success of the national forces”.¹

Clearly these wrong policies of the leadership of the CPSU rendered U.S. imperialism a great service in its aggression against the Congo. Lumumba was murdered, Gizenga was imprisoned, many other patriots were persecuted, and the Congolese struggle for national independence suffered a setback. Does the leadership of the CPSU feel no responsibility for all this?

THE AREAS IN WHICH CONTEMPORARY WORLD CONTRADICTIONS ARE CONCENTRATED

It is only natural that the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have rejected the words and deeds of the leaders of the CPSU against the movements and wars of national liberation. But the leaders of the CPSU have failed to draw the appropriate lesson and change their wrong line and policies. Instead, angry at their humiliation, they have launched a series of slanderous attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU accuses the Chinese Communist Party of putting forward a “new theory”. It says:

¹ *Pravda*, July 18, 1961.

. . . according to which [the new theory] the chief contradiction of our time is not, we are told, between socialism and imperialism, but between the national-liberation movement and imperialism. In the Chinese comrades' opinion, the decisive force in the battle against imperialism is not the socialist world system, and not the international working-class struggle but, again we are told, the national-liberation movement.

In the first place, this is a fabrication. In our letter of June 14, we pointed out that the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world are the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

We also pointed out: The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp. But Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

Our view is crystal clear.

In our letter of June 14, we explained the revolutionary situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the significance and role of the national liberation movement. This is what we said:

1. "The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism."

2. "The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time."

3. "The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution."

4. "The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace."

5. "In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

6. "Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance but one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution."

These are Marxist-Leninist theses, conclusions drawn by scientific analysis from the realities of our time.

No one can deny that an extremely favourable revolutionary situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today the national liberation revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important forces dealing imperialism direct blows. The contradictions of the world are concentrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The centre of world contradictions of world political struggles, is not fixed but shifts with changes in the international struggles and the revolutionary situation. We believe that, with the development of the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America, the momentous day of battle will arrive in these homes of capitalism and heartlands of imperialism. When that day comes, Western Europe and North America will undoubtedly become the centre of world political struggles, of world contradictions.

Lenin said in 1913, “. . . a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. . . . It is in this era of storms and their ‘repercussion’ on Europe that we are now living.”¹

Stalin said in 1925:

The colonial countries constitute the principal rear of imperialism. The revolutionisation of this rear is bound to undermine imperialism not only in the sense that imperialism will be deprived of its rear, but also in the sense that the revolutionisation of the East is bound to give a powerful impulse to the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the West.²

Is it possible that these statements of Lenin and Stalin are wrong? The theses they enunciated have long been elementary Marxist-Leninist knowledge. Obviously, now that the leaders of the CPSU are bent on belittling the national liberation movement, they are completely ignoring elementary Marxism-Leninism and the plain facts under their noses.

DISTORTION OF THE LENINIST VIEW OF LEADERSHIP IN THE REVOLUTION

In its Open Letter of July 14, the Central Committee of the CPSU also attacks the standpoint of the Chinese Communist Party on the question of proletarian leadership in the national liberation movement. It says:

. . . the Chinese comrades want to “correct” Lenin and prove that hegemony in the world struggle against imperialism should go not to the working class, but to the petty

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. XI, p. 51.

² J. V. Stalin, “The Revolutionary Movement in the East”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, pp. 235-36.

bourgeoisie or the national bourgeoisie, even to “certain patriotically-minded kings, princes and aristocrats.”

This is a deliberate distortion of the views of the Chinese Communist Party.

In discussing the need for the proletariat to insist on leading the national liberation movement, the letter of the Central Committee of the CPC of June 14 says:

History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas [Asia, Africa and Latin America] the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and for national independence and people’s democracy, of standing in the forefront of the national democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future.

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On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organize a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

In discussing the need for establishing a broad anti-imperialist united front in the national liberation movement, the letter of the Central Committee of the CPC says:

The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

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In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bour-

geoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats who are patriotic.

Our views are perfectly clear. In the national liberation movement it is necessary both to insist on leadership by the proletariat and to establish a broad anti-imperialist united front. What is wrong with these views? Why should the leadership of the CPSU distort and attack these correct views?

It is not we, but the leaders of the CPSU, who have abandoned Lenin's views on proletarian leadership in the revolution.

The wrong line of the leaders of the CPSU completely abandons the task of fighting imperialism and colonialism and opposes wars of national liberation; this means it wants the proletariat and the Communist Parties of the oppressed nations and countries to roll up their patriotic banner of opposing imperialism and struggling for national independence and surrender it to others. In that case, how could one even talk about an anti-imperialist united front or of proletarian leadership?

Another idea often propagated by the leaders of the CPSU is that a country can build socialism under no matter what leadership, including even that of a reactionary nationalist like Nehru. This is still farther removed from the idea of proletarian leadership.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU misinterprets the proper relationship of mutual support which should exist between the socialist camp and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries on the one hand and the national liberation movement on the other, asserting that the national liberation movement should be "led" by the socialist countries and the working-class movement in the metropolitan countries. It has the audacity to claim that this is "based" on Lenin's views on proletarian leadership. Obviously this is a gross distortion and revision of Lenin's thinking. It shows that the leaders of the CPSU want to impose their line of abolishing revolution on the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations.

THE PATH OF NATIONALISM AND DEGENERATION

In their Open Letter of July 14, the leaders of the CPSU attempt to pin on the Chinese Communist Party the charge of “isolating the national-liberation movement from the international working class and its creation, the socialist world system”. They also accuse us of “separating” the national liberation movement from the socialist system and the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries and “counterposing” the former to the latter. There are other Communists, like the leaders of the French Communist Party, who loudly echo the leaders of the CPSU.

But what are the facts? Those who counterpose the national liberation movement to the socialist camp and the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries are none other than the leaders of the CPSU and their followers, who do not support, and even oppose, the national liberation movement.

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently maintained that the revolutionary struggles of all peoples support each other. We always consider the national liberation movement from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, from the viewpoint of the proletarian world revolution as a whole. We believe the victorious development of the national liberation revolution is of tremendous significance for the socialist camp, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the cause of defending world peace.

But the leaders of the CPSU and their followers refuse to acknowledge this significance. They talk only about the support which the socialist camp gives the national liberation movement and ignore the support which the latter gives the former. They talk only about the role of the working-class movement in the Western capitalist countries in dealing blows at imperialism and belittle or ignore the role of the national liberation movement in the same connection. Their stand con-

tradicts Marxism-Leninism and disregards the facts, and is therefore wrong.

The question of what attitude to take towards the relationship between the socialist countries and the revolution of the oppressed nations, and towards the relationship between the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the revolution of the oppressed nations, involves the important principle of whether Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are to be upheld or abandoned.

According to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, every socialist country which has achieved victory in its revolution must actively support and assist the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. The socialist countries must become, base areas for supporting and developing the revolution of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world, form the closest alliance with them and carry the proletarian world revolution through to completion.

But the leaders of the CPSU virtually regard the victory of socialism in one country or several countries as the end of the proletarian world revolution. They want to subordinate the national liberation revolution to their general line of peaceful coexistence and to the national interests of their own country.

When in 1925 Stalin fought the liquidationists, represented by the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, he pointed out that one of the dangerous characteristics of liquidationism was:

. . . lack of confidence in the international proletarian revolution; lack of confidence in its victory; a sceptical attitude towards the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries . . . failure to understand the elementary demand of internationalism, by virtue of which the victory of socialism in one country is not an end in itself, but a means of developing and supporting the revolution in other countries.¹

¹ J. V. Stalin, "Questions and Answers", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p. 169.

He added:

That is the path of nationalism and degeneration, the path of the complete liquidation of the proletariat's international policy, for people afflicted with this disease regard our country not as a part of the whole that is called the world revolutionary movement, but as the beginning and the end of that movement, believing that the interests of all other countries should be sacrificed to the interests of our country.¹

Stalin depicted the line of thinking of the liquidationists as follows:

Support the liberation movement in China? But why? Wouldn't that be dangerous? Wouldn't it bring us into conflict with other countries? Wouldn't it be better if we established "spheres of influence" in China in conjunction with other "advanced" powers and snatched something from China for our own benefit? That would be both useful and safe. . . . And so on and so forth.²

He concluded:

Such is the new type of nationalist "frame of mind," which is trying to liquidate the foreign policy of the October Revolution and is cultivating the elements of degeneration.³

The present leaders of the CPSU have gone farther than the old liquidationists. Priding themselves on their cleverness, they only take up what is "both useful and safe". Mortally afraid of being involved in conflict with the imperialist countries, they have set their minds on opposing the national liberation movement. They are intoxicated with the idea of the two "super-powers" establishing spheres of influence throughout the world.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

³ *Ibid.*

Stalin's criticism of the liquidationists is a fair description of the present leaders of the CPSU. Following in the footsteps of the liquidationists, they have liquidated the foreign policy of the October Revolution and taken the path of nationalism and degeneration.

Stalin warned:

. . . it is obvious that the first country to be victorious can retain the role of standard-bearer of the world revolutionary movement only on the basis of consistent internationalism, only on the basis of the foreign policy of the October Revolution, and that the path of least resistance and of nationalism in foreign policy is the path of the isolation and decay of the first country to be victorious.¹

This warning by Stalin is of serious, practical significance for the present leaders of the CPSU.

AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

Similarly, according to proletarian internationalism, the proletariat and the Communists of the oppressor nations must actively support both the right of the oppressed nations to national independence and their struggles for liberation. With the support of the oppressed nations, the proletariat of the oppressor nations will be better able to win its revolution.

Lenin hit the nail on the head when he said:

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 472-73.

However, some self-styled Marxist-Leninists have abandoned Marxism-Leninism on this very question of fundamental principle. The leaders of the French Communist Party are typical in this respect.

Over a long period of time, the leaders of the CPF have abandoned the struggle against U.S. imperialism, refusing to put up a firm fight against U.S. imperialist control over and restrictions on France in the political, economic and military fields and surrendering the banner of French national struggle against the United States to people like de Gaulle; on the other hand, they have been using various devices and excuses to defend the colonial interests of the French imperialists, have refused to support, and indeed opposed, the national liberation movements in the French colonies, and particularly opposed national revolutionary wars; they have sunk into the quagmire of chauvinism.

Lenin said, "Europeans often forget that colonial peoples are also nations, but to tolerate such 'forgetfulness' is to tolerate chauvinism."¹ Yet the leadership of the French Communist Party, represented by Comrade Thorez, has not only tolerated this "forgetfulness", but has openly regarded the peoples of the French colonies as "naturalized Frenchmen",² refused to acknowledge their right to national independence in dissociation from France and publicly supported the policy of "national assimilation" pursued by the French imperialists.

For the past ten years and more, the leaders of the French Communist Party have followed the colonial policy of the French imperialists and served as an appendage of French monopoly capital. In 1946, when the French monopoly capitalist rulers played a neo-colonialist trick by proposing to form a French Union, they followed suit and proclaimed that "we have always envisaged the French Union as a 'free union of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism' ", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. XIX, p. 250.

² Maurice Thorez, Speech in Algiers, February 1939.

free peoples' ”¹ and that “the French Union will permit the regulation, on a new basis, of the relations between the people of France and the overseas peoples who have in the past been attached to France”.² In 1958, when the French Union collapsed and the French Government proposed the establishment of a French Community to preserve its colonial system, the leaders of the CPF again followed suit and proclaimed, “We believe that the creation of a genuine community will be a positive event.”³

Moreover, in opposing the demand of the people in the French colonies for national independence, the leaders of the CPF have even tried to intimidate them, saying that “any attempt to break away from the Union of France will only lead to the strengthening of imperialism; although independence may be won, it will be temporary, nominal and false”. They further openly declared:

The question is whether this already unavoidable independence will be with France, or without France and against France. The interest of our country requires that this independence should be with France.⁴

On the question of Algeria, the chauvinist stand of the leaders of the CPF is all the more evident. They have recently tried to justify themselves by asserting that they had long recognized the correct demand of the people of Algeria for freedom. But what are the facts?

For a long time the leaders of the CPF refused to recognize Algeria's right to national independence; they followed the

¹ Léon Feix, Speech at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of France, June 1959.

² Maurice Thorez, Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the New Term at the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, October 10, 1955.

³ Léon Feix, Speech at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of France, June 1959.

⁴ Raymond Barbé, “Black Africa in the Age of Guinea?”, *Démocratie Nouvelle* of the French Communist Party, No. 11, 1958.

French monopoly capitalists, crying that “Algeria is an inalienable part of France”¹ and that France “should be a great African power, now and in the future”.² Thorez and others were most concerned about the fact that Algeria could provide France with “a million head of sheep” and large quantities of wheat yearly to solve her problem of “the shortage of meat” and “make up our deficit in grain”.³

Just see! What feverish chauvinism on the part of the leaders of the CPF! Do they show an iota of proletarian internationalism? Is there anything of the proletarian revolutionary in them? By taking this chauvinistic stand they have betrayed the fundamental interests of the international proletariat, the fundamental interests of the French proletariat and the true interests of the French nation.

AGAINST THE “THEORY OF RACISM” AND THE “THEORY OF THE YELLOW PERIL”

Having used up all their wonder-working weapons for opposing the national liberation movement, the leaders of the CPSU are now reduced to seeking help from racism, the most reactionary of all imperialist theories. They describe the correct stand of the CPC in resolutely supporting the national liberation movement as “creating racial and geographical barriers”, “replacing the class approach with the racial approach”, and “playing upon the national and even racial prejudices of the Asian and African peoples”.

If Marxism-Leninism did not exist, perhaps such lies could deceive people. Unfortunately for the manufacturers of these

¹ Documents of the September 24, 1946 Session of the Constituent National Assembly of France, Appendix II, No. 1013.

² Florimond Bonte, Speech at the Constituent Assembly of France, 1944.

³ Maurice Thorez, Report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of France, 1945.

lies, they live in the wrong age, for Marxism-Leninism has already found its way deep into people's hearts. As Stalin rightly pointed out, Leninism "broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' slaves of imperialism".¹ It is futile for the leaders of the CPSU to try and rebuild this wall of racism.

In the last analysis, the national question in the contemporary world is one of class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle. Today the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, anti-imperialist and patriotic bourgeois elements and other patriotic and anti-imperialist enlightened people of all races — white, black, yellow or brown — have formed a broad united front against the imperialists, headed by the United States, and their lackeys. This united front is expanding and growing stronger. The question here is not whether to side with the white people or the coloured people, but whether to side with the oppressed peoples and nations or with the handful of imperialists and reactionaries.

According to the Marxist-Leninist class stand, oppressed nations must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the imperialists and colonialists. To blur this line represents a chauvinist view serving imperialism and colonialism.

Lenin said:

. . . the central point in the Social-Democratic programme must be the distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations, which is the essence of imperialism, which is *falsely* evaded by the social-chauvinists, and by Kautsky.²

By slandering the unity of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the anti-imperialist struggle as being "based on

¹ J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 144.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 284.

the geographical and racial principles”, the leaders of the CPSU have obviously placed themselves in the position of the social-chauvinists and of Kautsky.

When they peddle the “theory of racism”, describing the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America as one of the coloured against the white race, the leaders of the CPSU are clearly aiming at inciting racial hatred among the white people in Europe and North America, at diverting the people of the world from the struggle against imperialism and at turning the international working-class movement away from the struggle against modern revisionism.

The leaders of the CPSU have raised a hue and cry about the “Yellow Peril” and the “imminent menace of Genghis Khan”. This is really not worth refuting. We do not intend in this article to comment on the historical role of Genghis Khan or on the development of the Mongolian, Russian and Chinese nations and the process of their formation into states. We would only remind the leaders of the CPSU of their need to review their history lessons before manufacturing such tales. Genghis Khan was a Khan of Mongolia, and in his day both China and Russia were subjected to Mongolian aggression. He invaded part of northwestern and northern China in 1215 and Russia in 1223. After his death, his successors subjugated Russia in 1240 and thirty-nine years later, in 1279, conquered the whole of China.

Lu Hsun, the well-known Chinese writer, has a paragraph about Genghis Khan in an article he wrote in 1934. We include it here for your reference as it may be useful to you.

He wrote that, as a young man of twenty,

I had been told that “our” Genghis Khan had conquered Europe and ushered in the most splendid period in “our” history. Not until I was twenty-five did I discover that this so-called most splendid period of “our” history was actually the time when the Mongolians conquered China and we became slaves. And not until last August, when browsing

through three books on Mongolian history, looking for history stories, did I find out that the conquest of "Russia" by the Mongolians and their invasion of Hungary and Austria actually preceded their conquest of China, and that the Genghis Khan of that time was not yet our Khan. The Russians were enslaved before we were, and presumably it is they who ought to be able to say, "When our Genghis Khan conquered China, he ushered in the most splendid period of our history."¹

Anyone with a little knowledge of modern world history knows that the "theory of the Yellow Peril" about which the CPSU leadership has been making such a noise is a legacy of the German Kaiser William II. Half a century ago, William II stated, "I am a believer in the Yellow Peril."

The Kaiser's purpose in propagating the "theory of the Yellow Peril" was to carry the partition of China further, to invade Asia, to suppress revolution in Asia, to divert the attention of the European people from revolution and to use it as a smokescreen for his active preparations for the imperialist world war and for his attempt to gain world hegemony.

When William II spread this "theory of the Yellow Peril", the European bourgeoisie was in deep decline and extremely reactionary, and democratic revolutions were sweeping through China, Turkey and Persia and affecting India, around the time of the 1905 Russian Revolution. That was the period, too, when Lenin made his famous remark about "backward Europe and advanced Asia".

William II was a bigwig in his day. But in reality he proved to be only a snow man in the sun. In a very short time this reactionary chieftain vanished from the scene, together with the reactionary theory he invented. The great Lenin and his brilliant teachings live on for ever.

¹ Lu Hsun, *Collected Works*, Chin. ed., People's Literature Publishing House, Peking, 1958, Vol. VI, p. 109.

Fifty years have gone by; imperialism in Western Europe and North America has become still more moribund and reactionary, and its days are numbered. Meanwhile, the revolutionary storm raging over Asia, Africa and Latin America has grown many times stronger than in Lenin's time. It is hardly credible that today there are still people who wish to step into the shoes of William II. This is indeed a mockery of history.

RESURRECTING THE OLD REVISIONISM IN A NEW GUISE

The policy of the leadership of the CPSU on the national-colonial question is identical with the bankrupt policy of the revisionists of the Second International. The only difference is that the latter served the imperialists' old colonialism, while the modern revisionists serve the imperialists' neo-colonialism.

The old revisionists sang to the tune of the old colonialists, and Khrushchev sings to the tune of the neo-colonialists.

The heroes of the Second International, represented by Bernstein and Kautsky, were apologists for the old colonial rule of imperialism. They openly declared that colonial rule was progressive, that it brought a high civilization to the colonies and developed the productive forces there. They even asserted that the "abolition of the colonies would mean barbarism".¹

In this respect Khrushchov is somewhat different from the old revisionists. He is bold enough to denounce the old colonial system.

How is it that Khrushchev is so bold? Because the imperialists have changed their tune.

After World War II, under the twin blows of the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution, the im-

¹ Eduard David, Speech on the Colonial Question at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, *Internationaler Sozialistenkongress, Stuttgart, 1907*, Verlag Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin, 1907, p. 30.

perialists were forced to recognize that “if the West had attempted to perpetuate the status quo of colonialism, it would have made violent revolution inevitable and defeat inevitable”.¹ The old colonialist forms of rule “on the contrary, . . . are likely to prove ‘running sores’ which destroy both the economic and the moral vigour of a nation’s life”.² Thus it became necessary to change the form and practise neo-colonialism.

Thus, too, Khrushchov singing to the tune of the neo-colonialists flaunts the “theory of the disappearance of colonialism” in order to cover up the new colonialism. What is more, he tries to induce the oppressed nations to embrace this new colonialism. He actively propagates the view that “peaceful coexistence” between the oppressed nations and civilized imperialism will make “the national economy grow rapidly” and bring about an “uplift of their productive forces”, enable the home market in the oppressed countries to “become incomparably greater” and “furnish more raw materials, and various products and goods required by the economy of the industrially developed countries”³ and, at the same time, will “considerably raise the living standard of the inhabitants in the highly developed capitalist countries”.⁴

Nor has Khrushchov forgotten to collect certain worn-out weapons from the arsenal of the revisionists of the Second International.

Here are some examples.

The old revisionists opposed wars of national liberation and held that the national question “can be settled only through

¹ J. F. Dulles, *War or Peace*, Eng. ed., the MacMillan Company, New York, 1957, p. 76.

² John Strachey, *The End of Empire*, Eng. ed., London 1959, p. 194.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

⁴ “Liquidation of Colonialism — Command of the Times”, *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 2, 1961.

international agreements”.¹ On this question, Khrushchov has taken over the line of the revisionists of the Second International; he advocates a “quiet burial of the colonial system”.²

The old revisionists attacked the revolutionary Marxists, hurling at them the slander that “Bolshevism is in essence a warlike type of socialism”³ and that “the Communist International harbours the illusion that the liberation of the workers can be achieved by means of the bayonets of the victorious Red Army and that a new world war is necessary for the world revolution”. They also spread the story that this position had “created the greatest danger of a new world war”.⁴ The language Khrushchov uses today to slander the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties is exactly the language used by the old revisionists in slandering the Bolsheviks. It is hard to find any difference.

It must be said that in serving the imperialists’ neo-colonialism, Khrushchov is not a whit inferior to the old revisionists in their service of the imperialists’ old colonialism.

Lenin showed how the policy of imperialism caused the international workers’ movement to split into two sections, the revolutionary and the opportunist. The revolutionary section sided with the oppressed nations and opposed the imperialists and colonialists. On the other hand, the opportunist section fed on crumbs from the spoils which the imperialists and colonialists squeezed out of the people of the colonies and semi-colonies. It sided with the imperialists and colonialists and opposed the revolution of the oppressed nations for liberation.

¹ “Resolution on the Territorial Question”, adopted by the International Socialist Conference in Berne, 1919, *Material on the First and Second Internationals*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1926, p. 380.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

³ Otto Bauer, Speech on the Oriental Question at the International Socialist Congress in Marseilles, 1925, *Material on the First and Second Internationals*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1926, pp. 468.

⁴ “Resolution on the Oriental Question”, adopted by the International Socialist Congress in Marseilles, 1925, *Material on the First and Second Internationals*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1926, p. 474.

The same kind of division between revolutionaries and opportunists in the international working-class movement as that described by Lenin is now taking shape not only in the working-class movement in capitalist countries but also in socialist countries where the proletariat wields state power.

The experience of history shows that if the national liberation movement is to achieve complete victory it must form a solid alliance with the revolutionary working-class movement, draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the revisionists who serve the imperialists and colonialists, and firmly eradicate their influence.

The experience of history shows that if the working-class movement of the capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America is to achieve complete victory, it must form a close alliance with the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and the revisionists, and firmly eradicate their influence.

The revisionists are agents of imperialism who have hidden themselves among the ranks of the international working-class movement. Lenin said, “. . . the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.”¹ Thus it is clear that the present fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism must be linked closely with the fight against the apologists of neo-colonialism.

However hard the imperialists disguise their intentions and bestir themselves, however hard their apologists whitewash and help neo-colonialism, imperialism and colonialism cannot escape their doom. The victory of the national liberation revolution is irresistible. Sooner or later the apologists of neo-colonialism will go bankrupt.

Workers of the world and the oppressed nations, unite!

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 560.

**TWO DIFFERENT LINES
ON THE QUESTION OF
WAR AND PEACE**

**Fifth Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(November 19, 1964)

THE whole world is discussing the question of war and peace.

The criminal system of imperialism has brought upon the people of the world numerous wars, including two disastrous world wars. Wars launched by imperialism have caused the people heavy suffering, but have also educated them.

Since World War II, people everywhere have been vigorously demanding world peace. More and more people have come to understand that to defend world peace it is imperative to wage struggles against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Marxist-Leninists throughout the world are duty bound to treasure the peace sentiments of the people and to stand in the forefront of the struggle for world peace. They are duty bound to struggle against the imperialists' policies of aggression and war, to expose their deceptions and defeat their plans for war. They are duty bound to educate the people, raise their political consciousness and guide the struggle for world peace in the proper direction.

In contrast to the Marxist-Leninists, the modern revisionists help the imperialists to deceive the people, divert the people's attention, weaken and undermine their struggle against imperialism and cover up the imperialists' plans for a new world war, thus meeting the needs of imperialist policy.

The Marxist-Leninist line on the question of war and peace is diametrically opposed to the revisionist line.

The Marxist-Leninist line is the correct line conducive to the winning of world peace. It is the line consistently upheld by all Marxist-Leninist Parties, including the Communist Party of China, and by all Marxist-Leninists.

The revisionist line is a wrong line which serves to increase the danger of a new war. It is the line gradually developed by the leaders of the CPSU since its 20th Congress.

On the question of war and peace many lies slandering the Chinese Communists have been fabricated in the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU and in numerous statements by the leaders of the CPSU, but these cannot conceal the essence of the differences.

In what follows we shall analyse the main differences between the Marxist-Leninist and the modern revisionist lines on the question of war and peace.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

Ever since capitalism evolved into imperialism, the question of war and peace has been a vital one in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

Imperialism is the source of wars in modern times. The imperialists alternately use a deceptive policy of peace and a policy of war. They often cover their crimes of aggression and their preparations for a new war with lies about peace.

Lenin and Stalin tirelessly called upon the people of all countries to combat the peace frauds of the imperialists.

Lenin said that the imperialist governments “pay lip service to peace and justice, but in fact wage annexationist and predatory wars”.¹

Stalin said that the imperialists “have only one aim in resorting to pacifism: to dupe the masses with high-sounding phrases about peace in order to prepare for a new war”.² He also said:

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Report on Peace”, Delivered at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part I, p. 332.

² J. V. Stalin, “Concerning the International Situation”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 297.

Many think that imperialist pacifism is an instrument of peace. That is absolutely wrong. Imperialist pacifism is an instrument for the preparation of war and for disguising this preparation by hypocritical talk of peace. Without this pacifism and its instrument, the League of Nations, preparation for war in the conditions of today would be impossible.¹

In contrast to Lenin and Stalin, the revisionists of the Second International, who were renegades from the working class, helped the imperialists to deceive the people and became their accomplices in unleashing the two World Wars.

Before World War I, the revisionists represented by Bernstein and Kautsky endeavoured by hypocritical talk about peace to paralyse the revolutionary fighting will of the people and cover up the imperialist plans for a world war.

As World War I was breaking out, the old revisionists speedily shed their peace masks, sided with their respective imperialist governments, supported the imperialist war for the redivision of the world, voted for military appropriations in parliament, and incited the working class of their own countries to plunge into the war and slaughter their class brothers in other countries under the hypocritical slogan of “defending the motherland”.

When the imperialists needed an armistice in their own interests, the revisionists typified by Kautsky tried to poison people’s minds and to oppose revolution by such glib talk as “nothing would make me happier than a conciliatory peace based on the principle, ‘Live and let live’ ”.²

After World War I, the renegade Kautsky and his successors became still more brazen trumpeters of the imperialists’ peace frauds.

¹ J. V. Stalin, “Results of the July Plenum of the C.C., C.P.S.U.(B.)”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. XI, p. 209.

² Karl Kautsky, *National Problems*, Russ. ed., Petrograd, 1918, p. 88.

The revisionists of the Second International spread a pack of lies on the question of war and peace.

1. They prettified imperialism and turned the minds of the people away from their struggles. Kautsky said:

. . . the danger to world peace from imperialism is only slight. The greater danger appears to come from the national strivings in the East and from the various dictatorships.¹

Thus people were asked to believe that the source of war was not imperialism but the oppressed nations of the East and the Soviet state, the great bulwark of peace.

2. They helped the imperialists cover up the danger of a new war and blunted the fighting will of the people. Kautsky said in 1928, "If today you keep on talking loudly about the dangers of imperialist war, you are relying on a traditional formula and not on present-day considerations."² Old revisionists of his brand described those believing in the inevitability of imperialist wars as "committed to a fatalistic conception of history".³

3. They intimidated the people with the notion that war would destroy mankind. Kautsky said:

. . . the next war will not only bring want and misery, but will basically put an end to civilisation and, at least in Europe, will leave behind nothing but smoking ruins and putrefying corpses.⁴

These old revisionists said:

¹ Karl Kautsky, *The Question of Defence and Social-Democracy*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1928, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³ Hugo Haase, Speech on the Question of Imperialism at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Chemnitz, 1912, published in the *Handbook of the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in 1910-1913*, Ger. ed., Munich, Vol. II, p. 234.

⁴ Karl Kautsky, Preface to *War and Democracy*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1932, p. xii.

The last war brought the entire world to the brink of the precipice; the next one would destroy it completely. The mere preparation for a new war would ruin the world.¹

4. They made no distinction between just and unjust wars and forbade revolution. Kautsky said in 1914:

. . . in present-day conditions, there is no such thing as a war which is not a misfortune for nations in general and for the proletariat in particular. What we discussed was the means by which we could prevent a threatening war, and not which wars are useful and which harmful.²

He also said:

The yearning for perpetual peace increasingly inspires the majority of cultured nations. It temporarily pushes the essentially great problem of our times into the background. . . .³

5. They propagated the theory that weapons decide everything and they opposed revolutionary armed struggle. Kautsky said:

As has been often stated, one of the reasons why the coming revolutionary struggles will more rarely be fought out by military means lies in the colossal superiority in armaments of the armies of modern states over the arms which are at the disposal of "civilians" and which usually render any resistance on the part of the latter hopeless from the very outset.⁴

¹ "Resolution on the League of Nations", adopted by the International Socialist Conference in Berne, 1919, *Material on the First and Second Internationals*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1926, p. 378.

² Karl Kautsky, "Social-Democracy in War", *Die Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914.

³ Karl Kautsky, Preface to *War and Democracy*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1932, p. xii.

⁴ Karl Kautsky, "A Catechism of Social-Democracy", *Die Neue Zeit*, December 13, 1893.

6. They spread the absurd theory that world peace can be safeguarded and equality of nations achieved through disarmament. Bernstein said:

Peace on earth and good will to all men! We should not pause or rest and must attend to the unhindered advance of society towards prosperity in the interests of all, towards equality of rights among nations through international agreement and disarmament.¹

7. They spread the fallacy that the money saved from disarmament can be used to assist backward countries. Kautsky said:

. . . the lighter the burden of military expenditures in Western Europe, the greater the means available for building railways in China, Persia, Turkey, South America, etc., and these public works are a far more effective means of promoting industrial development than the building of dreadnoughts.²

8. They submitted schemes for the “peace strategy” of the imperialists. Kautsky said:

The nations of civilised Europe (and likewise the Americans) can maintain peace in the Near and Far East more effectively through their economic and intellectual resources than through ironclads and planes.³

9. They extolled the League of Nations which was controlled by the imperialists. Kautsky said:

The mere existence of the League of Nations is itself already a great achievement for the cause of peace. It rep-

¹ Eduard Bernstein, Speech on the Question of Disarmament at the Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in Chemnitz, 1912, published in the *Handbook of the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party in 1910-1913*, Ger. ed., Munich, Vol. II, p. 9.

² Karl Kautsky, “Once More on Disarmament”, *Die Neue Zeit*, September 6, 1912.

³ Karl Kautsky, *The Question of Defence and Social-Democracy*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1928, p. 32.

resents a lever for the preservation of peace such as no other institution can offer.¹

10. They spread the illusion that reliance could be placed on U.S. imperialism to defend world peace. Kautsky said:

Today the United States is the strongest power in the world and will make the League of Nations irresistible as soon as it works inside it or with it to prevent war.²

Lenin ruthlessly exposed the ugly features of Kautsky and his ilk. He pointed out that the pacifist phrases of the revisionists of the Second International served only “as a means of *consoling* the people, as a means of *helping* the governments to keep the masses in submission in order to continue the imperialist slaughter!”³

Stalin pointed out:

And the most important thing in all this is that Social-Democracy is the main channel of imperialist pacifism within the working class — consequently, it is capitalism’s main support among the working class in preparing for new wars and intervention.⁴

Even a cursory comparison of Comrade Khrushchov’s statements on the question of war and peace with those of Bernstein, Kautsky and others shows that there is nothing new in his views, which are a mere reproduction of the revisionism of the Second International.

On the question of war and peace, which has a vital bearing on the destiny of mankind, Khrushchov is following in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

² Karl Kautsky, *Socialists and War*, Ger. ed., Prague, 1937, p. 639.

³ V. I. Lenin, “To the Workers Who Support the Struggle Against the War and Against the Socialists Who Have Deserted to the Side of Their Governments”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. XIX, p. 435.

⁴ J. V. Stalin, “Results of the July Plenum of the C.C., C.P.S.U. (B.)”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. XI, p. 210.

the footsteps of Bernstein and Kautsky. As history shows, this is a road extremely dangerous to world peace.

In order effectively to defend world peace and prevent a new world war, Marxist-Leninists and peace-loving people all over the world must reject and oppose Khrushchov's erroneous line.

THE GREATEST FRAUD

There is no bigger lie than the designation of the arch enemy of world peace as a peace-loving angel.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism, stepping into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, has been endeavouring to set up a vast world empire such as has never been known before. The "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism has been to grab and dominate the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, put down the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries, and thus to dominate the whole world.

In the eighteen years since the end of World War II, in order to realize its ambition of world domination, U.S. imperialism has been carrying on aggressive wars or counter-revolutionary aimed interventions in various parts of the world and has been actively preparing for a new world war.

It is obvious that imperialism remains the source of modern wars and that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war in the contemporary world. This has been clearly affirmed in both the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

Yet the leaders of the CPSU hold that the chief representatives of U.S. imperialism love peace. They say that a "reasonable" group has emerged capable of soberly assessing the situation. And Eisenhower and Kennedy are representatives of this "reasonable" group.

Khrushchov praised Eisenhower as one who “enjoys the absolute confidence of his people”, who “has a sincere desire for peace” and who “also worries about ensuring peace just as we do”.

Now Khrushchov praises Kennedy as even better qualified to shoulder the responsibility of preserving world peace than was Eisenhower. He showed “solicitude for the preservation of peace”,¹ and it is reasonable to expect him to “create reliable conditions for a peaceful life and creative labour on earth”.²

Khrushchov works as hard as the revisionists of the Second International at telling lies about imperialism and prettifying it.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU asks those who do not believe in these lies: “Do they really think that all bourgeois governments, in all their doings, lack reason?”

Obviously, the leaders of the CPSU ignore the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. In a class society there is no reason that can transcend class. The proletariat has proletarian reason and the bourgeoisie bourgeois reason. Reason connotes that one must be good at formulating policies in the fundamental interests of one’s own class and at taking actions according to one’s basic class stand. The reason of Kennedy and his like lies in acting according to the fundamental interests of U.S. monopoly capital, and it is imperialist reason.

At a time when the international balance of class forces is becoming increasingly unfavourable to imperialism and the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war are meeting with constant setbacks, the U.S. imperialists have to disguise themselves more frequently under the cloak of peace.

It is true that Kennedy is rather clever at spinning words about peace and employing peace tactics. But as with his

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Letter to J. F. Kennedy, October 27, 1962.

² New Year Message of Greetings from N. S. Khrushchov and L. I. Brezhnev to J. F. Kennedy, *Izvestia*, January 3, 1963.

war policy, Kennedy's deceptive peace policy serves the "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism.

Kennedy's "strategy of peace" aims at unifying the whole world into the "world community of free nations" rooted in U.S. imperialist "law and justice".

The main points of Kennedy's "strategy of peace" are:

To promote U.S. neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America by peaceful means;

To penetrate and dominate other imperialist and capitalist countries by peaceful means;

To encourage by peaceful means the socialist countries to take the Yugoslav road of "peaceful evolution";

To weaken and undermine by peaceful means the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism.

In his recent speech at the United Nations General Assembly, Kennedy arrogantly announced the following conditions for peace between the United States and the Soviet Union:

(1) The German Democratic Republic must be incorporated into West Germany.

(2) Socialist Cuba must not be allowed to exist.

(3) The socialist countries in Eastern Europe must be given "free choice", by which he means that capitalism must be restored in these countries.

(4) The socialist countries must not support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations.

To attain their aims by "peaceful means" wherever possible has been a customary tactic of imperialists and colonialists.

Reactionary classes always rely on two tactics to maintain their rule and to carry out foreign aggrandizement. One is the tactic of priest-like deception, the other that of butcher-like suppression. Imperialism always employs its deceptive policy of peace and its policy of war to reinforce each other, and they are complementary. The reason of Kennedy, who

is the representative of U.S. monopoly capital, can express itself only in a more cunning use of these two tactics.

Violence is always the main tactic of reactionary ruling classes. Priest-like deception plays only a supplementary role. Imperialists always rely on positions of strength to carve out their spheres of influence. Kennedy has made this point very clear. He said, "In the end, the only way to maintain the peace is to be prepared in the final extreme to fight for our country — and to mean it."¹ Since Kennedy took office, he has followed the "strategy of flexible response", which requires the speedy building of "versatile military forces" and the strengthening of "all-round power" so that the United States will be able to fight any kind of war it pleases, whether a general war or a limited war, whether a nuclear war or a conventional war, and whether a large war or a small war. This mad plan of Kennedy's has pushed U.S. arms expansion and war preparations to an unprecedented peak. Let us look at the following facts published by official U.S. sources:

1. The military expenditures of the U.S. Government have increased from 46,700 million dollars in the fiscal year 1960 to an estimated 60,000 million dollars in the fiscal year 1964, the highest total ever in peace time and greater than during the Korean War.

2. Kennedy recently declared that in the past two years and more there has been a 100 per cent increase in the number of nuclear weapons of the U.S. strategic alert forces and a 45 per cent increase in the number of combat-ready army divisions, the procurement of airlift aircraft has been increased by 175 per cent and there has been an increase by nearly five times in the "special guerrilla and counter-insurgency forces".²

¹ J. F. Kennedy, Speech at the Eighth Annual Veteran's Day Ceremony, November 11, 1961.

² J. F. Kennedy, Speech at a Democratic Party Fund-Raising Dinner, October 30, 1963.

3. The U.S. Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff has mapped out plans for nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Robert McNamara, the U.S. Secretary of Defence, declared at the beginning of this year:

. . . we have provided, throughout the period under consideration, a capability to destroy virtually all of the “soft-” [above-ground] and “semi-hard” [semi-protected] military targets in the Soviet Union and a large number of their fully hardened missile sites, with an additional capability in the form of a protected force to be employed or held in reserve for use against urban and industrial areas.¹

The United States has strengthened its network of nuclear missile bases directed against the socialist camp and has greatly strengthened the disposition of its missile-equipped nuclear submarines abroad.

At the same time, the troops of the NATO bloc under U.S. command have pushed eastward this year and approached the borders of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

4. The Kennedy Administration has reinforced its military dispositions in Asia, Latin America and Africa and made great efforts to expand the “special forces” of its land, sea and air services in order to cope with the people’s revolutionary movement in those areas. The United States has turned southern Viet Nam into a proving ground for “special warfare” and increased its troops there to more than 16,000.

5. It has strengthened its war commands. It has set up a “U.S. Strike Command” which controls a combined land and air force maintaining high combat readiness in peace time, so that it can be readily sent to any place in the world to provoke wars. It has also set up national military command centres both above and below ground, and organized an Emer-

¹ R. S. McNamara, Statement Before the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, January 30, 1963.

gency Airborne Command Post operating from aircraft and an Emergency Sea Command Post operating from warships.

These facts demonstrate that the U.S. imperialists are the wildest militarists of modern times, the wildest plotters of a new world war, and the most ferocious enemy of world peace.

It is thus clear that the U.S. imperialists have not become beautiful angels in spite of Khrushchov's bible-reading and psalm-singing; they have not turned into compassionate Buddhas in spite of Khrushchov's prayers and incense-burning. However hard Khrushchov tries to serve the U.S. imperialists, they show not the slightest appreciation. They continue to expose their own peace camouflage by fresh and numerous activities of aggression and war, and thus they continue to slap Khrushchov in the face and reveal the bankruptcy of his ridiculous theories prettifying imperialism. The lot of the willing apologists of U.S. imperialism is indeed a sorry one.

THE QUESTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING A NEW WORLD WAR

It is a fact that the imperialists headed by the United States are actively preparing a new world war and that the danger of such a war does exist. We should make this fact clear to the people.

But can a new world war be prevented?

The views of the Chinese Communists on this question have always been quite explicit.

After the conclusion of World War II, Comrade Mao Tse-tung scientifically analysed the post-war international situation and advanced the view that a new world war can be prevented.

Back in 1946, in his well-known talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong, he said:

But the fact that the U.S. reactionaries are now trumpeting so loudly about a U.S.-Soviet war and creating a foul atmosphere, so soon after the end of World War II, compels us to take a look at their real aims. It turns out that under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans they are frantically attacking the workers and democratic circles in the United States and turning all the countries which are the targets of U.S. external expansion into U.S. dependencies. I think the American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries. Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; otherwise it is unavoidable.¹

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's remarks were directed against a pessimistic appraisal of the international situation at the time. The imperialists headed by the United States, together with the reactionaries in various countries, were daily intensifying their anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-popular activities and trumpeting that "war between the United States and the Soviet Union is inevitable" and that "the outbreak of a third world war is inevitable". The Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries gave this great publicity in order to intimidate the Chinese people. Frightened by such blackmail, some comrades became faint-hearted in the face of the armed attacks launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries with U.S. imperialist support and dared not firmly oppose the counter-revolutionary war with a revolutionary war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung held different views. He pointed out that a new world war could be prevented provided resolute and effective struggles were waged against world reaction.

His scientific proposition was confirmed by the great victory of the Chinese Revolution.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.

The victory of the Chinese Revolution brought about a tremendous change in the international balance of class forces. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in June 1950:

The menace of war by the imperialist camp still exists the possibility of a third world war still exists. But the forces thwarting the danger of war and preventing a third world war are rapidly developing, and the political consciousness of the broad masses of the people of the world is rising. A new world war can be prevented provided the Communist Parties of the world keep on uniting and strengthening all the forces of peace and democracy that can be united.¹

In November 1957, at the meeting of fraternal Parties, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a detailed analysis of the changes in international relations since the end of World War II and showed that the international situation had reached a new turning point. He vividly depicted the situation with a metaphor from a classical Chinese novel — “The east wind prevails over the west wind”. He said:

It is characteristic of the situation today, I believe, that the East wind is prevailing over the West wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism are overwhelmingly superior to the forces of imperialism.²

He arrived at this conclusion by an analysis of international class relations. He explicitly placed on the side of “the East wind” the socialist camp, the international working class, the Communist Parties, the oppressed peoples and nations and the peace-loving people and countries, while confining “the West wind” to the war forces of imperialism and reaction.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, “Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation in China”, *Renmin Ribao*, June 13, 1950.

² *Comrade Mao Tse-tung on “Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers”*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1963, p. 35.

The political meaning Of this metaphor is very lucid and definite. The fact that the leaders of the CPSU and their followers are twisting this metaphor into a geographical or ethnical or meteorological concept only shows that they want to squeeze themselves into the ranks of the “West” in order to please the imperialists and to stir up chauvinism in Europe and North America.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s main aim in stating that “the East wind prevails over the West wind” was to point to the growing possibility that a new world war could be prevented and that the socialist countries would be able to carry on their construction in a peaceful environment.

These propositions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s have been and are the consistent views of the Communist Party of China.

It is thus clear that the leaders of the CPSU are deliberately concocting a lie in alleging that the Chinese Communist Party does “not believe in the possibility of preventing a new world war.”¹

Again, it is clear that the thesis on the possibility of preventing a third world war was advanced by Marxist-Leninists long ago; it was not first put forward at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, nor is it Khrushchov’s “creation”.

Is it then true that Khrushchov has created nothing at all? No. He has created something. Unfortunately, these “creations” are by no means Marxist-Leninist, but revisionist.

First, Khrushchev has wilfully interpreted the possibility of preventing a new world war as the only possibility, holding that there is no possibility of a new world war.

Marxist-Leninists hold that while pointing to the possibility of preventing a new world war, we must also call attention to the possibility that imperialism may unleash a world war. Only by pointing to both possibilities, pursuing correct policies and preparing for both eventualities can we effectively

¹ Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

mobilize the masses to wage struggles in defence of world peace. Only thus will the socialist countries and people and other peace-loving countries and people not be caught unawares and utterly unprepared should imperialism force a world war on the people of the world.

However, Khrushchov and others are against exposing the danger of a new war which the imperialists are plotting. According to them, imperialism has actually become peace-loving. This is helping the imperialists to lull the masses and sap their fighting will so that they will lose their vigilance against the danger of the new war the imperialists are plotting.

Second, Khrushchov has wilfully interpreted the possibility of preventing a new world war as the possibility of preventing all wars, holding that the Leninist axiom that war is inevitable so long as imperialism exists is outmoded.

The possibility of preventing a new world war is one thing; the possibility of preventing all wars, including revolutionary wars, is another. And it is completely wrong to confuse the two.

There is soil for wars so long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exist. This is an objective law discovered by Lenin after abundant scientific study.

Stalin said in 1952 after indicating the possibility of preventing a new world war, "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism."¹

Lenin and Stalin are right and Khrushchov is wrong.

History shows that while the imperialists have succeeded in launching two world wars, they have waged numerous wars of other kinds. Since World War II, by their policies of aggression and war the imperialists headed by the United States have brought about ceaseless local wars and armed conflicts of every description in many places, and especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, p. 41.

It is clear that national liberation wars are inevitable when the imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, send their troops or use their lackeys to carry out sanguinary suppression of the oppressed nations and countries fighting for or upholding national independence.

Lenin said:

To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and in practice is tantamount to European chauvinism.¹

It is equally clear that revolutionary civil wars are inevitable when the bourgeois reactionaries suppress the people in their own countries by force of arms.

Lenin said:

. . . civil wars are also wars. Whoever recognizes the class struggle cannot fail to recognize civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions, inevitable continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, would mean sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the socialist revolution.²

Nearly all the great revolutions in history were made through revolutionary wars. The American War of Independence and Civil War are cases in point. The French Revolution is another example. The Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution are of course examples too. The revolutions in Viet Nam, Cuba, Algeria, etc. are also well-known examples.

In 1871, summing up the lessons of the Paris Commune in his speech commemorating the seventh anniversary of the founding of the First International, Marx mentioned the conditions for the elimination of class domination and class oppression. He said:

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 571.

² *Ibid.*

. . . before such a change can be consummated, a dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and its first premiss is an army of the proletariat. The working class must win the right to its emancipation on the battlefield.¹

In accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the celebrated thesis that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”, when discussing the lessons of the Russian and Chinese Revolutions in 1938. This thesis, too, has now become a target of attack by the leaders of the CPSU. They say it is evidence of China’s being “warlike”.

Respected friends, slanders like yours were refuted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung as far back as twenty-five years ago:

According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the “omnipotence of war”. Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist.²

What is wrong with Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s remark? Only those who reject all the historical experience gained in the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions over the last few hundred years would reject this view of his.

With their guns, the Chinese people have created socialist political power. All except imperialists and their lackeys can readily understand that this is a fine thing and that it is an important factor in safeguarding world peace and preventing a third world war.

Marxist-Leninists never conceal their views. We wholeheartedly support every people’s revolutionary war. As Lenin said of such revolutionary war, “Of all the wars known in

¹ *Works of Marx and Engels*, Ger. ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, Vol. XVII, p. 433.

² Mao Tse-tung, “Problems of War and Strategy”, *Selected Military Writings*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1963, p. 273.

history it is the only lawful, rightful, just, and truly great war.”¹ If we are accused of being warlike simply because of this, it only goes to prove that we genuinely side with the oppressed peoples and nations and are true Marxist-Leninists.

The imperialists and revisionists always denounced the Bolsheviks and revolutionary leaders like Lenin and Stalin as being “warlike”. The very fact that today we are likewise abused by imperialists and revisionists shows that we have been holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchov and others vigorously propagate the view that all wars can be prevented and “a world without weapons, without armed forces and without wars” can be brought into being while imperialism still exists. This is nothing but Kautsky’s theory of “ultra-imperialism” which has long been bankrupt. Their purpose is all too clear; it is to make the people believe that permanent peace can be realized under imperialism and thereby to abolish revolution and national liberation wars and revolutionary civil wars against imperialism and its lackeys, and in fact to help the imperialists in their preparations for a new war.

NUCLEAR FETISHISM AND NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL ARE THE THEORETICAL BASIS AND GUIDING POLICY OF MODERN REVISIONISM

The heart of the theory of the leaders of the CPSU on war and peace is their thesis that the emergence of nuclear weapons has changed everything including the laws of class struggle.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU says, “The nuclear and rocket weapons created in the middle of this century have changed former conceptions of war.” In what way were they changed?

¹ V. I. Lenin. “Revolutionary Days”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1969, Vol. VIII, p. 107.

The leaders of the CPSU hold that with the appearance of nuclear weapons there is no longer any difference between just and unjust wars. They say that “the atomic bomb does not draw class distinctions” and that “the atomic bomb does not distinguish between imperialists and working people, it strikes at areas, so that millions of workers would be killed for every monopolist destroyed”.¹

They hold that with the appearance of nuclear weapons the oppressed peoples and nations must abandon revolution and refrain from waging just popular revolutionary wars and wars of national liberation, or else such wars would lead to the destruction of mankind. They say, “. . . any small ‘local war’ might spark off the conflagration of a world war” and “Today, any sort of war, though it may break out as an ordinary non-nuclear war, is likely to develop into a destructive nuclear-missile conflagration.”² Thus, “We will destroy our Noah’s Ark — the globe”.

The leaders of the CPSU hold that the socialist countries must not resist but must yield to imperialist nuclear blackmail and war threats. Khrushchov said:

There can be no doubt that a world nuclear war, if started by the imperialist maniacs, would inevitably result in the downfall of the capitalist system, a system breeding wars. But would the socialist countries and the cause of socialism all over the world benefit from a world nuclear disaster? Only people who deliberately shut their eyes to the facts can think so. As regards Marxist-Leninists, they cannot propose to establish a Communist civilisation on the ruins of centres of world culture, on land laid waste and contaminated by nuclear fall-out. We need hardly add that in the case of many peoples, the question of socialism would be

¹ Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Radio and Television Speech, June 15, 1961.

eliminated altogether because they would have disappeared bodily from our planet.¹

In short, according to the leaders of the CPSU, with the emergence of nuclear weapons, the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, and the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism have all disappeared. The world no longer has any class contradictions. They regard the contradictions in the contemporary world as boiling down to a single contradiction, that is, their fictitious contradiction between the so-called common survival of imperialism and the oppressed classes and nations on the one hand and their total destruction on the other.

As far as the leaders of the CPSU are concerned, Marxism-Leninism, the Declaration and the Statement, and socialism and communism have all been cast to the winds.

How frankly *Pravda* puts it! “What is the use of principles if one’s head is chopped off?”²

This is tantamount to saying that the revolutionaries who died under the sabres of the reactionaries for the victory of the Russian Revolutions and the October Revolution, the warriors who bravely gave up their lives in the anti-fascist war, the heroes who shed their blood in the struggle against imperialism and for national independence and the martyrs to the revolutionary cause through the ages were all fools. Why should they have given up their heads for adherence to principle?

This is the philosophy of out-and-out renegades. It is a shameless statement, to be found only in the confessions of renegades.

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, January 16, 1963.

² “Left of Common Sense”, *Pravda*, August 16, 1963.

Guided by this theory of nuclear fetishism and nuclear blackmail, the leaders of the CPSU maintain that the way to defend world peace is not for all existing peace forces to unite and form the broadest united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys but for the two nuclear powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to co-operate in settling the world's problems.

Khrushchov has said:

We [the Soviet Union and the United States] are the strongest countries in the world and if we unite for peace there can be no war. Then if any madman wanted war, we would but have to shake our fingers to warn him off.¹

It is thus apparent to everybody how far the leaders of the CPSU have gone in regarding the enemy as their friend.

In order to cover up their error, the leaders of the CPSU have not hesitated to attack the correct line of the CPC by lies and slanders. They assert that by advocating support for the peoples' wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars the Communist Party of China wants to provoke a nuclear world war.

This is a curious lie.

The Communist Party of China has always held that the socialist countries should actively support the peoples' revolutionary struggles, including wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars. To fail to do so would be to renounce their proletarian internationalist duty. At the same time, we hold that the oppressed peoples and nations can achieve liberation only by their own resolute revolutionary struggle and that no one else can do it for them.

We have always maintained that socialist countries must not use nuclear weapons to support the peoples' wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars and have no need to do so.

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Interview with the U.S. Correspondent C. L. Sulzberger on September 5, 1961, *Pravda*, September 10, 1961.

We have always maintained that the socialist countries must achieve and maintain nuclear superiority. Only this can prevent the imperialists from launching a nuclear war and help bring about the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

We consistently hold that in the hands of a socialist country, nuclear weapons must always be defensive weapons for resisting imperialist nuclear threats. A socialist country absolutely must not be the first to use nuclear weapons, nor should it in any circumstances play with them or engage in nuclear blackmail and nuclear gambling.

We are opposed both to the wrong practice on the part of the leaders of the CPSU of withholding support from the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and to their wrong approach to nuclear weapons. Instead of examining their own errors, they accuse us of hoping for a “head-on clash”¹ between the Soviet Union and the United States and trying to push them into a nuclear war.

Our answer is: No, friends. You had better cut out your sensation mongering calumny. The Chinese Communist Party is firmly opposed to a “head-on clash” between the Soviet Union and the United States, and not in words only. In deeds too it has worked hard to avert direct armed conflict between them. Examples of this are the Korean War against U.S. aggression in which we fought side by side with the Korean comrades and our struggle against the United States in the Taiwan Straits. We ourselves preferred to shoulder the heavy sacrifices necessary and stood in the first line of defense of the socialist camp so that the Soviet Union might stay in the second line. Have the leaders of the CPSU any sense of proletarian morality when they concoct such lies?

In fact, it is not we but the leaders of the CPSU who have frequently boasted that they would use nuclear weapons to help the anti-imperialist struggle of one country or another.

¹ “The General Line of the International Communist Movement and the Schismatic Platform of the Chinese Leaders”, editorial board article in *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 14, 1963.

As everyone knows, the oppressed peoples and nations have no nuclear weapons and they cannot use them to make revolutions, nor is there any need for them to do so. The leaders of the CPSU admit that there is often no clear battle line between the two sides in national liberation wars and civil wars, and therefore the use of nuclear weapons is out of the question. We should then like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: What need is there for a socialist country to support the peoples' revolutionary struggles by nuclear weapons?

We should also like to ask them: How would a socialist country use nuclear weapons to support the revolutionary struggle of an oppressed people or nation? Would it use nuclear weapons on an area where a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war was in progress, thereby subjecting both the revolutionary people and the imperialists to a nuclear strike? Or would it be the first to use nuclear weapons against an imperialist country which was waging a conventional war of aggression elsewhere? Obviously, in either case it is absolutely impermissible for a socialist country to use nuclear weapons.

The fact is that when the leaders of the CPSU brandish their nuclear weapons, it is not really to support the people's anti-imperialist struggles.

Sometimes, in order to gain cheap prestige, they just publish empty statements which they never intend to honour.

At other times, during the Caribbean crisis for instance, they engage in speculative, opportunistic and irresponsible nuclear gambling for ulterior motives.

As soon as their nuclear blackmail is seen through and is countered in kind, they retreat one step after another, switch from adventurism to capitulationism and lose all by their nuclear gambling.

We wish to point out that the great Soviet people and Red Army have been and remain a great force safeguarding world

peace. But Khrushchov's military ideas based on nuclear fetishism and nuclear blackmail are entirely wrong.

Khrushchov sees only nuclear weapons. According to him, "The present level of military technique being what it is, the Air Force and the Navy have lost their former importance. These arms are being replaced and not reduced."¹

Of course, those units and men having combat duties on the ground are even less significant. According to him, "In our time, a country's defensive capacity is not determined by the number of men under arms, of men in uniform. . . . a country's defense potential depends in decisive measure on the fire-power and the means of delivery that country commands."²

As for the militia and the people, they are still more inconsequential. Khrushchov has made the well-known remark that for those now having modern weapons at their disposal, the militia is not an army but just human flesh.³

Khrushchov's whole set of military theories runs completely counter to Marxist-Leninist teachings on war and the army. To follow his wrong theories will necessarily involve disintegrating the army and disarming oneself morally.

Obviously, if any socialist country should accept Khrushchov's erroneous military strategy, it would inevitably place itself in a most dangerous position.

Khrushchov may confer on himself such titles as "a great peace champion", award himself a peace prize and pin heroes' medals on himself, but no matter how much he may praise himself, he will not be able to cover up his dangerous practice of recklessly playing with nuclear weapons or his fawning before imperialist nuclear blackmail.

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, January 1960.

² *Ibid.*

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Meeting of Representatives of Fraternal Parties in Bucharest, June 24, 1960.

FIGHT OR CAPITULATE?

World peace can be won only through struggle by the people of all countries and not by begging the imperialists for it. Peace can be effectively safeguarded only by relying on the masses of the people and waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. This is the correct policy.

Tit-for-tat struggle is an important conclusion drawn by the Chinese people from their prolonged struggle against imperialism and its lackeys.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

Chiang Kai-shek always tries to wrest every ounce of power and every ounce of gain from the people. And we? Our policy is to give him tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land. We act after his fashion.¹

He added:

He always tries to impose war on the people, one sword in his left hand and another in his right. We take up swords, too, following his example.²

Analysing the domestic political situation in 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

How to give "tit for tat" depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat. . . . If they start fighting, we fight back, fight to win peace. Peace will not come unless we strike hard blows at the reactionaries who dare to attack the Liberated Areas.³

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*

³ Mao Tse-tung, "On the Chungking Negotiations", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 56.

He drew the following historical lesson from the failure of China's Revolution of 1924-27:

Confronted by counter-revolutionary attacks against the people, Chen Tu-hsiu did not adopt the policy of giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land; as a result, in 1927, within the space of a few months, the people lost all the rights they had won.¹

The Chinese Communists understand and adhere to the policy of giving tit for tat. We oppose both capitulationism and adventurism. This correct policy ensured the victory of the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese people's subsequent great successes in their struggle against imperialism.

All revolutionary people approve and welcome this correct fighting policy put forward by the Chinese Communists. All imperialists and reactionaries fear and hate it.

The policy of giving tit for tat as put forward by the CPC is virulently attacked by the leaders of the CPSU. This only goes to show that they do not in the least want to oppose imperialism. Their sole purpose in attacking and smearing the policy of tit for tat is to cover up their wrong line of catering to the needs of imperialism and surrendering to it.

The leaders of the CPSU assert that a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism will lead to international tension. How terrible!

According to their logic, the imperialists are allowed to commit aggression and make threats against others but the victims of imperialist aggression are not allowed to fight, the imperialists are allowed to oppress others but the oppressed are not allowed to resist. This is a naked attempt to absolve the imperialists of their crimes of aggression. This is a philosophy of the jungle, pure and simple.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 16.

International tension is the product of the imperialist policies of aggression and war. The peoples should of course wage a firm struggle against imperialist aggression and threats. Facts have shown that only through struggle can imperialism be compelled to retreat and a genuine relaxation of international tension be achieved. Constant retreat before the imperialists cannot lead to genuine relaxation but will only encourage their aggression.

We have always opposed the creation of international tension by imperialism and stood for the relaxation of such tension. But the imperialists are bent on committing aggression and creating tension everywhere, and that can only lead to the opposite of what they desire.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

The U.S. imperialists believe that they will always benefit from tense situations, but the fact is that tension created by the United States has led to the opposite of what they desire. It serves to mobilize the people of the whole world against the U.S. aggressors.¹

Further, "If the U.S. monopoly groups persist in their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when the people of the world will hang them by the neck."²

The Declaration of 1957 rightly says, "By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers."

This is the dialectic of history. Those who revere the imperialists can hardly understand this truth.

The leaders of the CPSU assert that by advocating a tit-for-tat struggle the Chinese Communist Party has rejected negotiations. This again is nonsense.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, Speech at the Supreme State Conference, *Renmin Ribao*, September 9, 1958.

² *Ibid.*

We consistently maintain that those who refuse negotiations under all circumstances are definitely not Marxist-Leninists.

The Chinese Communists conducted negotiations with the Kuomintang many times during the revolutionary civil wars. They did not refuse to negotiate even on the eve of nationwide liberation.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in March 1949:

Whether the peace negotiations are overall or local, we should be prepared for such an eventuality. We should not refuse to enter into negotiations because we are afraid of trouble and want to avoid complications, nor should we enter into negotiations with our minds in a haze. We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility permissible and necessary for carrying out our principles.¹

Internationally, in struggling against imperialism and reaction, the Chinese Communists take the same correct attitude towards negotiations.

In October 1951, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had this to say about the Korean armistice negotiations.

We have long said that the Korean question should be settled by peaceful means. This still holds good now. So long as the U.S. Government is willing to settle the question on a just and reasonable basis, and will stop using every shameless means possible to wreck and obstruct the progress of the negotiations, as it has done in the past, success in the Korean armistice negotiation is possible; otherwise it is impossible.²

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 372.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Opening Speech at the Third Session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", *Renmin Ribao*, October 24, 1951.

Resolute struggle against the U.S. imperialists compelled them to accept the Korean armistice agreement in the course of negotiations.

We took an active part in the 1954 Geneva Conference and contributed to the restoration of peace in Indo-China.

We are in favour of negotiations even with the United States, which has occupied our territory of Taiwan. The Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks have been going on for more than eight years now.

We took an active part in the 1961 Geneva Conference on the Laotian question and promoted the signing of the Geneva agreements respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos.

Do the Chinese Communists allow themselves alone to negotiate with imperialist countries while opposing negotiations by the leaders of the CPSU with the leaders of the imperialist countries?

No, of course not.

In fact, we have always actively supported all such negotiations by the Soviet Government with imperialist countries as are beneficial and not detrimental to the defence of world peace.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said on May 14, 1960:

We support the holding of the summit conference whether or not this sort of conference yields achievements, or whether the achievements are big or small. But the winning of world peace should depend primarily on resolute struggle by the people of all countries.¹

We favour negotiations with imperialist countries. But it is absolutely impermissible to pin hopes for world peace on negotiations, spread illusions about them and thereby paralyse the fighting will of the peoples, as Khrushchov has done.

¹ Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Talk with Guests from Asia and Latin America", *Renmin Ribao*, May 15, 1960.

Actually Khrushchov's wrong approach to negotiations is itself harmful to negotiations. The more Khrushchov retreats before the imperialists and the more he begs, the more the appetite of the imperialists will grow. Khrushchov, who poses as the greatest devotee of negotiations in history, is always an unrequited lover and too often a laughing-stock. Countless historical facts have shown that the imperialists and reactionaries never care to save the face of the capitulationists.

THE ROAD IN DEFENCE OF PEACE AND THE ROAD LEADING TO WAR

To sum up, our difference with the leaders of the CPSU on the question of war and peace is one between two different lines — whether or not to oppose imperialism, whether or not to support revolutionary struggles, whether or not to mobilize the people of the world against the imperialist war plots and whether or not to adhere to Marxism-Leninism.

Like all other genuine revolutionary parties, the Communist Party of China has always been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and for world peace. We hold that to defend world peace it is necessary constantly to expose imperialism and to arouse and organize the people in struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States, and it is necessary to place reliance on the growth of the strength of the socialist camp, on the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all countries, on the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations, on the struggles of all peace-loving peoples and countries and on the broad united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

This line of ours is in keeping with the common line for all Communist Parties laid down in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

With this line, it is possible ceaselessly to raise the political consciousness of the people and to expand the struggle for world peace in the right direction.

With this line, it is possible constantly to strengthen the forces for world peace with the socialist camp as their core and strike at and weaken the imperialist forces for war.

With this line, it is possible constantly to expand the peoples' revolutions and manacle imperialism.

With this line, it is possible to turn to account all available factors, including the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist powers, and to isolate U.S. imperialism to the fullest extent.

With this line, it is possible to smash the nuclear blackmail practised by U.S. imperialism and defeat its plan for launching a new world war.

This is the line for the people of all countries to win both victory in revolution and world peace. It is the sure and effective road in defence of world peace.

But the line pursued by the leaders of the CPSU is diametrically opposed to our line, to the common line of all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people.

The leaders of the CPSU direct the edge of their struggle not at the enemy of world peace but at the socialist camp, thus weakening and undermining the very core of strength which defends world peace.

They use nuclear blackmail to intimidate the people of the socialist countries and forbid them to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, thus helping U.S. imperialism to isolate the socialist camp and suppress peoples' revolutions.

They use nuclear blackmail to intimidate the oppressed peoples and nations and to prohibit them from making revolution, and they collaborate with U.S. imperialism in stamping out the "sparks" of revolution, thus enabling it freely to carry on its policies of aggression and war in the intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp.

They also intimidate the allies of the United States and forbid them to struggle against the control it has imposed on them, thus helping U.S. imperialism to enslave these countries and consolidate its position.

By this line of action the leaders of the CPSU have altogether relinquished the struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

This line of action denies the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and in defence of world peace.

It tries to impose the greatest isolation not on the arch enemy of world peace but on the peace forces.

It means the liquidation of the fighting task of defending world peace.

This is a line that serves the "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism.

It is not the road to world peace but the road leading to greater danger of war and to war itself.

Today the world is no longer what it was on the eve of World War II. There is the powerful socialist camp. The national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is surging forward. The political consciousness of the people of the world has been very much raised. The strength of the revolutionary peoples has been very much enhanced. The people of the Soviet Union, of the socialist countries and of the whole world will never allow their own destiny to be manipulated by the imperialist forces for war and their trumpeters.

The aggression and war activities of the imperialists and reactionaries are teaching the people of the world gradually to raise their political consciousness. Social practice is the sole criterion of truth. We are confident that as a result of such teaching by the imperialists and reactionaries, many people now holding wrong views on the question of war and peace will change their minds. We have high hopes on this score.

We firmly believe that the Communists and the people of the world will surely smash the imperialist plan for launching a new world war and safeguard world peace provided they expose the imperialist frauds, see through the revisionist lies and shoulder the task of defending world peace.

**PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE
— TWO DIAMETRICALLY
OPPOSED POLICIES**

**Sixth Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(December 12, 1964)

SINCE the 20th Congress of the CPSU Khrushchov and other comrades have talked more about the question of peaceful coexistence than about anything else.

Again and again the leaders of the CPSU claim that they have been faithful to Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence and have creatively developed it. They ascribe to their policy of "peaceful coexistence" all the credit for the victories won by the peoples of the world in prolonged revolutionary struggles.

They advertise the notion that imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, supports peaceful coexistence, and they wantonly malign the Chinese Communist Party and all Marxist-Leninist Parties as being opponents of peaceful coexistence. The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU even slanders China as favouring "competition in unleashing war" with the imperialists.

They describe the words and deeds by which they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the proletarian world revolution and the revolutionary cause of the oppressed peoples and nations as being in conformity with Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

But can the words "peaceful coexistence" really serve as a talisman for the leaders of the CPSU in their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism? No, absolutely not.

We are now confronted with two diametrically opposed policies of peaceful coexistence.

One is Lenin and Stalin's policy of peaceful coexistence, which all Marxist-Leninists, including the Chinese Communists, stand for.

The other is the anti-Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, the so-called general line of peaceful coexistence advocated by Khrushchov and others.

Let us now examine Lenin and Stalin's policy of peaceful coexistence and the stuff Khrushchov and others call the general line of peaceful coexistence.

LENIN AND STALIN'S POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

It was Lenin who advanced the idea that the socialist state should pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence towards countries with different social systems. This correct policy was long followed by the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

The question of peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist countries could not possibly have arisen prior to the October Revolution, since there was no socialist country in existence. Nevertheless, on the basis of his scientific analysis of imperialism, Lenin foresaw in 1915-16 that "socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously *in all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time".¹ In other words, within a certain period of time, socialist countries would exist side by side with capitalist or pre-capitalist countries. The very nature of the socialist system determines that socialist countries must pursue a foreign policy of peace. Lenin said, "Only the working class, when it wins power, can pursue a policy of peace not in words . . . but in deeds."² These views of Lenin's can be said to constitute the theoretical basis of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin proclaimed to the world on many occasions that the foreign policy of the Soviet state was one of peace. But the imperialists

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 571.

² V. I. Lenin, "Draft Resolution on the Current Moment in Politics", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXV, pp. 291-92.

were bent on strangling the new-born socialist republic in its cradle. They launched armed intervention against the Soviet state. Lenin rightly pointed out that confronted with this situation “unless we defended the socialist republic by force of arms, we could not exist”.¹

By 1920 the great Soviet people had defeated the imperialist armed intervention. A relative equilibrium of forces had come into being between the Soviet state and the imperialist countries. After trials of strength over several years, the Soviet state had stood its ground. It began to turn from war to peaceful construction. It was in these circumstances that Lenin advanced the idea of a policy of peaceful coexistence. In fact, from that time onwards the imperialists had no choice but to “coexist” with the Soviet state.

During Lenin’s lifetime, this equilibrium was always highly unstable and the Soviet Socialist Republic was subject to stringent capitalist encirclement. Time and again Lenin pointed out that owing to the aggressive nature of imperialism there was no guarantee that socialism and capitalism would live in peace for long.

In the prevailing conditions, it was not yet possible for him to define at length the content of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. But the great Lenin laid down the correct foreign policy for the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and advanced the basic ideas of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

What were Lenin’s basic ideas on this policy?

First, Lenin pointed out that the socialist state existed in defiance of the imperialists’ will. Although it adhered to the foreign policy of peace, the imperialists had no desire to live in peace with it and would do everything possible and seize every opportunity to oppose or even destroy the socialist state.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) at the Eighth Party Congress”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VIII, pp. 33.

Lenin said:

International imperialism . . . could not . . . live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective position and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which are embodied in it. . . .¹

Further:

. . . the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable.²

He therefore stressed time and again that the socialist state should maintain constant vigilance against imperialism.

. . . the lesson all workers and peasants must master is that we must be on our guard and remember that we are surrounded by men, classes anti- governments openly expressing their extreme hatred for us. We must remember that we are always at a hair's breadth from all kinds of invasions.³

Secondly. Lenin pointed out that it was only through struggle that the Soviet state was able to live in peace with the imperialist countries. This was the result of repeated trials of strength between the imperialist countries and the Soviet state, which adopted a correct policy, relied on the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Report on War and Peace, Delivered to the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), March 7, 1918", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 422.

² V. I. Lenin, "Report of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) at the Eighth Party Congress, March 18, 1919", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VIII, p. 33.

³ V. I. Lenin. "On the Domestic and Foreign Policies of the Republic, Report Delivered at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, SPPL, 1950, Vol. XXXIII, p. 122.

support of the proletariat and oppressed nations of the world and utilized the contradictions among the imperialists.

Lenin said in November 1919:

That is the way it always is — when the enemy is beaten, he begins talking peace. We have told these gentlemen, the imperialists of Europe, time and again that we agree to make peace, but they continued to dream of enslaving Russia. Now they have realized that their dreams are not fated to come true.¹

He pointed out in 1921:

. . . the imperialist powers, with all their hatred of Soviet Russia and desire to throw themselves upon her, have had to reject this thought, because the decay of the capitalist world is increasingly advancing, its unity is becoming less and less, and the pressure of the forces of the oppressed colonial peoples, with a population of over 1,000 million, is becoming stronger with each year, each month and even each week.²

Thirdly, in carrying out the, policy of peaceful coexistence. Lenin adopted different principles with regard to the different types of countries in the capitalist world.

He attached particular importance to establishing friendly relations with countries which the imperialists were bullying and oppressing. He pointed out that “the fundamental interests of all peoples suffering from the yoke of imperialism coincide” and that the “world policy of imperialism is leading to the establishment of closer relations, alliance and friendship among all the oppressed nations”. He said that the peace

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Speech Delivered at the First All-Russian Conference on Party Work in the Countryside”, *Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1959, p. 326.

² V. I. Lenin, “Speech at the Conclusion of the Tenth National Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXII, pp. 412-13.

policy of the Soviet state “will increasingly compel the establishment of closer ties between the R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and a growing number of neighbouring states”.¹

Lenin also said:

We now set as the main task for ourselves: to defeat the exploiters and win the waverers to our side — this task is a world-wide one. The waverers include a whole series of bourgeois states, which as bourgeois states hate us, but on the other hand, as oppressed states, prefer peace with us.²

As for the basis for peace with the imperialist countries, such as the United States, he said, “Let the U.S. capitalists refrain from touching us.” “‘The obstacle to such a peace?’ From our side, there is none. From the side of the American (and all the other) capitalists, it is imperialism.”³

Fourthly, Lenin advanced the policy of peaceful coexistence as a policy to be pursued by the proletariat in power towards countries with different social systems. He never made it the sum total of a socialist country’s foreign policy. Time and again Lenin made it clear that the fundamental principle of this foreign policy was proletarian internationalism.

He said. “Soviet Russia considers it her greatest pride to help the workers of the whole world in their difficult struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.”⁴

¹ V. I. Lenin. “The Work of the Council of People’s Commissars, Report Delivered at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VIII, pp. 251 and 252.

² V. I. Lenin, “Report on the Work of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXX, p. 299.

³ V. I. Lenin, “Reply to Questions by the Correspondent of the American Newspaper, *New York Evening Journal*”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXX, p. 340.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, “To the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Red Army Deputies”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXIII, p. 379.

In the Decree on Peace issued after the October Revolution, while proposing an immediate peace without annexation or indemnities to all the belligerent countries, Lenin called upon the class-conscious workers in the capitalist countries to help, by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous action “to bring to a successful conclusion the cause of peace, and at the same time the cause of the emancipation of the toiling and exploited masses of the population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation”.¹

The Draft Programme of the Party which Lenin drew up for the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party laid down explicitly that “support of the revolutionary movement of the socialist proletariat in the advanced countries and “support of the democratic and revolutionary movement in all countries in general, and particularly in the colonies and dependent countries” constituted the important aspects of the Party’s international policy.²

Fifthly, Lenin consistently held that it was impossible for the oppressed classes and nations to coexist peacefully with the oppressor classes and nations.

In the “Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International”, he pointed out:

. . . the bourgeoisie, even the most educated and democratic, now no longer hesitates to resort to any fraud or crime, to massacre millions of workers and peasants in order to save the private ownership of the means of production.”³

Lenin’s conclusions were:

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Report on Peace”, delivered at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 331.

² V. I. Lenin, “Rough Draft of a Programme”, delivered at the Seventh Congress of Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VIII, p. 334.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. X, p. 164.

. . . the very thought of peacefully subordinating the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of the peaceful, reformist transition to Socialism is not only extreme philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, the embellishment of capitalist wage slavery, concealment of the truth.¹

He repeatedly pointed to the hypocrisy of what the imperialists called the equality of nations. He said:

The League of Nations and the whole postwar policy of the Entente reveal this truth more clearly and distinctly than ever; they are everywhere intensifying the revolutionary struggle both of the proletariat in the advanced countries and of the masses of the working people in the colonial and dependent countries, and are hastening the collapse of the petty-bourgeois national illusion that nations can live together in peace and equality under capitalism.²

The above constitute Lenin's basic ideas on the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Stalin upheld Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence. In the thirty years during which he was the leader of the Soviet Union, he consistently pursued this policy. It was only when the imperialists and reactionaries made armed provocations or launched aggressive wars against the Soviet Union that she had to wage the Great Patriotic War and to fight back in self-defence.

Stalin pointed out that "our relations with the capitalist countries are based on the assumption that the coexistence of two opposite systems is possible" and that "the maintenance

¹ *Ibid.*

² V. I. Lenin. "Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 464.

of peaceful relations with the capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us".¹

He also pointed out:

The peaceful coexistence of capitalism and communism is quite possible provided there is a mutual desire to co-operate, readiness to carry out undertaken commitments, and observance of the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.²

While upholding Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence, Stalin firmly opposed withholding support from other people's revolutions in order to curry favour with imperialism. He forcefully pointed out two opposite lines in foreign policy, "either one or the other" of which must be followed.

One line was that "we continue to pursue a revolutionary policy, rallying the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries around the working class Of the U.S.S.R. — in which case international capital will do everything it can to hinder our advance".

The other was that "we renounce our revolutionary policy and agree to make a number of fundamental concessions to international capital — in which case international capital, no doubt, will not be averse to 'assisting' us in converting our socialist country into a 'good' bourgeois republic".

Stalin cited an example. "America demands that we renounce in principle the policy of supporting the emancipation movement of the working class in other countries, and says that if we made this concession everything would go smoothly. . . . perhaps we should make this concession?"

¹ J. V. Stalin, "Political Report of the Central Committee", delivered at the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. X, p. 296.

² J. V. Stalin, "Replies to Questions of American Editors", *Pravda*, April 2, 1952.

And he answered in the negative, “. . . we cannot agree to these or similar concessions without being false to ourselves. . . .”¹

These remarks of Stalin’s are still of great practical significance. There are indeed two diametrically opposed foreign policies, two diametrically opposed policies of peaceful coexistence. It is an important task for all Marxist-Leninists to distinguish between them, uphold Lenin and Stalin’s policy and firmly oppose the policy of betrayal, capitulation and withholding support from revolution as well as the policy which converts a socialist country into a “good” bourgeois republic — policies which Stalin denounced.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA UPHOLDS LENIN’S POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU alleges that the Chinese Communist Party “disbelieves in the possibility of peaceful coexistence” and slanderously accuses it of opposing Lenin’s policy of peaceful coexistence.

Is this true? No. Of course not.

Anyone who respects facts can see clearly that the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People’s Republic of China have unswervingly pursued Lenin’s policy of peaceful coexistence with great success.

Since World War II, a fundamental change has taken place in the international balance of class forces. Socialism has triumphed in a number of countries and the socialist camp has come into being. The national liberation movement is growing apace and there have emerged many nationalist states which have newly acquired political independence. The imperialist camp has been greatly weakened and the contradic-

¹ J. V. Stalin, “The Work of the April Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. XI, pp. 58, 59 and 60.

tions among the imperialist countries are becoming increasingly acute. This situation provides more favourable conditions for the socialist countries to carry out the policy of peaceful coexistence towards countries with different social systems.

In these new historical conditions, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have enriched Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence in the course of applying it.

On the eve of the birth of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

. . . we proclaim to the whole world that what we oppose is exclusively the imperialist system and its plots against the Chinese people. We are willing to discuss with any foreign government the establishment of diplomatic relations on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, provided it is willing to sever relations with the Chinese reactionaries, stops conspiring with them or helping them and adopts an attitude of genuine, and not hypocritical, friendship towards People's China. The Chinese people wish to have friendly co-operation with the people of all countries and to resume and expand international trade in order to develop production and promote economic prosperity.¹

In accordance with these principles set forth by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we laid down our foreign policy of peace in explicit terms first in the Common Programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949 and subsequently in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China adopted by the National People's Congress in September 1954.

In 1954 the Chinese Government initiated the celebrated Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. They are mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Address to the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 408.

aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Together with other Asian and African countries, we formulated the Ten Principles on the basis of the Five Principles at the Bandung Conference of 1955.

In 1956 Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up our country's practical experience in international affairs and further explained the general principles of our foreign policy.

To achieve a lasting world peace, we must further develop our friendship and co-operation with the fraternal countries in the camp of socialism and strengthen our solidarity with all peace-loving countries. We must endeavour to establish normal diplomatic relations on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit with all countries willing to live together with us in peace. We must give active support to the national independence and liberation movement in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as to the peace movement and to just struggles in all countries throughout the world.¹

In 1957 he said:

To strengthen our unity With the Soviet Union, to strengthen our unity with all socialist countries — this is our fundamental policy, herein lies our basic interest.

Then, there are the Asian and African countries, and all the peace-loving countries and peoples — we must strengthen and develop our unity with them.

As for the imperialist countries, we should also unite with their peoples and strive to coexist in peace with these countries, do business with them and prevent any possible war, but under no circumstances should we harbour any unrealistic notions about them.²

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Opening Address to the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China".

² Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

In our foreign affairs over the past fourteen years, we have adopted different policies towards different types of countries and varied our policies according to the different conditions in countries of the same type.

1. We differentiate between socialist and capitalist countries. We persevere in the proletarian internationalist principle of mutual assistance with regard to socialist countries. We take the upholding and strengthening of the unity of all the countries in the socialist camp as the fundamental policy in our foreign relations.

2. We differentiate between the nationalist countries which have newly attained political independence and the imperialist countries.

Although fundamentally different from the socialist countries in their social and political systems, the nationalist countries stand in profound contradiction to imperialism. They have common interests with the socialist countries — opposition to imperialism, the safeguarding of national independence and the defense of world peace. Therefore, it is quite possible and feasible for the socialist countries to establish relations of peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with these countries. The establishment of such relations is of great significance for the strengthening of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and for the advancement of the common struggle of the peoples against imperialism.

We have consistently adhered to the policy of consolidating and further developing peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time, we have waged appropriate and necessary struggles against countries such as India which have violated or wrecked the Five Principles.

3. We differentiate between the ordinary capitalist countries and the imperialist countries and also between different imperialist countries.

As the international balance of class forces grows increasingly favourable to socialism and as the imperialist forces become

daily weaker and the contradictions among them daily sharper, it is possible for the socialist countries to compel one imperialist country or another to establish some sort of peaceful co-existence with them by relying on their own growing strength, the expansion of the revolutionary forces of the peoples, the unity with the nationalist countries and the struggle of all the peace-loving people, and by utilizing the internal contradictions of imperialism.

While persevering in peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, we unswervingly perform our proletarian internationalist duty. We actively support the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working-class movements of Western Europe, North America and Oceania, the people's revolutionary struggles, and the people's struggles against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for world peace.

In all this we have but one objective in view, that is, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as the nucleus, to unite all the forces that can be united in order to for a broad united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, the Chinese Government over the past ten years and more has established friendly relations with many countries having different social systems and promoted economic and cultural exchanges with them. China has concluded treaties of friendship, of peace and friendship or of friendship, mutual assistance and mutual non-aggression with the Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana. She has successfully settled her boundary questions with Burma, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc., questions which were left over by history.

No one can obliterate the great achievements of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government in upholding Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

In manufacturing the lie that China opposes peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the CPSU are prompted by ulterior motives. To put it bluntly, their aim is to draw a veil over their own ugliness in betraying proletarian internationalism and colluding with imperialism.

THE GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" OF THE CPSU LEADERS

It is not we, but the leaders of the CPSU, who in fact violate Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

The leaders of the CPSU have lauded their concept of peaceful coexistence in superlative terms. What are their main views on the question of peaceful coexistence?

1. The leaders of the CPSU maintain that peaceful coexistence is the overriding and supreme principle for solving contemporary social problems. They assert that it is "the categorical imperative of modern times" and "the imperious demand of the epoch".¹ They say that "peaceful coexistence alone is the best and the sole acceptable way to solve the vitally important problems confronting society"² and that the principle of peaceful coexistence should be made the "basic law of life for the whole of modern society".³

2. They hold that imperialism has become willing to accept peaceful coexistence and is no longer the obstacle to it. They say that "not a few government and state leaders of Western countries are now also coming out for peace and peaceful coexistence",⁴ and that they "understand more and

¹ B. N. Ponomaryov, "Victorious Banner of the Communists of the World", *Pravda*, November 18, 1962.

² A. Rumyantsev, "Our Common Ideological Weapon", *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1962.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

⁴ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Gadjah Mada University, Djokjakarta, Indonesia, February 21, 1960.

more clearly the necessity of peaceful coexistence".¹ In particular they have loudly announced a U.S. President's "admission of the reasonableness and practicability of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems".²

3. They advocate "all-round co-operation" with imperialist countries, and especially with the United States. They say that the Soviet Union and the United States "will be able to find a basis for concerted actions and efforts for the good of all humanity"³ and can "march hand in hand for the sake of consolidating peace and establishing real international co-operation between all states".⁴

4. They assert that peaceful coexistence is "the general line of foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp".⁵

5. They also assert that "the principle of peaceful coexistence determines the general line of foreign policy of the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist Parties",⁶ that it is "the basis of the strategy of communism" in the world today, and that all Communists "have made the struggle for peaceful coexistence the general principle of their policy".⁷

6. They regard peaceful coexistence as the prerequisite for victory in the peoples' revolutionary struggles. They hold that the victories won by the people of different countries have

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, January 1960.

² "On the Interview of the U.S. President J. Kennedy", editorial board article in *Izvestia*, December 4, 1961.

³ Telegram of Greetings from N. S. Khrushchov and L. I. Brezhnev to J. F. Kennedy, December 30, 1961.

⁴ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 23, 1960.

⁵ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Reception Given by the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Soviet Union, July 5, 1961.

⁶ B. N. Ponomaryov, "Some Problems of the Revolutionary Movement", *World Marxist Review*, No. 12, 1962.

⁷ "Peaceful Coexistence and Revolution", *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 2, 1962.

been achieved under “conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems”.¹ They assert that “it was precisely in conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems that the socialist revolution triumphed in Cuba, that the Algerian people gained national independence, that more than forty countries won national independence, that the fraternal Parties grew in number and strength, and that the influence of the world communist movement increased”.²

7. They hold that peaceful coexistence is “the best way of helping the international revolutionary labour movement achieve its basic class aims”.³ They declare that under peaceful coexistence the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in capitalist countries has grown. They believe, moreover, that the victory of socialism in economic competition “will mean delivering a crushing blow to the entire system of capitalist relationships”.⁴ They state that “when the Soviet people enjoy the blessings of communism, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: ‘We are for communism!’ ”⁵ and that by then even capitalists may “go over to the Communist Party”.

Just consider. What do these views have in common with Lenin’s policy of peaceful coexistence?

Lenin’s policy of peaceful coexistence is one followed by a socialist country in its relations with countries having different social systems, whereas Khrushchov describes peaceful coexistence as the supreme principle governing the life of modern society.

¹ B. N. Ponomaryov, “A New Stage in the General Crisis of Capitalism”, *Pravda*, February 8, 1961.

² Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the CPC, March 30, 1963.

³ Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to All Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

⁴ B. N. Ponomaryov, “Some Problems of the Revolutionary Movement”, *World Marxist Review*, No. 12, 1962.

⁵ Programme of the CPSU, adopted by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes one aspect of the international policy of the proletariat in power, whereas Khrushchev stretches peaceful coexistence into the general line of foreign policy for the socialist countries and even further into the general line for all Communist Parties.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence was directed against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, whereas Khrushchov's peaceful coexistence caters to imperialism and abets the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence is based on the standpoint of international class struggle, whereas Khrushchov's peaceful coexistence strives to replace international class struggle with international class collaboration.

Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence proceeds from the historical mission of the international proletariat and therefore requires the socialist countries to give firm support to the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations while pursuing this policy, whereas Khrushchov's peaceful coexistence seeks to replace the proletarian world revolution with pacifism and thus renounces proletarian internationalism.

Khrushchov has changed the policy of peaceful coexistence into one of class capitulation. In the name of peaceful coexistence, he has renounced the revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, robbed Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary soul, and distorted and mutilated it beyond recognition.

This is a brazen betrayal of Marxism-Leninism!

THREE DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLE

On the question of peaceful coexistence the difference between the leaders of the CPSU, on the one hand, and ourselves and all Marxist-Leninist Parties and indeed all Marxist-Leninists, on the other, is not whether socialist countries should

pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is an issue of principle concerning the correct attitude towards Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence. It manifests itself mainly in three questions.

The first question is: In order to attain peaceful coexistence, is it necessary to ravage struggles against imperialism and bourgeois reaction? Is it possible through peaceful coexistence to abolish the antagonism and struggle between socialism and imperialism?

Marxist-Leninists consistently maintain that as far as the socialist countries are concerned, there is no obstacle to the practice of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. The obstacles always come from the imperialists and the bourgeois reactionaries.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were advanced to combat the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Under these principles, it is impermissible in international relations to encroach upon the territory and sovereignty of other countries, interfere in their internal affairs, impair their interests and equal status or wage aggressive wars against them. But it is in the very nature of imperialism to commit aggression against other countries and nations and to desire to enslave them. As long as imperialism exists, its nature will never change. That is why intrinsically the imperialists are unwilling to accept the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Whenever possible, they try to disrupt and destroy the socialist countries and they commit aggression against other countries and nations and try to enslave them.

History shows that it is only owing to unfavourable objective causes that the imperialists dare not risk starting a war against the socialist countries, or are forced to agree to an armistice and to accept some sort of peaceful coexistence.

History also shows that there have always been sharp and complex struggles between the imperialist and socialist countries, which have sometimes culminated in direct military conflicts or wars. When hot wars are not in progress, the

imperialists wage cold wars, which they have been ceaselessly waging ever since the end of World War II. In fact, the imperialist and the socialist countries have been in a state of cold-war coexistence. At the same time as they actively expand their armaments and prepare for war, the imperialist countries use every means to oppose the socialist countries politically, economically and ideologically, and even make military provocations and war threats against them. The imperialists' cold war against the socialist countries and the latter's resistance to it are manifestations of the international class struggle.

The imperialists push on with their plans of aggression and war not only against the socialist countries but throughout the world. They try to suppress the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations.

In these circumstances, the socialist countries, together with the people of all other countries, must resolutely combat the imperialist policies of aggression and war and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism. This class struggle inevitably goes on, now in an acute and now in a relaxed form.

But Khrushchev is impervious to these inexorable facts. He proclaims far and wide that imperialism has already admitted the necessity of peaceful coexistence, and he regards the anti-imperialist struggles of the socialist countries and of the people of the world as incompatible with the policy of peaceful coexistence.

In Khrushchov's opinion, a socialist country has to make one concession after another and keep on yielding to the imperialists and the bourgeois reactionaries even when they subject it to military threats and armed attack or make humiliating demands which violate its sovereignty and dignity.

By this logic, Khrushchov describes his incessant retreats, his bartering away of principles and docile acceptance of the U.S. imperialists' humiliating demands during the Caribbean crisis as "a victory of peaceful coexistence".

By the same logic, Khrushchov describes China's adherence to correct principles on the Sino-Indian boundary question and her counter-attack against the military onslaught of the Indian reactionaries, an act of self-defence by China when the situation became intolerable, as "a violation of peaceful co-existence".

At times, Khrushchov also talks about struggle between the two different social systems. But how does he see this struggle?

He has said, "The inevitable struggle between the two systems must be made to take the form exclusively of a struggle of ideas. . . ."¹

Here the political struggle has disappeared!

He has also said:

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing socio-economic and political systems does not mean just an absence of war, a temporary state of unstable ceasefire. It presupposes the maintenance between these states of friendly economic and political relations, it envisages the establishment and development of various forms of peaceful international co-operation.²

Here, struggle has disappeared altogether!

Like a conjurer, Khrushchov plays one trick after another, first reducing major issues to minor ones, and then minor issues to naught. He denies the basic antagonism between the socialist and capitalist systems, he denies the fundamental contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, and he denies the existence of international class struggle. And so he transforms peaceful coexistence between the two systems and the two camps into "all-round co-operation".

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, January 1960.

² N. S. Khrushchov, "Answers to the Questions of the Austrian Professor Hans Thirring", *Pravda*, January 3, 1962.

The second question is: Can peaceful coexistence be made the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries?

We hold that the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries must embody the fundamental principle of their foreign policy and comprise the fundamental content of this policy.

What is this fundamental principle? It is proletarian internationalism.

Lenin said, "The foreign policy of the proletariat is alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed nations against all and any imperialists."¹ This principle of proletarian internationalism advanced by Lenin should be the guide for the foreign policy of socialist countries.

Since the formation of the socialist camp, every socialist country has had to deal with three kinds of relations in its foreign policy, namely, its relations with other socialist countries, with countries having different social systems, and with the oppressed peoples and nations.

In our view, the following should therefore be the content of the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the countries of the socialist camp in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful coexistence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are inter-related and not a single one can be omitted.

The leaders of the CPSU have one-sidedly reduced the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries to

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Foreign Policy of the Russian Revolution", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXV, p. 87.

peaceful coexistence. We would like to ask: How should a socialist country handle its relations with other socialist countries? Should it merely maintain relations of peaceful coexistence with them?

Of course, socialist countries, too, must abide by the Five Principles in their mutual relations. It is absolutely impermissible for any one of them to undermine the territorial integrity of another fraternal country, to impair its independence and sovereignty, interfere in its internal affairs, carry on subversive activities inside it, or violate the principle of equality and mutual benefit in its relations with another fraternal country. But merely to carry out these principles is far from enough. The 1957 Declaration states:

These are vital principles. However, they do not exhaust the essence of relations between them. Fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations. This aid is a striking expression of socialist internationalism.

In making peaceful coexistence the general line of foreign policy, the leaders of the CPSU have in fact liquidated the proletarian internationalist relations of mutual assistance and co-operation among socialist countries and put the fraternal socialist countries on a par with the capitalist countries. This amounts to liquidating the socialist camp.

The leaders of the CPSU have one-sidedly reduced the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries to peaceful coexistence. We would like to ask: How should a socialist country handle its relations with the oppressed peoples and nations? Should the relationship between the proletariat in power and its class brothers who have not yet emancipated themselves or between it and all oppressed peoples and nations be one of peaceful coexistence alone and not of mutual help?

After the October Revolution, Lenin repeatedly stressed that the land of socialism, which had established the dictatorship

of the proletariat, was a base for promoting the proletarian world revolution. Stalin, too, said:

The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, as a means *for* hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries.¹

He added that “it constitutes . . . a mighty base for its further development [*i.e.*, of the world revolution]”.²

In their foreign policy, therefore, socialist countries can in no circumstances confine themselves to handling relations with countries having different social systems, but must also correctly handle the relations among themselves and their relations with the oppressed peoples and nations. They must make support of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations their internationalist duty and an important component of their foreign policy.

In contrast with Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchov makes peaceful coexistence the general line of foreign policy for socialist countries and, in so doing, excludes from this policy the proletarian internationalist task of helping the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. So far from being a “creative development” of the policy of peaceful coexistence, this is a betrayal of proletarian internationalism on the pretext of peaceful coexistence.

The third question is: Can the policy of peaceful coexistence of the socialist countries be the general line for all Communist Parties and for the international communist movement? Can it be substituted for the people’s revolution?

We maintain that peaceful coexistence connotes a relationship between countries with different social systems, between independent sovereign states. Only after victory in the revolution is it possible and necessary for the proletariat to

¹ J. V. Stalin, “The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 415.

² *Ibid.*, p. 419.

pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence. As for oppressed peoples and nations, their task is to strive for their own liberation and overthrow the rule of imperialism and its lackeys. They should not practise peaceful coexistence with the imperialists and their lackeys, nor is it possible for them to do so.

It is therefore wrong to apply peaceful coexistence to the relations between oppressed and oppressor classes and between oppressed and oppressor nations, or to stretch the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence so as to make it the policy of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary people in the capitalist world, or to subordinate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations to it.

We have always held that the correct application of Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries helps to develop their power, to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war and to unite all the anti-imperialist peoples and countries, and it therefore helps the people's struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. At the same time, by directly hitting and weakening the forces of aggression, war and reaction, the people's revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its lackeys help the cause of world peace and human progress, and therefore help the socialist countries' struggle for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems. Thus, the correct application of Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence by the socialist countries is in harmony with the interests of the people's revolutionary struggles in all countries.

However, the socialist countries' struggle for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and the people's revolution in various countries are two totally different things.

In its letter of June 14 replying to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the CPC states:

. . . it is one thing to practise peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. It is absolutely impermissible and impossible for countries practising peaceful coexistence to touch even a hair of each other's social system. The class struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the transition from capitalism to socialism in various countries are quite another thing. They are all bitter, life-and-death revolutionary struggles which aim at changing the social system. Peaceful coexistence cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The transition from capitalism to socialism in any country can only be brought about through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in that country.

In a class society it is completely wrong to regard peaceful coexistence as "the best and the sole acceptable way to solve the vitally important problems confronting society" and as the "basic law of life for the whole of modern society". This is social pacifism which repudiates class struggle. It is an outrageous betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

Back in 1946, Comrade Mao Tse-tung differentiated between the two problems and explicitly stated that compromise between the Soviet Union and the United States, Britain and France on certain issues "does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions."¹

This is a correct Marxist-Leninist policy. Guided by this correct policy of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, the Chinese people firmly and determinedly carried the revolution through to the end and won the great victory of their revolution.

Acting against this Marxist-Leninist policy, the leaders of the CPSU equate one aspect of the policy to be pursued by

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 87.

the proletariat in power in its state relations with countries having different social systems with the general line of all the Communist Parties, and they try to substitute the former for the latter, demanding that Communist Parties and revolutionary peoples should all follow what they call the general line of peaceful coexistence. Not desiring revolution themselves, they forbid others to make it. Not opposing imperialism themselves, they forbid others to oppose it.

This the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Khrushchov's recent remarks have strenuously denied. It has been asserted that it is "a monstrous slander" to accuse the leaders of the CPSU of extending peaceful coexistence to relations between the oppressed and oppressor classes and between the oppressed and oppressor nations. They have even hypocritically stated that peaceful coexistence "cannot be extended to the class struggle against capital within the capitalist countries and to national liberation movement".

But such prevarication is futile.

We should like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Since the policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes only one aspect of the foreign policy of socialist countries, why have you asserted until recently that it represents "the strategic line for the whole period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale"?¹ In requiring the Communist Parties of all the capitalist countries and of the oppressed nations to make peaceful coexistence their general line, are you not aiming at replacing the revolutionary line of the Communist Parties with your policy of "peaceful coexistence" and wilfully applying that policy to the relations between oppressed and oppressor classes and between oppressed and oppressor nations?

We should also like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Since the peoples win victory in their revolutions by relying primarily on their own struggles, how can such victory be attrib-

¹ "For the Unity and Solidarity of the International Communist Movement", editorial board article in *Pravda*, December 6, 1963.

uted to peaceful coexistence or described as its outcome? Do not such allegations of yours mean the subordination of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples to your policy of peaceful coexistence?

We should further like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Economic successes in socialist countries and the victories they score in economic competition with capitalist countries undoubtedly play an exemplary role and are an inspiration to oppressed peoples and nations. But how can it be said that socialism will triumph on a worldwide scale through peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition instead of through the revolutionary struggles of the peoples?

The leaders of the CPSU advertise reliance on peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition as being enough to “deliver a crushing blow to the entire system of capitalist relationships” and bring about worldwide peaceful transition to socialism. This is equivalent to saying that the oppressed peoples and nations have no need to wage struggles, make revolution and overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism and colonialism and their lackeys, and that they should just wait quietly — until the production levels and living standards of the Soviet Union outstrip those of the most developed capitalist countries, when the oppressed and exploited slaves throughout the world would be able to enter communism together with their oppressors and exploiters. Is this not an attempt on the part of the leaders of the CPSU to substitute what they call peaceful coexistence for the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and to liquidate such struggles?

An analysis of these three questions makes it clear that our difference with the leaders of the CPSU is a major difference of principle. In essence it boils down to this. Our policy of peaceful coexistence is Leninist and is based on the principle of proletarian internationalism, it contributes to the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace and accords with the interests of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations the world over; whereas

the so-called general line of peaceful coexistence pursued by the leaders of the CPSU is anti-Leninist, it abandons the principle of proletarian internationalism, damages the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, and runs counter to the interests of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations.

THE CPSU LEADERS' GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" CATERS TO U.S. IMPERIALISM

The general line of peaceful coexistence pursued by the leaders of the CPSU is firmly rejected by all Marxist-Leninist Parties and revolutionary people but is warmly praised by the imperialists.

The spokesmen of Western monopoly capital make no secret of their appreciation of this general line of the leaders of the CPSU. They see in Khrushchov "the West's best friend in Moscow"¹ and say that "Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev acts like an American politicians".² They say, "Comrade Khrushchev is considered, as far as the free world is concerned, the best Prime Minister the Russians have. He genuinely believes in peaceful coexistence."³ They declare that "this possibility of better Soviet-American relations has led to the feeling in U.S. State Department circles that, within certain limits, the U.S. should facilitate Khrushchev's task".⁴

The imperialists have always been hostile to the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence, exclaiming that "the

¹ "How Nice Must We Be to Nikita?" in the U.S. magazine *Time*, March 9, 1962.

² W. A. Harriman, Television Interview, August 18, 1963.

³ "Kennedy Helps Khrushchev", in the British magazine *Time and Tide*, April 18-24, 1963.

⁴ Agence France Presse dispatch from Washington, July 14, 1963, on U.S. government officials' comment on the Open Letter of the CPSU.

very phrase ‘coexistence’ is both weird and presumptuous” and that “let us relegate to the scrap heap the concept of a transitory and uneasy coexistence”.¹ Why do they now show so much interest in Khrushchov’s general line of peaceful co-existence? Because the imperialists are clear on its usefulness to them.

The U.S. imperialists have invariably adopted the dual tactics of war and peace in order to attain their strategic objectives of liquidating the people’s revolutions, eliminating the socialist camp and dominating the world. When they find the international situation growing unfavourable to them, they need to resort increasingly to peace tricks while continuing their arms expansion and war preparations.

In 1958 John Foster Dulles proposed that the United States should dedicate itself to “a noble strategy” of “peaceful triumph.”²

After assuming office, Kennedy continued and developed Dulles’ “strategy of peace” and talked a great deal about “peaceful coexistence”. He said, “. . . we need a much better weapon than the H-bomb . . . and that better weapon is peaceful co-operation.”³

Does this mean that the U.S. imperialists genuinely accept peaceful coexistence, or, in the words of the leaders of the CPSU, admit “the reasonableness and practicability of peaceful coexistence”? Of course not.

A little serious study makes it easy to see the real meaning and purpose of “peaceful coexistence” as advocated by the U.S. imperialists.

What is its real meaning and purpose?

¹ Former U.S. Under-Secretary of State Douglas Dillon’s address on U.S. foreign policy, April 20, 1960.

² J. F. Dulles, Speech Before the California State Chamber of Commerce, December 4, 1958.

³ J. F. Kennedy Speech at the U.N. General Assembly, September 20, 1963.

1. In the name of peaceful coexistence, the U.S. imperialists try to tie the hands of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and forbid them to support the revolutionary struggles of the people in the capitalist world. Dulles said:

The Soviet Government could end the “cold war”, so far as it is concerned, if it would free itself from the guiding direction of international communism and seek primarily the welfare of the Russian nation and people. Also the “cold war” would come to an end if international communism abandoned its global goals. . . .¹

Kennedy stated that if U.S.-Soviet relations were to be improved, the Soviet Union would have to abandon the plan of “communizing the entire world” and “look only to its national interest and to providing a better life for its people under conditions of peace”.²

Dean Rusk has put the point even more bluntly. “There can be no assured and lasting peace until the communist leaders abandon their goal of a world revolution.” He has also said that there are “signs of restiveness” among the Soviet leaders “about the burdens and risks of their commitments to the world communist movement”. And he has even asked the Soviet leaders to “go on from these, by putting aside the illusion of a world communist triumph”.³

The meaning of these words is only too clear. The U.S. imperialists describe the revolutionary struggles by the oppressed peoples and nations in the capitalist world for their own emancipation as being the outcome of attempts by the socialist countries to “communize the entire world”. They say to the Soviet leaders: Do you wish to live in peace with

¹ J. F. Dulles, Speech Before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, January 28, 1959.

² J. F. Kennedy, Interview with A. I. Adzhubei, Editor-in-Chief of *Izvestia*, November 25, 1961.

³ Dean Rusk, Address at the National Convention of the American Legion, September 10, 1963.

the United States? Very well! But on condition that you must not support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations in the capitalist world and must see to it that they will not rise in revolution. According to the wishful thinking of the U.S. imperialists, this will leave them free to stamp out the revolutionary movements in the capitalist world and to dominate and enslave its inhabitants, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population.

2. In the name of peaceful coexistence, the U.S. imperialists try to push ahead with their policy of "peaceful evolution" vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to restore capitalism there.

Dulles said, "The renunciation of force . . . implies, not the maintenance of the status quo, but peaceful change."¹ "It is not sufficient to be defensive. Freedom must be a positive force that will penetrate."² "We hope to encourage an evolution within the Soviet world."³

Eisenhower asserted that whatever the United States could do by peaceful means would be done, "in order that those people who are held in bondage by a tyrannical dictatorship might finally have the right to determine their own fates by their own free votes".⁴

Kennedy said that the "task is to do all in our power to see that the changes taking place . . . in the Soviet empire, on all continents — lead to more freedom for more men and to world peace".⁵ He declared that he would "pursue a policy of patiently encouraging freedom and carefully pressuring

¹ J. F. Dulles, Address to the Award Dinner of the New York State Bar Association, January 31, 1959.

² J. F. Dulles, Speech Before the California State Chamber of Commerce, December 4, 1958.

³ J. F. Dulles, Testimony Before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, January 28, 1959.

⁴ D. D. Eisenhower, Speech at the Polish-American Congress at Chicago, September 30, 1960.

⁵ J. F. Kennedy, *The Strategy of Peace*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1960, p. 199.

tyranny” towards the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, so as to provide “free choice” for the people of those countries.¹

The meaning of these words, too, is very clear. The U.S. imperialists malign the socialist system as “dictatorial” and “tyrannical” and describe the restoration of capitalism as “free choice”. They say to the Soviet leaders: Do you wish to live in peace with the United States? Very well! But this does not mean we recognize the status quo in the socialist countries; on the contrary, capitalism must be restored there. In other words, the U.S. imperialists will never reconcile themselves to the fact that one-third of the world’s population has taken the socialist road, and they will always attempt to destroy all the socialist countries.

Briefly, what the U.S. imperialists call peaceful coexistence amounts to this: no people living under imperialist domination and enslavement may strive for liberation, all who have already emancipated themselves must again come under imperialist domination and enslavement, and the whole world must be incorporated into the American “world community of free nations”.

It is easy to see why the general line of peaceful coexistence of the leaders of the CPSU is exactly to the taste of U.S. imperialism.

On the pretext of peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the CPSU do their best to curry favour with U.S. imperialism and constantly proclaim that the representatives of U.S. imperialism “are concerned about peace”; this exactly serves its fraudulent peace policy.

On the pretext of peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the CPSU apply the policy of peaceful coexistence to the relations between oppressed and oppressor classes and between oppressed and oppressor nations, and they oppose revolution and try to liquidate it; this exactly suits the U.S. imperialists’

¹ J. F. Kennedy, Speech at the Polish-American Congress at Chicago, October 1, 1960.

requirement that the socialist countries should not support peoples revolutions in the capitalist world.

On the pretext of peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the CPSU try to substitute international class collaboration for international class struggle and advocate “all-round co-operation” between socialism and imperialism, thus opening the door to imperialist penetration of the socialist countries; this exactly suits the needs of the U.S. imperialist policy of “peaceful evolution”.

The imperialists have always been our best teachers by negative example. Let us here cite extracts from two speeches by Dulles after the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

He stated:

. . . I had said . . . that there was evidence within the Soviet Union of forces toward greater liberalism. . . .

. . . if these forces go on and continue to gather momentum within the Soviet Union, then we can think, and reasonably hope, I said within a decade or perhaps a generation, that we would have what is the great goal of our policy, that is, a Russia which is governed by people who are responsive to the wishes of the Russian people, who had given up their predatory world-wide ambitions to rule and who conform to the principles of civilized nations and such principles as are embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.¹

He also stated:

. . . the long-range prospect — indeed, I would say the long-range certainty — is that there will be an evolution of the present policies of the Soviet rulers so that they will become more nationalist and less internationalist.²

Apparently, Dulles’ ghost has been haunting the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and

¹ J. F. Dulles, Press Conference, May 15, 1956.

² J. F. Dulles, Press Conference, October 28, 1958.

they have become so obsessed with the so-called general line of peaceful coexistence that they do not pause to consider how well their actions accord with the desires of U.S. imperialism.

SOVIET-U.S. COLLABORATION IS THE HEART AND
SOUL OF THE CPSU LEADERS' GENERAL LINE
OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

While harping on peaceful coexistence in recent years, the leaders of the CPSU have in fact not only violated the principle of proletarian internationalism but even failed to conform to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their attitude towards China and a number of other socialist countries. To put it plainly, their ceaseless advocacy of peaceful coexistence as the general line of their foreign policy amounts to a demand that all the socialist countries and the Communist Parties must submit to their long-cherished dream of Soviet-U.S. collaboration.

The heart and soul of the general line of peaceful coexistence pursued by the leaders of the CPSU is Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the domination of the world.

Just look at the extraordinary statements they have made:

"The two greatest modern powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have left far behind any other country in the world."¹

"Each of these two powers is leading a large group of nations — the Soviet Union leading the world socialist system and the United States the capitalist camp."²

"We [the Soviet Union and the United States] are the strongest countries in the world and if we unite for peace there can

¹ N. N. Yakovlev, "After 30 Years . . .", a pamphlet written for the 30th anniversary of Soviet-American diplomatic relations.

² *Ibid.*

be no war. Then if any madman wanted war, we would but have to shake our fingers to warn him off.”¹

“. . . if there is agreement between N. S. Khrushchov, the head of the Soviet Government, and John Kennedy, the President of the United States, there will be a solution of international problems on which mankind’s destinies depend.”²

We would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Since the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement say clearly that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people of the world and the main force making for aggression and war, how can you “unite” with the main enemy of world peace to “safeguard peace”?

We would like to ask them: Can it be that more than a hundred countries and over three thousand million people have no right to decide their own destiny? Must they submit to the manipulations of the two “giants”, the two “greatest powers”, the Soviet Union and the United States? Isn’t this arrogant nonsense of yours an expression of great-power chauvinism and power politics pure and simple?

We would also like to ask them: Do you really imagine that if only the Soviet Union and the United States reached agreement, if only the two “great men” reached agreement, the destiny of mankind would be decided and all international issues settled? You are wrong, hopelessly wrong. From time immemorial, things have never happened in this way, and they are much less likely to do so in the nineteen sixties. The world today is full of complex contradictions, the contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradictions among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly capitalist groups in,

¹ N. S. Khrushchov Interview with the U.S. Correspondent C. L. Sulzberger, September 5, 1961, *Pravda*, September 10, 1961.

² A. A. Gromyko, Speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, December 13, 1962.

the imperialist countries. Would these contradictions disappear once the Soviet Union and the United States reached agreement?

The only country the leaders of the CPSU look up to is the United States. In their pursuit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration, they do not scruple to betray the Soviet people's true allies, including their class brothers and all the oppressed peoples and nations still living under the imperialist-capitalist system.

The leaders of the CPSU are trying hard to wreck the socialist camp. They use every kind of lie and slander against the Chinese Communist Party and exert political and economic pressure on China. As for socialist Albania, nothing short of its destruction would satisfy them. Hand in hand with U.S. imperialism, they brought pressure to bear upon revolutionary Cuba, making demands on it at the expense of its sovereignty and dignity.

The leaders of the CPSU are trying hard to sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the peoples against imperialism and its lackeys. They are acting as preachers of social reformism and are sapping the revolutionary fighting will of the proletariat and its political party in various countries. To cater to the needs of imperialism, they are undermining the national liberation movement and becoming more and more shameless apologists of U.S. neo-colonialism.

What do the leaders of the CPSU get from U.S. imperialism in return for all their strenuous efforts and for the high price they pay in pursuit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration?

Since 1959, Khrushchov has become obsessed with summit meetings between the Soviet Union and the United States. He has had many fond dreams and spread many illusions about them. He has extolled Eisenhower as "a big man" who "understands big politics".¹ He has enthusiastically praised Kennedy as one who "understands the great responsibility that

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Luncheon Given in His Honour by the Mayor of New York, September 17, 1959.

lies with the governments of two such powerful states”.¹ The leaders of the CPSU made a big fuss about the so-called spirit of Camp David and proclaimed the Vienna meeting to be “an event of historic significance”. The Soviet press claimed that once the heads of the Soviet Union and the United States sat at the same table, history would arrive at a “new turning point”, and that a handshake between the two “great men” would usher in a “new era” in international relations.

But how does U.S. imperialism treat the leaders of the CPSU? A little over a month after the Camp David talks, Eisenhower declared, “I wasn’t aware of any spirit of Camp David.” And seven months after the talks he sent a U-2 spy plane to intrude into the Soviet Union, thus wrecking the four-power summit conference. Not long after the Vienna meeting, Kennedy put forward the following insolent conditions for twenty years of peace between the Soviet Union and the United States: no support by the Soviet Union for any people’s revolutionary struggles, and the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. A year or more after the Vienna meeting Kennedy ordered the piratical military blockade of Cuba and created the Caribbean crisis.

Searching high and low among the quick and the dead, where can one find the much vaunted “spirit of Camp David”, “turning point in the history of mankind” and “new era in international relations”?

After the signing of the tripartite treaty on the partial nuclear test ban, the leaders of the CPSU gave great publicity to the so-called spirit of Moscow. They spoke of the need to “strike while the iron is hot”, asserted that “all the favourable conditions are there” for the Soviet Union and the United States to reach further agreements, and declared that it was bad to take the attitude that “time can wait” or “there is no hurry”.²

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Radio and Television Speech, June 15, 1961.

² “Time Cannot Wait”, article by observer in *Izvestia*, August 21, 1963.

What is the “spirit of Moscow”? Let us look at recent events.

To create more of an atmosphere of “Soviet-U.S. co-operation”, the leaders of the CPSU held a rally in Moscow in celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. At the same time, they sent a cultural delegation to the United States for celebrations there. But what came of the enthusiasm of the leaders of the CPSU? The entire staff of the U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union refused to attend the Moscow rally, and the U.S. State Department issued a special memorandum asking the American public to boycott the Soviet cultural delegation, whom they denounced as “extremely dangerous and suspicious people”.

While the leaders of the CPSU were advocating “Soviet-U.S. co-operation”, the United States sent the agent Barghoorn to carry on activities in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government very properly arrested this agent. But, after Kennedy made the threat that the success of the wheat deal between the United States and the Soviet Union “depends upon a reasonable atmosphere in both countries”, which he said had been “badly damaged by the Barghoorn arrest”, the Soviet Government hurriedly released this U.S. agent without any trial, on the grounds of “the concern of the U.S. high officials over F. C. Barghoorn’s fate”, over the fate of an agent who the investigation confirmed . . . had been engaged in intelligence activities against the U.S.S.R.”.

Are all these manifestations of the “spirit of Moscow”? If so, it is indeed very sad.

Moscow! Bright capital of the first socialist country and glorious name cherished by so many millions of people throughout the world since the Great October Revolution! Now this name is being used by the leaders of the CPSU to cover up their foul practice of collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. What an unprecedented shame!

All too often have the leaders of the CPSU said fine things about the U.S. imperialists and begged favours from them; all too often have they lost their temper with fraternal countries and Parties and put pressure on them; all too many are the tricks and deceptions they have practised on the revolutionary people in various countries — solely in order to beg for “friendship” and “trust” from U.S. imperialism. But “while the drooping flowers pine for love, the heartless brook babbles on”. All that the leaders of the CPSU have received from the U.S. imperialists is humiliation, again humiliation, always humiliation!

A FEW WORDS OF ADVICE TO THE LEADERS OF THE CPSU

During the bitter days of resistance to armed imperialist intervention and amidst the raging fires of the Patriotic War, was there ever an occasion when the great Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin bowed to difficulties? Did they ever kneel before the enemy? Today, the world situation is most favourable to revolution and socialism is stronger than ever, while imperialism has never been in such difficulties; yet how ignominiously has the first socialist country, the state founded by Lenin, been bullied by U.S. imperialism and how grossly has the socialist camp been disgraced by the leaders of the CPSU! How is it possible for us, for any Marxist-Leninists or revolutionary people, not to feel distress?

Here we should like to offer sincere advice to the leaders of the CPSU.

The United States, the most ferocious imperialist country, has the mad strategic aim of conquering the world. It is frantically suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations and has openly declared its intention of bringing Eastern Europe back into the so-called world community of free nations. How can you imagine that the

heaviest blows of the U.S. imperialists in pursuit of their aggressive plans for conquering the whole world will fall on others and not on the Soviet Union?

The United States is an imperialist country and the Soviet Union a socialist country. How can you expect “all-round co-operation” between two countries with entirely different social systems?

There is mutual deception and rivalry even between the United States and the other imperialist powers, and the United States will not be satisfied until it has trampled them underfoot. How then can you imagine that the imperialist United States will live in harmony with the socialist Soviet Union?

Leading comrades of the CPSU! Just think the matter over soberly. Can U.S. imperialism be depended upon when a storm breaks in the world? No! The U.S. imperialists are undependable, as are all imperialists and reactionaries. The only dependable allies of the Soviet Union are the fraternal countries of the socialist camp, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and all oppressed peoples and nations.

The laws of historical development operate independently of any individual's will. No one can possibly prevent the growth of the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples and nations, let alone destroy them. He who betrays the people of the socialist camp and the world and dreams of dominating the globe by colluding with U.S. imperialism is bound to end up badly. It is very mistaken and dangerous for the leaders of the CPSU to do so.

It is not yet too late for the leaders of the CPSU to rein in at the brink. It is high time for them to discard their general line of peaceful coexistence and return to Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence, to the road of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

**THE LEADERS OF THE CPSU
ARE THE GREATEST SPLITTERS
OF OUR TIMES**

**Seventh Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(February 4, 1964)

NEVER before has the unity of the international communist movement been so gravely threatened as it is today when we are witnessing a deluge of modern revisionist ideology. Both internationally and inside individual Parties, fierce struggles are going on between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. The international communist movement is confronted with an unprecedentedly serious danger of a split.

It is the urgent task of the Communists, the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the world to defend the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

The Communist Party of China has made consistent and unremitting efforts to defend and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It has been and remains the unswerving position of the Chinese Communist Party to uphold principle, uphold unity, eliminate differences and strengthen the struggle against our common enemy.

Ever since they embarked on the path of revisionism, the leaders of the CPSU have tirelessly professed their devotion to the unity of the international communist movement. Of late, they have been particularly active in crying for “unity”. This calls to mind what Engels said ninety years ago. “One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for ‘unity.’ Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most dissension. . . .” “. . . the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues at times shout loudest for unity.”¹

¹“Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 345.

While presenting themselves as champions of unity, the leaders of the CPSU are trying to pin the label of splittism on the Chinese Communist Party. In its Open Letter the Central Committee of the CPSU says:

The Chinese leaders are undermining the unity not only of the socialist camp but of the entire world communist movement, trampling on the principles of proletarian internationalism and grossly violating accepted standards of relations between fraternal parties.

And the subsequent articles published in the Soviet press have been condemning the Chinese Communists as “sectarians” and “splitters”.

But what are the facts? Who is undermining the unity of the socialist camp? Who is undermining the unity of the international communist movement? Who is trampling on the principles of proletarian internationalism? And who is grossly violating the accepted standards of relations between fraternal Parties? In other words, who are the real, out-and-out splitters?

Only when these questions are properly answered can we find the way to defend and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and overcome the danger of a split.

A REVIEW OF HISTORY

In order to gain a clear understanding of the nature of splitism in the present international communist movement and to struggle against it in the correct way, let us look back on the history of the international communist movement over the past century or so.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and between the forces defending unity and those creating splits runs through the history of the development of the

communist movement. This is the case both in individual countries and on the international plane. In this prolonged struggle, Marx, Engels and Lenin expounded the true essence of proletarian unity on a theoretical level and, by their deeds, set brilliant examples in combating opportunism, revisionism and splittism.

In 1847 Marx and Engels founded the earliest international working-class organization — the Communist League. In the *Communist Manifesto*, which they wrote as the programme of the League, Marx and Engels advanced the militant call, “Workers of All Countries, Unite!” and gave a systematic and profound exposition of scientific communism, thus laying the ideological basis for the unity of the international proletariat.

Throughout their lives Marx and Engels worked unremittingly for this principled unity of the international proletariat.

In 1864 they established the First International, the International Working Men’s Association, to unite the workers’ movements of all countries. Throughout the period of the First International they waged principled struggles against the Bakuninists, Proudhonists, Blanquists, Lassalleans, etc., the fiercest struggle being that against the Bakunist splitters.

The Bakuninists attacked Marx’s theory from the very beginning. They charged Marx with wanting to make his “particular programme and personal doctrine dominant in the International”. In fact, however, it was they who tried to impose the dogmas of their sect on the International and to replace the programme of the International with Bakunin’s opportunist programme. They resorted to one intrigue after another, lined up a “majority” by hook or by crook and engaged in sectarian and divisive activities.

To defend the genuine unity of the international proletariat, Marx and Engels took an uncompromising and principled stand against the open challenge of the Bakunist splitters to the First International. In 1872 the Bakuninists who persisted in their splitting activities were expelled from the Interna-

tional at its Hague Congress, in which Marx personally participated.

Engels said that if the Marxists had adopted an unprincipled and conciliatory attitude towards the divisive activities of the Bakuninists at the Hague, it would have had grave consequences for the international working-class movement. He stated, "Then the International would indeed have gone to pieces — gone to pieces through 'unity'!"¹

Led by Marx and Engels, the First International fought against opportunism and splittism and laid the basis for the supremacy of Marxism in the international working-class movement.

With the announcement of the end of the First-International in 1876 there began the successive establishment of mass socialist workers' parties in many countries. Marx and Engels followed the establishment and development of these parties with close attention in the hope that they would be established and developed on the basis of scientific communism.

Marx and Engels devoted particular attention and concern to the German Social-Democratic Party which then occupied an important position in the working-class movement in Europe. On many occasions, they sharply criticized the German Party for its rotten spirit of compromise with opportunism in the pursuit of "unity".

In 1875 they criticized the German Social-Democratic Party for its union with the Lassalleans at the expense of principle and for the resultant Gotha Programme. Marx pointed out that this union was "bought too dearly" and that the Gotha Programme was "a thoroughly objectionable programme that demoralizes the Party".² Engels pointed out that it was a "bending of the knee to Lassalleanism on the part of the whole

¹ "Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873", *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 346.

² "Marx to W. Bracke, May 5, 1875", *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, pp. 360, 361.

German socialist proletariat”, adding, “I am convinced that a union on *this* basis will not last a year.”¹

In criticizing the Gotha Programme, Marx put forward the well-known principle that for Marxists “there would be no haggling about principles”.²

Later Marx and Engels again sharply criticized the leaders of the German Party for tolerating the activities of the opportunists inside the Party. Marx said that these opportunists tried “to replace its materialistic basis . . . by modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity”³ and that this was a “vulgarization of Party and theory”.⁴ In their “Circular Letter” to the leaders of the German Party, Marx and Engels wrote:

For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement.⁵

Founded under Engels’ influence in 1889, the Second International existed in a period when capitalism was developing “peacefully”. While Marxism became widespread and the *Communist Manifesto* became the common programme of tens of millions of workers everywhere during this period, the socialist parties in many countries blindly worshipped

¹ “Engels to A. Bebel, March 18-28, 1875”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 358.

² “Marx to W. Bracke, May 5, 1875”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 361.

³ “Marx to F. A. Sorge, October 19, 1877”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 376.

⁴ “Marx to F. A. Sorge, September 19, 1879”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 396.

⁵ “Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others (‘Circular Letter’), September 17-18, 1879”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 395.

bourgeois legality instead of utilizing it and became legalists, thus opening the floodgates for opportunism.

Hence, throughout the period of the Second International, the international working-class movement was divided into two main groups, the revolutionary Marxists and the pseudo-Marxian opportunists.

Engels waged irreconcilable struggles against the opportunists. He refuted with particular sharpness their fallacies on the peaceful evolution of capitalism into socialism. He said of those opportunists who posed as Marxists that Marx “would repeat to these gentlemen what Heine had said of his imitators: I sowed dragons but I reaped fleas”.¹

After the death of Engels in 1895, these fleas came out for the open and systematic revision of Marxism and gradually took over the leadership of the Second International.

As the outstanding revolutionary in the international working-class movement after Engels, the great Lenin shouldered the heavy responsibility of defending Marxism and opposing the revisionism of the Second International.

When the revisionists of the Second International howled that Marxism was “incomplete” and “outmoded”, Lenin solemnly declared, “We take our stand entirely on the Marxist theoretical position”, because revolutionary theory “unites all socialists”.²

Above all, Lenin fought to create a Marxist party in Russia. In order to build a party of the new type, differing fundamentally from the opportunist parties of the Second International, he waged uncompromising struggles against the various anti-Marxist factions inside the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

¹ “Engels’ Letter to Paul Lafargue, October 27, 1890”, quoted in *Marx and Engels on Literature and Art*, Fr. ed., Edition Sociales, Paris, 1954, p. 258.

² V. I. Lenin, “Our Programme”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1960, Vol. IV, pp. 210, 211.

Like other parties of the Second International the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party had a revolutionary as well as an opportunist group. The Bolsheviks led by Lenin constituted the former and the Mensheviks the latter.

The Bolsheviks led by Lenin conducted prolonged theoretical and political struggles against the Mensheviks in order to safeguard the unity of the proletarian party and the purity of its ranks, and finally in 1912 expelled the Mensheviks for their persistence in opportunism and splitting activities.

All the opportunist factions abused Lenin in the most vicious language. They tried by every means to label him a splitter. Lining up with all the anti-Leninist factions and raising the banner of “non-factionalism”, Trotsky wantonly attacked the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, whom he called a “usurper” and “splitter”. Lenin replied that Trotsky, who paraded as “non-factional”, was “a representative of the ‘worst remnants of factionalism’ ”¹ and “the worst splitters”.²

Lenin put it clearly, “Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers’ cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism.”³

Lenin’s struggle against the Mensheviks was of great international significance, for Menshevism was a Russian form and variant of the revisionism of the Second International and was supported by the revisionist leaders of the Second International.

While combating the Mensheviks, Lenin also waged a series of struggles against the revisionism of the Second International.

Before World War I, Lenin criticized the revisionists of the Second International on the theoretical and political plane

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 251.

² V. I. Lenin, “The Break-up of the ‘August’ Bloc”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XX, p. 161.

³ V. I. Lenin, “Unity”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XX, p. 232.

and fought them face to face at the Stuttgart and Copenhagen Congresses.

When World War I broke out, the leaders of the Second International openly betrayed the proletariat. Serving the imperialists' interests, they urged the proletarians of different countries to slaughter each other and thus brought about a most serious split in the international proletariat. As Rosa Luxemburg said, the revisionists turned the previous proud slogan of "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" into the command on the battlefield, "Workers of All Countries, Slay One Another!"¹

The Social-Democratic Party of Germany, Marx's native land, was then the most powerful and influential party in the Second International. It was the first to side with the imperialists of its own country, and thus became the arch-criminal splitting the international working-class movement.

At this critical juncture, Lenin stepped forward to fight resolutely in defence of the unity of the international proletariat.

In his article "The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War" circulated in August 1914, Lenin proclaimed the collapse of the Second International and sternly condemned most of its leaders, and in particular those of the German Social-Democratic Party, for their overt betrayal of socialism.

In view of the fact that the revisionists of the Second International had turned their secret alliance with the bourgeoisie into an open alliance and that they had made the split in the international working-class movement irrevocable, Lenin stated:

It is impossible to carry out the tasks of Socialism at the present time, it is impossible to achieve real international unity of the workers, without a determined rupture with

¹ "Either — Or", *Selected Speeches and Writings of Rosa Luxemburg*, Ger. ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1951, Vol. II, p. 534.

opportunism and explaining to the masses the inevitability of its bankruptcy.¹

For this reason, Lenin staunchly supported the Marxists in breaking with the opportunists in many European countries and boldly called for the establishment of a third International to replace the bankrupt Second International so as to rebuild the revolutionary unity of the international proletariat.

The Third International was founded in March 1919. It inherited the positive achievements of the Second International and discarded its opportunist, social chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois rubbish. Thus it enabled the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat to grow both in breadth and depth.

Lenin's theory and practice carried Marxism to a new stage in its development — the stage of Leninism. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the unity of the international proletariat and the international communist movement was further strengthened and expanded.

EXPERIENCE AND LESSONS

What does the history of the development of the international communist movement demonstrate?

First, it demonstrates that like everything else, the international working-class movement tends to divide itself in two. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is inevitably reflected in the communist ranks. It is inevitable that opportunism of one kind or another should arise in the course of the development of the communist movement, that opportunists should engage in anti-Marxist-Leninist splitting activities and that Marxist-Leninists should wage struggles against opportunism and splittism. It is precisely through

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 403.

this struggle of opposites that Marxism-Leninism and the international working-class movement have developed. And it is also through this struggle that the international working-class movement has strengthened and consolidated its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Engels said:

The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the “solidarity of the proletariat” is everywhere being realized in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another. . . .¹

This is exactly what happened. The Communist League, the First International and the Second International, all of which were originally unified, divided in two in the course of their development and became two conflicting parts. Each time the international struggle against opportunism and splitism carried the international working-class movement forward to a new stage and enabled it to forge a firmer and broader unity on a new basis. The victory of the October Revolution and the founding of the Third International were the greatest achievements in the struggle against the Second International’s revisionism and splittism.

Unity, struggle or even splits, and a new unity on a new basis — such is the dialectics of the development of the international working-class movement.

Secondly, the history of the international communist movement demonstrates that in every period the struggle between the defenders of unity and the creators of splits is in essence one between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism-revisionism, between the upholders of Marxism and the traitors to Marxism.

¹“Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 347.

Both internationally and in individual countries, genuine proletarian unity is possible only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Both internationally and in individual countries, wherever opportunism and revisionism are rampant, a split becomes inevitable in the proletarian ranks. Every split in the communist movement is invariably caused by the opportunist-revisionist opposition to and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

What is splittism?

It means a split with Marxism-Leninism. Anyone who opposes and betrays Marxism-Leninism and undermines the basis of proletarian unity is a splitter.

It means a split with the revolutionary proletarian party. Anyone who persists in a revisionist line and turns a revolutionary proletarian party into a reformist bourgeois party is a splitter.

It means a split with the revolutionary proletariat and the broad masses of the working people. Anyone who follows a programme and line running counter to the revolutionary will and fundamental interests of the proletariat and the working people is a splitter.

Lenin said, “Where the *majority* of the class-conscious workers have rallied around precise and definite decisions there is unity of opinion and action,”¹ while opportunism “is, in fact, schism, in that it most unblushingly thwarts the will of the majority of the workers.”²

By disrupting proletarian unity, splittism serves the bourgeoisie and meets its needs. It is the consistent policy of the bourgeoisie to create splits within the ranks of the proletariat. Its most sinister method of doing so is to buy over or cultivate agents within the proletarian ranks. And agents of the bourgeoisie are exactly what the opportunists and revisionists are. So far from seeking to unite the proletariat in the fight against

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 255.

² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

the bourgeoisie, they want the proletariat to co-operate with it. This was what the revisionists of the Second International, such as Bernstein and Kautsky, did. At a time when the imperialists were most afraid that the proletariat of all countries would unite to turn the imperialist war into civil wars, they came forward to create a split in the international working-class movement and advocate co-operation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The splitters in the communist ranks are those who, to meet the needs of the bourgeoisie, split with Marxism-Leninism, with the revolutionary proletarian party and with the revolutionary proletariat and the broad masses of the labouring people; and they remain splitters even when for a time they are in the majority or hold the leading posts.

In the days of the Second International, the revisionists represented by Bernstein and Kautsky were in the majority, and the Marxists represented by Lenin were in the minority. Yet obviously it was Bernstein, Kautsky and other opportunists who were the splitters, and not revolutionaries like Lenin.

In 1904 the Mensheviks were the splitters although they held leading positions which they had usurped in the central organs of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Lenin pointed out at the time, "The leading centres (the Central Organ, the Central Committee, and the Council) *have broken* with the Party,"¹ and "the centres *have put themselves outside* the Party. There is no middle ground; one is either with the centres or with the Party."²

In brief, opportunism and revisionism are the political and ideological roots of splittism. And splittism is the organizational manifestation of opportunism and revisionism. It can also be said that opportunism and revisionism are splittism as well as sectarianism. The revisionists are the greatest and vilest splitters and sectarians in the communist movement.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Letter to the Zurich Group of Bolsheviki", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. VIII, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Thirdly, the history of the international communist movement demonstrates that proletarian unity has been consolidated and has developed through struggle against opportunism, revisionism and splittism. The struggle for unity is inseparably connected with the struggle for principle.

The unity the proletariat requires is class unity, revolutionary unity, unity against the common enemy and for the great goal of communism. The unity of the international proletariat has its theoretical and political basis in Marxism-Leninism. Only when it has theoretical and political unity can the international proletariat have organizational cohesion and unity of action.

The genuine revolutionary unity of the proletariat can be attained only by upholding principle and upholding Marxism-Leninism. Unity bought by forsaking principles and by wallowing in the mire with opportunists ceases to be proletarian unity; instead, as Lenin said, it “means in practice unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and a split in the international proletariat, unity of lackeys and a split among the revolutionists”.¹

He also pointed out that “as the bourgeoisie will not die until it is overthrown”, so the opportunist current bribed and supported by the bourgeoisie “will not die if it is not ‘killed’, *i.e.*, overthrown, deprived of every influence among the Socialist proletariat”. Hence, it is necessary to wage “a merciless struggle against the current of opportunism”.²

Faced with the challenge of the opportunist-revisionists who are openly splitting the international communist movement, the Marxist-Leninists must make no compromise in matters of principle, but must resolutely combat this splittism. This is an invaluable behest of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Honest Voice of a French Socialist”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. XVIII, p. 329.

² *Ibid.*

well as the only correct way to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement.

THE GREATEST SPLITTERS OF OUR TIMES

The events of recent years show that the leaders of the CPSU headed by Khrushchov have become the chief representatives of modern revisionism as well as the greatest splitters in the international communist movement.

Between the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, the leaders of the CPSU developed a rounded system of revisionism. They put forward a revisionist line which contravenes the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a line which consists of “peaceful coexistence”, “peaceful competition”, “peaceful transition”, “a state of the whole people” and “a party of the entire people”. They have tried to impose this revisionist line on all fraternal Parties as a substitute for the common line of the international communist movement which was laid down at the meetings of fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960. And they have attacked anyone who perseveres in the Marxist-Leninist line and resists their revisionist line.

The leaders of the CPSU have themselves undermined the basis of the unity of the international communist movement and created the present grave danger of a split by betraying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and pushing their revisionist and divisive line.

Far from working to consolidate and expand the socialist camp, the leaders of the CPSU have endeavoured to split and disintegrate it. They have thus made a mess of the splendid socialist camp.

They have violated the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, pursued a policy of great-power chauvinism and

national egoism towards fraternal socialist countries and thus disrupted the unity of the socialist camp.

They have arbitrarily infringed the sovereignty of fraternal countries, interfered in their internal affairs, carried on subversive activities and striven in every way to control fraternal countries.

In the name of the "international division of labour", the leaders of the CPSU oppose the adoption by fraternal countries of the policy of building socialism by their own efforts and developing their economies on an independent basis, and attempt to turn them into economic appendages. They have tried to force those fraternal countries which are comparatively backward economically to abandon industrialization and become their sources of raw materials and markets for surplus products.

The leaders of the CPSU are quite unscrupulous in their pursuit of the policy of great-power chauvinism. They have constantly brought political, economic and even military pressure to bear on fraternal countries.

The leaders of the CPSU have openly called for the overthrow of the Party and government leaders of Albania, brashly severed all economic and diplomatic relations with her and tyrannically deprived her of her legitimate rights as a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance.

The leaders of the CPSU have violated the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, made a unilateral decision to withdraw 1,390 Soviet experts working in China, to tear up 343 contracts and supplementary contracts on the employment of experts and to cancel 257 projects of scientific and technical co-operation, and pursued a restrictive and discriminatory trade policy against China. They have provoked incidents on the Sino-Soviet border and carried on large-scale subversive activities in Sinkiang. On more than one occasion, Khrushchov went so far as to tell leading comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC that certain anti-

Party elements in the Chinese Communist Party were his “good friends”. He has praised Chinese anti-Party elements for attacking the Chinese Party’s general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people’s communes, describing their action as a “manly act”.

Such measures which gravely worsen state relations are rare even between capitalist countries. But again and again the a leaders of the CPSU have adopted shocking and extreme measures of this kind against fraternal socialist countries. Yet they go on grating about being “faithful to proletarian internationalism”. We would like to ask, is there a shred of internationalism in all these deeds of yours?

The great-power chauvinism and splittism of the leaders of the CPSU are equally glaring in their conduct vis-a-vis fraternal Parties.

Since the 20th Congress of the CPSU its leaders have tried, on the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, to change the leadership of other fraternal Parties to conform to their will. Right up to the present they have insisted on “combating the personality cult” as a precondition for the restoration of unity and as a “principle” which is “obligatory on every Communist Party”.¹

Contrary to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, the leaders of the CPSU ignore the independent and equal status of fraternal Parties, insist on establishing a kind of feudal patriarchal domination over the international communist movement and turn the relations between brother Parties into those between a patriarchal father and his sons. Khrushchov has more than once described a fraternal Party as a “silly boy” and called himself its “mother”.² With his feudal psychology of self-exaltation, he has absolutely no sense of shame.

¹ “For the Unity and Solidarity of the International Communist Movement”, editorial board article in *Pravda*, December 6, 1963.

² See N. S. Khrushchov’s interview with Gardner Cowles, Editor of the U.S. magazine *Look*, April 20, 1962; report by N. S. Khrushchov to the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, December 12, 1962.

The leaders of the CPSU have completely ignored the principle of achieving unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties and habitually make dictatorial decisions and order others about. They have recklessly torn up joint agreements with fraternal Parties, taken arbitrary decisions on important matters of common concern to fraternal Parties and forced *faits accomplis* on them.

The leaders of the CPSU have violated the principle that differences among fraternal Parties should be settled through inter-Party consultation; they first used their own Party Congress and then the Congresses of other fraternal Parties as rostrums for large-scale public attacks against those fraternal Parties which firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism.

The leaders of the CPSU regard fraternal Parties as pawns on their diplomatic chessboard. Khrushchov plays fast and loose, he blows hot and cold, he talks one way one day and another the next, and yet he insists on the fraternal Parties dancing to his every tune without knowing whence or whither.

The leaders of the CPSU have stirred up trouble and created splits in many Communist Parties by encouraging the followers of their revisionist line in these Parties to attack the leadership, or usurp leading positions, persecute Marxist-Leninists and even expel them from the Party. It is this divisive policy of the leaders of the CPSU that has given rise to organizational splits in the fraternal Parties of many capitalist countries.

The leaders of the CPSU have turned the magazine *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, originally the common journal of fraternal Parties, into an instrument for spreading revisionism, sectarianism and splittism and for making unscrupulous attacks on Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties in violation of the agreement reached at the meeting at which the magazine was founded.

In addition, they are imposing the revisionist line on the international democratic organizations, changing the correct line

pursued by these organizations and trying to create splits in them.

The leaders of the CPSU have completely reversed enemies and comrades. They have directed the edge of struggle, which should be against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, against the Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties and countries.

The leaders of the CPSU are bent on seeking Soviet-U.S. co-operation for the domination of the world, they regard U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world, as their most reliable friend, and they treat the fraternal Parties and countries adhering to Marxism-Leninism as their enemy. They collude with U.S. imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries, the renegade Tito clique and the Right-wing social democrats in a partnership against the socialist fraternal countries, the fraternal Parties, the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of all countries.

When they snatch at a straw from Eisenhower or Kennedy or others like them, or think that things are going smoothly for them, the leaders of the CPSU are beside themselves with joy, hit out wildly at the fraternal Parties and countries adhering to Marxism-Leninism, and endeavour to sacrifice fraternal Parties and countries on the altar of their political dealings with U.S. imperialism.

When their wrong policies come to grief and they find themselves in difficulties, the leaders of the CPSU become angrier and more red-faced than ever, again hit out wildly at the fraternal Parties and countries adhering to Marxism-Leninism, and try to make others their scapegoats.

These facts show that the leaders of the CPSU have taken the road of complete betrayal of proletarian internationalism, in contravention of the interests of the Soviet people, the socialist camp and the international communist movement and those of all revolutionary people.

These facts clearly demonstrate that the leaders of the CPSU counterpose their revisionism to Marxism-Leninism, their great-power chauvinism and national egoism to proletarian

internationalism and their sectarianism and splittism to the international unity of the proletariat. Thus, like all the opportunists and revisionists of the past, the leaders of the CPSU have turned into creators of splits in many fraternal Parties, the socialist camp and the entire international communist movement.

The revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the CPSU constitute a greater danger than those of any other opportunists and splitters, whether past or present. As everyone knows, this revisionism is occurring in the CPSU, the Party which was created by Lenin and which has enjoyed the highest prestige among all Communist Parties; it is occurring in the great Soviet Union, the first socialist country. For many years, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over have held the CPSU in high esteem and regarded the Soviet Union as the base of world revolution and the model of struggle. And the leaders of the CPSU have taken advantage of all this — of the prestige of the Party created by Lenin and of the first socialist country — to cover up the essence of their revisionism and splittism and deceive those who are still unaware of the truth. At the same time, these past masters in double-dealing are shouting “unity, unity”, while actually engaged in splitting. To a certain extent, their tricks do temporarily confuse people. Traditional confidence in the CPSU and ignorance of the facts have prevented quite a few people from recognizing the revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the CPSU sooner.

Because the leaders of the CPSU exercise state power in a large socialist country which exerts world-wide influence, their revisionist and divisive line has done far greater harm to the international communist movement and the proletarian cause of world revolution than that of any of the opportunists and splitters of the past.

It can be said that the leaders of the CPSU are the greatest of all revisionists as well as the greatest of all sectarians and splitters known to history.

It is already clear that the revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the CPSU have greatly assisted the spread of the revisionist torrent internationally and rendered enormous service to imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries.

The revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the CPSU are the product both of the lush growth of the bourgeois elements inside the Soviet Union, and of imperialist policy, and particularly of the U.S. imperialist policies of nuclear blackmail and “peaceful evolution”. In turn, their revisionist and divisive theories and policies cater not only to the widespread capitalist forces at home but also to imperialism, and serve to paralyse the revolutionary will and to obstruct the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

Indeed, the leaders of the CPSU have already won warm praise and applause from imperialism and its lackeys.

The U.S. imperialists praise Khrushchov especially for his splitting activities in the international communist movement. They say, “It seems clear that Khrushchev is sufficiently in earnest in his desire for a *détente* with the West that he is willing to risk a split in the Communist movement to achieve it.”¹ “Nikita Khrushchev has destroyed, irrevocably, the unified bloc of Stalin’s day. That is perhaps Khrushchev’s greatest service — not to Communism, but to the Western world.”² “We ought to be grateful for his mishandling of his relationship with the Chinese. . . . We should be grateful for his introducing disarray into international Communism by a lot of quite bumptious and sudden initiatives.”³

They firmly believe that Khrushchov is “the best Soviet Prime Minister the West can expect to treat with and . . . it must try for the time being to avoid any action that might

¹ “Openings for Diplomacy: Cracks in the Blocs”, *The Nation*, February 9, 1963.

² “Moscow and Peking: How Wide the Split?”, *Newsweek*, March 26, 1962.

³ “With Test-Ban Treaty — Has Khrushchev Changed His Ways?”, *U.S. News and World Report*, September 30, 1963.

further weaken his position”.¹ They say, “The Administration is now convinced that the U.S. should offer Khrushchev maximum support in his dispute with Red China.”²

The Trotskyites, who have long been politically bankrupt, are among those applauding the leaders of the CPSU. The former actively support the latter on such fundamental issues as the attitude one should take towards Stalin, towards U.S. imperialism and towards the Yugoslav revisionists. They say, “The situation created by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and still more by the Twenty-second Congress is eminently favourable for the revival of our movement in the workers states themselves.”³ “We have prepared for this for more than 25 years. Now we must move in, and move energetically.”⁴ “In relation to the Khrushchev tendency, we will give a critical support to its struggle for destalinisation against the more conservative tendencies. . . .”⁵

Just consider! All the enemies of revolution support the leaders of the CPSU with alacrity. The reason is that they have found a common language with the leaders of the CPSU in their approach to Marxism-Leninism and world revolution, and that the revisionist and divisive line of the leaders of the CPSU meets the counter-revolutionary needs of U.S. imperialism.

¹ “Communist Unity Seen in U.S. as Thing of the Past”, the *London Times*, January 17, 1962.

² “The Periscope”, *Newsweek*, July 1, 1963.

³ “The International Situation and Our Tasks”, resolution adopted by the Reunification Congress of the Trotskyites’ so-called Fourth International in June 1963, *Fourth International*, Eng. ed, No. 17, October-December 1963, p. 47.

⁴ “The New Stage of the Russian Revolution and the Crisis of Stalinism, resolution adopted by a meeting of the National Committee of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers’ Party of the U.S.A., April 13-15, 1956, *The 20th Congress (C.P.S.U.) and World Trotskyism*, New Park Publications Ltd., London, 1957, p. 36.

⁵ “The Repercussions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU”, resolution adopted by the International Secretariat of the Trotskyites’ so-called Fourth International on December 5, 1961, *Fourth International*, Eng. ed., No. 14, winter issue, 1961-1962, p. 25.

As Lenin said, the bourgeoisie understands that “the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie, than the bourgeoisie itself”.¹ The imperialist lords and masters are gleefully letting the leaders of the CPSU clear the way for the destruction of the proletarian cause of world revolution.

Having brought on the serious danger of a split in the international communist movement, the leaders of the CPSU are trying to shift the blame, vilifying the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties as guilty of “split-tism” and “sectarianism” and fabricating a host of charges against them.

Here we deem it necessary to take up some of their chief slanders and to refute them one by one.

REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF BEING ANTI-SOVIET

The leaders of the CPSU accuse all who resist and criticize their revisionism and splittism of being anti-Soviet. This is a terrifying charge. To oppose the first socialist country in the world and the Party founded by the great Lenin — what insolence!

But we advise the leaders of the CPSU not to indulge in histrionics. The anti-Soviet charge can never apply to us.

We also advise the leaders of the CPSU not to become self-intoxicated. The anti-Soviet charge can never silence Marxist-Leninists.

Together with all other Communists and revolutionary people the world over, we Chinese Communists have always cherished sincere respect and love for the great Soviet people, the Soviet state and the Soviet Communist Party. For it was

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. X, p. 196.

the people of the Soviet Union who, under the leadership of Lenin's Party, lit the triumphant torch of the October Revolution, opened up the new era of world proletarian revolution and marched in the van along the road to communism in the years that followed. It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state which, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, pursued a Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policy, scored unprecedented achievements in socialist construction, made the greatest contribution to victory in the war against fascism and gave internationalist support to the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people of all other countries.

Not long before his death, Stalin said:

. . . representatives of the fraternal parties, in their admiration for the daring and success of our Party, conferred upon it the title of the "Shock Brigade" of the world revolutionary and labour movement. By this, they were expressing the hope that the successes of the "Shock Brigade" would help to ease the position of the peoples languishing under the yoke of capitalism. I think that our Party has justified these hopes. . . .¹

He was right in saying that the Soviet Party built by Lenin had justified the hopes of all Communists. The Soviet Party was worthy of the admiration and support it won from all the fraternal Parties, including the Chinese Communist Party.

But, beginning with the 20th Congress, the leaders of the CPSU headed by Khrushchov have been launching violent attacks on Stalin and taking the road of revisionism. Is it possible to say that they have justified the hopes of all Communists? No, it is not.

In its "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out that it is the common

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Speech at the Nineteenth Congress of the Party*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, p. 9.

demand of the people in the countries of the socialist camp and of the international proletariat and working people that all Communist Parties in the socialist camp should:

(1) adhere to the Marxist-Leninist line and pursue correct Marxist-Leninist domestic and foreign policies;

(2) consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution forward to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts;

(3) promote the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses, carry out socialist construction in a planned way, develop production, improve the people's livelihood and strengthen national defense;

(4) strengthen the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and support other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism;

(5) oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and defend world peace;

(6) oppose the anti-Communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries; and ,

(7) help the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed classes and nations of the world.

It adds that all Communist Parties in the socialist camp "owe it to their own people and to the international proletariat and working people to fulfil these demands".

But instead, the leaders of the CPSU have abandoned these demands, disappointed the hopes of the fraternal Parties and pursued a revisionist and divisive line. This violates the interests not only of the international proletariat and working people but also of the CPSU, the Soviet state and the Soviet people themselves.

It is none other than the leaders of the CPSU headed by Khrushchov who are anti-Soviet.

The leaders of the CPSU have completely negated Stalin and painted the first dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist system as dark and dreadful. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the CPSU have proclaimed the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, altered the proletarian character of the CPSU and opened the floodgates for capitalist forces in the Soviet Union. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the CPSU seek U.S.-Soviet co-operation and tirelessly fawn upon U.S. imperialism, and have thus disgraced the great Soviet Union. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the CPSU pursue the policy of great-power chauvinism and treat fraternal socialist countries as dependencies, and have thus damaged the prestige of the Soviet state. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

The leaders of the CPSU obstruct and oppose the revolutionary struggles of other peoples and act as apologists for imperialism and neo-colonialism, and have thus tarnished the glorious internationalist tradition of Lenin's Party. What is this if not anti-Soviet?

In short, the actions of the leaders of the CPSU have brought deep shame upon the great Soviet Union and the CPSU and seriously damaged the fundamental interests of the Soviet people. They are anti-Soviet actions through and through.

Naturally, in these circumstances, the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties and Marxist-Leninists are bound to subject the revisionist and divisive line of the leaders of the CPSU to serious criticism for the purpose of defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement and upholding the principle of proletarian internationalism. We oppose only the revisionist and divisive errors of the leaders of the CPSU. And we do so for the sake of defending the CPSU founded by Lenin and safeguarding the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, and of the Soviet people. How can this be described as anti-Soviet?

Whether one defends or opposes the Soviet Union depends on whether or not one truly defends the line of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism and whether or not one truly defends the fundamental interests of the Soviet Party, the Soviet state and the Soviet people. To subject the leaders of the CPSU to serious criticism for their revisionism and splittism is to defend the Soviet Union. On the other hand, to pursue a revisionist and divisive line, as the leaders of the CPSU are doing, is actually to oppose the Soviet Union; and to copy this wrong line or submit to it is not genuinely to defend the Soviet Union but to help the leaders of the CPSU damage the fundamental interests of the Soviet people.

Here we may recall Lenin's attitude to the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party in the early years of the 20th century. The German Social-Democratic Party was then the biggest and most influential party in the Second International. But as soon as Lenin discovered opportunism among its leaders, he made it clear to the Russian Social-Democrats that they should not take "the least creditable features of German Social-Democracy as a model worthy of imitation".¹ He further stated:

We must criticise the mistakes of the German leaders fearlessly and openly if we wish to be true to the spirit of Marx and help the Russian socialists to be equal to the present-day tasks of the workers' movement.²

In the spirit of Lenin's behest, we would advise the leaders of the CPSU: If you do not correct your revisionist errors, we will continue to criticize you "fearlessly and openly" in the interests of the CPSU, the Soviet state and the Soviet

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart" *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IV, p. 315.

² V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Pamphlet by Voinov (A. V. Lunacharsky) on the Attitude of the Party Towards the Trade Unions", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. XIII, p. 165.

people, and in the interests of the socialist camp and the international communist movement and for the sake of their unity.

REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF SEIZING THE LEADERSHIP

The leaders of the CPSU ascribe our criticisms and our opposition to their revisionist and divisive line to a desire to “seize the leadership”.

First, we would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: You say we want to seize the leadership. From whom? Who now holds the leadership? In the international communist movement, is there such a thing as a leadership which lords it over all fraternal Parties? And is this leadership in your hands?

Apparently, the leaders of the CPSU consider themselves the natural leaders who can lord it over all fraternal Parties. According to their logic, their programme, resolutions and statements are all infallible laws. Every remark and every word of Khrushchov's are imperial edicts, however wrong or absurd they may be. All fraternal Parties must submissively hear and obey and are absolutely forbidden to criticize or oppose them. This is outright tyranny. It is the ideology of feudal autocrats, pure and simple.

However, we must tell the leaders of the CPSU that the international communist movement is not some feudal clique. Whether large or small, whether new or old, and whether in or out of power, all fraternal Parties are independent and equal. No meeting of fraternal Parties and no agreement unanimously adopted by them has ever stipulated that there are superior and subordinate Parties, one Party which leads and other Parties which are led, a Party which is a father and Parties which are sons, or that the leaders of the CPSU are the supreme rulers over other fraternal Parties.

The history of the international proletarian revolutionary movement shows that, owing to the uneven development of

revolution, at a particular historical stage the proletariat and its party in one country or another marched in the van of the movement.

Marx and Engels pointed out that the trade union movement in Britain and the political struggle of the French working class were successively in the van of the international proletarian movement. After the defeat of the Paris Commune, Engels said that “the German workers have for the moment been placed in the vanguard of the proletarian struggle”. He went on to say:

How long events will allow them to occupy this post of honour cannot be foretold. . . . the main point, however, is to safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no patriotic chauvinism to arise, and which joyfully welcomes each new advance of the proletarian movement, no matter from which nation it comes.¹

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Russian working class, standing at the forefront of the international proletarian movement, won victory in the proletarian revolution for the first time in history.

Lenin said in 1919:

Hegemony in the revolutionary proletarian International has passed for the time being — but not for long, it goes without saying — to the Russians, just as at various periods of the nineteenth century it was in the hands of the English, then of the French, then of the Germans.²

The “vanguard” referred to by Engels, or the “hegemony” referred to by Lenin, in no way means that any Party which is in the van of the international working-class movement can order other fraternal Parties about, or that other Parties must

¹ Frederick Engels, “Prefatory Note to *The Peasant War in Germany*”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 591.

² V. I. Lenin, “The Third International and Its Place in History”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 203.

obey it. When the Social-Democratic Party of Germany was in the forefront of the movement, Engels said that “it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat and especially no right to say something false”.¹ When the Russian Bolshevik Party was in the van, Lenin said, “. . . while foreseeing every stage of development in other countries, we must decree nothing from Moscow.”²

Even the vanguard position referred to by Engels and Lenin does not remain unchanged for a long time but shifts according to changing conditions. This shift is decided not by the subjective wishes of any individual or Party, but by the conditions shaped by history. If conditions change, other Parties may come to the van of the movement. When a Party which formerly held the position of vanguard takes the path of revisionism, it is bound to forfeit this position despite the fact that it has been the largest Party and has exerted the greatest influence. The German Social-Democratic Party was a case in point.

At one period in the history of the international communist movement, the Communist International gave centralized leadership to the Communist Parties of the world. It played a great historic role in promoting the establishment and growth of Communist Parties in many countries. But when the Communist Parties matured and the situation of the international communist movement grew more complicated, centralized leadership on the part of the Communist International ceased to be either feasible or necessary. In 1943 the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International stated in a resolution proposing to dissolve the Comintern:

¹ “Engels to A. Bebel, March 18-28, 1875”, *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 354.

² V. I. Lenin, “Report on the Party Program, Delivered at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 159.

. . . to the extent that the internal as well as the international situation of individual countries became more complicated, the solution of the problems of the labour movement of each country through the medium of some international centre would meet with insuperable obstacles.

Events have shown that this resolution corresponded to reality and was correct.

In the present international communist movement, the question of who has the right to lead whom simply does not arise. Fraternal Parties should be independent and completely equal, and at the same time they should be united. On questions of common concern they should reach unanimity of views through consultation, and they should concert their actions in the struggle for the common goal. These principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties are clearly stipulated in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960.

It is a flagrant violation of these principles, as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, for the leaders of the CPSU to consider themselves the leaders of the international communist movement and to treat all fraternal Parties as their subordinates.

Because of their different historical backgrounds, the fraternal Parties naturally find themselves in different situations. Those Parties which have won victory in their revolutions differ from those which have not yet done so, and those which won victory earlier differ from those which did so later. But these differences only mean that the victorious Parties, and in particular the Parties which won victory earlier, have to bear a greater internationalist responsibility in supporting other fraternal Parties, and they have absolutely no right to dominate other fraternal Parties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was built by Lenin and Stalin. It was the first Party to win the victory of the proletarian revolution, realize the dictatorship of the proletariat and engage in socialist construction. It was only

logical that the CPSU should carry forward the revolutionary tradition of Lenin and Stalin, shoulder greater responsibility in supporting other fraternal Parties and countries and stand in the van of the international communist movement.

Taking these historical circumstances into account, the Chinese Communist Party expressed the sincere hope that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would shoulder this glorious historic mission. At the 1957 Moscow Meeting of the fraternal Parties, our delegation emphasized that the socialist camp should have the Soviet Union at its head. The reason was that, although they had committed some mistakes, “the leaders of the CPSU did finally accept the Moscow Declaration which was unanimously adopted by the fraternal Parties. Our proposal that the socialist camp should have the Soviet Union at its head was written into the Declaration.

We hold that the existence of the position of head does not contradict the principle of equality among fraternal Parties. It does not mean that the CPSU has any right to control other Parties; what it means is that the CPSU carries greater responsibility and duties on its shoulders.

However, the leaders of the CPSU have not been satisfied with this position of “head”. Khrushchov complained of it on many occasions. He said, “What does ‘at the head’ give us materially? It gives us neither milk nor butter, neither potatoes nor vegetables nor flats. Perhaps it gives us something morally? Nothing at all!”¹ Later he said, “What is the use of ‘at the head’ for us? To hell with it!”²

The leaders of the CPSU say they have no desire for the position of “head”, but in practice they demand the privilege of lording it over all fraternal Parties. They do not require themselves to stand in the van of the international commu-

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Banquet Given in Honour of the Delegations of the Fraternal Parties of the Socialist Countries, February 4, 1960.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Meeting of the Delegates of Twelve Fraternal Parties in Bucharest, June 24, 1960.

nist movement in pursuing the Marxist-Leninist line and fulfilling their proletarian internationalist duty, but they do require all fraternal Parties to obey their baton and follow them along the path of revisionism and splittism.

By embarking on the path of revisionism and splittism, the leaders of the CPSU automatically forfeited the position of “head” in the international communist movement. If the word “head” is now to be applied to them, it can only mean that they are at the head of the revisionists and splitters.

The question confronting all Communists and the entire international communist movement today is not who is the leader over whom, but whether one should uphold Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism or submit to the revisionism and splittism of the leaders of the CPSU. In spreading the slander that we want to seize the leadership, the leaders of the CPSU are in fact insisting that all fraternal Parties, including our own, must bow to their revisionist and divisive leadership.

REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF FRUSTRATING THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY AND VIOLATING INTERNATIONAL DISCIPLINE

In their attacks on the Chinese Communist Party since 1960, the leaders of the CPSU have most frequently resorted to the charge that we “frustrate the will of the majority” and “violate international discipline”. Let us review our debate with them on this question.

At the Bucharest meeting in June 1960 the leaders of the CPSU made a surprise assault on the Chinese Communist Party by distributing their Letter of Information attacking it and tried to coerce it into submission by lining up a majority. Their attempt did not succeed. But after the meeting they advanced the argument that the minority must submit to the majority in relations among fraternal Parties, and de-

mandated that the CPC should respect the “views and will unanimously expressed” at the Bucharest meeting on the pretext that the delegates of scores of Parties had opposed the views of the CPC.

This erroneous argument was refuted by the Central Committee of the CPC in its Letter of Reply, dated September 10, 1960, to the Letter of Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU. It pointed out:

. . . where the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are concerned, the problem of exactly who is right and who is wrong cannot in every case be judged by who has the majority. After all, truth is truth. Error cannot be turned into truth because of a temporary majority, nor will truth be turned into error because of a temporary minority.

Yet in its letter of November 5, 1960, the Central Committee of the CPSU repeated the fallacy about the minority’s submitting to the majority in the international communist movement. Quoting a passage from Lenin’s article “The Duma ‘Seven’ ”, it accused the CPC, saying that “he who does not wish to respect the opinion of the majority of the fraternal Parties is in essence coming out against the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement”.

At the Moscow Meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1960, the delegation of the CPC once more refuted this fallacy of the leaders of the CPSU. It declared that it is totally wrong to apply the principle of the minority’s submitting to the majority to the relations among fraternal Parties in actual present-day conditions in which centralized leadership such as that of the Comintern neither exists nor is desirable. Within a Party the principle that the minority should submit to the majority and the lower Party organization to the higher one should be observed. But it cannot be applied to relations among fraternal Parties. In their mutual relations, each fraternal Party maintains its independence and at the same

time unites with all the others. Here, the relationship in which the minority should submit to the majority does not exist, and still less so the relationship in which a lower Party organization should submit to a higher one. The only way to deal with problems of common concern to fraternal Parties is to hold discussions and reach unanimous agreement in accordance with the principle of consultation.

The delegation of the CPC pointed out that by advancing the principle that the minority should submit to the majority in its letter, the Central Committee of the CPSU had obviously repudiated the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation. Our delegation asked:

On what supra-Party constitution does the Central Committee of the CPSU base itself in advancing such an organizational principle? When and where did the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries ever adopt such a supra-Party constitution?

The delegation of the CPC then proceeded to expose the ruse of the Central Committee of the CPSU in deliberately omitting the word "Russian" from its citation of a passage dealing with the situation within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party from Lenin's article "The Duma 'Seven'", in order to extend the principle of the minority's submitting to the majority, which is valid within a Party, to the relations among fraternal Parties.

The delegation of the CPC further stated:

. . . even within a Party, where the principle of the minority's submitting to the majority must be observed organizationally, it cannot be said that on questions of ideological understanding truth can always be told from error on the basis of which is the majority and which the minority opinion. It was in this very article, "The Duma 'Seven'", that Lenin severely denounced the despicable action of the seven liquidationists in the Party fraction in

the Duma who took advantage of a majority of one to suppress the Marxists who were in the minority. Lenin pointed out that although the seven liquidationists constituted the majority, they could not possibly represent the united will, united resolutions, united tactics of the majority of the advanced and conscious Russian workers who were organized in a Marxist way, and that therefore all shouts about unity were sheer hypocrisy. "The seven non-Party men want to swallow the six Marxists; and they demand that this should be called 'unity'."¹ He continued that it was precisely these six Marxists in the Party fraction in the Duma who were acting in accordance with the will of the majority of the proletariat, and that unity could be preserved only if those seven delegates "abandon their steam-roller tactics".²

The delegation of the CPC continued that Lenin's words show:

. . . that even within a Party group the majority is not always correct, that on the contrary sometimes the majority have to "renounce the policy of suppression" if unity is to be preserved, and this is particularly the case where relations among fraternal Parties are concerned. The comrades of the Central Committee of the CPSU rashly quoted a passage from Lenin without having fully grasped its meaning. Moreover, they purposely deleted an important word. Even so, they failed in their aim!

We have quoted at length from a speech of the delegation of the CPC at the 1960 Moscow Meeting in order to show that the absurd charge of the leaders of the CPSU that we "frustrate the will of the majority" was completely refuted by

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Duma 'Seven'", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XIX, p. 450.

² V. I. Lenin, "Material on the Conflict Within the Social-Democratic Duma Group", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XIX, p. 470.

us some time ago. It is precisely because the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties persistently opposed this fallacy that the principle of achieving unanimity through consultation among the fraternal Parties was written into the Statement of 1960.

Yet even now the leaders of the CPSU keep on clamouring that “the minority should submit to the majority”. This can only mean that they wish to deny the independent and equal status of all fraternal Parties and to abolish the principle of achieving unanimity through consultation. They are trying to force some fraternal Parties to submit to their will on the pretext of a “majority”, and to use the sham preponderance thus obtained to attack fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties. Their very actions are sectarian and divisive and violate the Declaration and the Statement.

Today, if one speaks of an international discipline binding on all Communist Parties, it can only mean observance of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement. We have cited a great many facts to prove that these principles have been violated by the leaders of the CPSU themselves.

If the CPSU leaders insist on marking off the “majority” from the “minority”, then we would like to tell them quite frankly that we do not recognize their majority. The majority you bank on is a false one. The genuine majority is not on your side. Is it true that the members of fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism are a minority in the international communist movement? You and your followers are profoundly alienated from the masses, so how can the great mass of Party members and people who disapprove of your wrong line be counted as part of your majority?

The fundamental question is: Who stands with the broad masses of the people? Who represents their basic interests? And who reflects their revolutionary will?

In 1916 Lenin said of the situation in the German Social-Democratic Party:

Liebknrecht and Rühle are only two against 108. But these two represent millions, the exploited mass, the overwhelming majority of the population, the future of mankind, the revolution that is mounting and maturing with every passing day. The 108, on the other hand, represent only the servile spirit of a handful of bourgeois flunkies within the proletariat.¹

Today, more than 90 per cent of the world's population desire revolution, including those who are not yet but will eventually become politically conscious. The real majority are the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties and Marxist-Leninists who represent the fundamental interests of the people, and not the handful of revisionists who have betrayed these interests.

REFUTATION OF THE CHARGE OF SUPPORTING THE ANTI-PARTY GROUPS OF FRATERNAL PARTIES

In its Open Letter, the leadership of the CPSU makes the slanderous charge that "the CPC leadership organizes and supports various anti-party breakaway groups, which oppose the Communist parties of the United States, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia and India".

What are the facts?

The fact is, the splits that have occurred in certain Communist Parties in recent years have largely been due to the forcible application by the leaders of the CPSU of their revisionist and divisive line.

The leaders of certain Communist Parties have led the revolutionary movement of their own countries astray and brought serious losses to the revolutionary cause either

¹ V. I. Lenin, "An Open Letter to Boris Souvarine", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XXIII, p. 199.

because they accepted the revisionist line imposed on them by the leaders of the CPSU or because their own revisionist line was encouraged by the leaders of the CPSU. By following the leaders of the CPSU and banging the drum for them in the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement, they adversely affect the unity of the movement. Inevitably this arouses widespread dissatisfaction inside their own Parties and resistance and opposition from the Marxist-Leninists in them.

Aping the leaders of the CPSU, their followers practise a divisive policy inside their own Parties. Violating the principle of democratic centralism, they forbid normal inner-Party discussion of differences concerning the Party line and of major problems confronting the international communist movement. Moreover, they illegitimately ostracize, attack and even expel Communists who adhere to principle. As a result the struggle between the two lines within the Parties inevitably takes on a particularly acute form.

In essence, the struggle within these Communist Parties turns on whether to follow the Marxist-Leninist line or the revisionist line, and whether to make the Communist Party a genuine vanguard of the proletariat and a genuine revolutionary proletarian party or to convert it into a servant of the bourgeoisie and a variant of the Social-Democratic Party.

In the Open Letter, the leaders of the CPSU present a distorted picture of the struggles within the Communist Parties of the United States of America, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia and India. They vilify in the most malicious language those Marxist-Leninists who have been attacked and ostracized by the revisionist groups in their own Parties.

Is it possible for the leaders of the CPSU to conceal or alter the truth about the struggles within these Communist Parties by calling white black and black white? No. They certainly cannot!

Take for example the inner-Party struggle in the Belgian Communist Party.

Differences have existed inside the Belgian Communist Party for a long time. The struggle within the Party has become increasingly acute as the original leading group has sunk deeper and deeper into the quagmire of revisionism and abandoned Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

During the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary, the revisionist group in the Belgian Communist Party went so far as to issue a statement condemning the Soviet Union for helping the Hungarian working people to put down the rebellion.

This revisionist group opposed the Congolese people's armed resistance to the bloody repression of the Belgian colonialists and supported the U.S. imperialists' utilization of the United Nations to interfere in and suppress the movement for national independence in the Congo. It shamelessly prided itself on being the first to appeal to the United Nations, "desiring the rapid and integral application of the U.N. decisions".¹

It praised the Tito clique's revisionist programme, saying that it "contains ideas which enrich Marxism-Leninism".²

It denigrated the 1960 Statement, saying that its contents were all mixed up and that "in every twenty lines there is a phrase contradicting the general line of the Statement".³

During the great strike of the Belgian workers towards the end of 1960 and at the beginning of 1961, this revisionist group undermined the workers' will to fight by denouncing their resistance to suppression by the police and gendarmes as "rash and irresponsible actions".⁴

¹ Ernest Burnelle, Interview with a Correspondent of *l'Humanite* on the Congolese Question, *Le Drapeau Rouge* (organ of the Belgian Communist Party), July 26, 1960.

² "The Belgian Communist Party and the Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia", *Le Drapeau Rouge*, April 22, 1958.

³ Jean Blume, Speech at the Federal Congress of Brussels, on December 3, 1961, cited by Jacques Grippa in "For the Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Party and for the Marxist-Leninist Unity of the International Communist Movement", *Le Drapeau Rouge*, February 22, 1962.

⁴ Jean Blume, "For a Complete and Quick Victory: Two Communist Proposals", *Le Drapeau Rouge*, December 29, 1960.

In the face of these betrayals of the interests of the Belgian working class and the international proletariat, it is only natural that Belgian Marxist-Leninists headed by Comrade Jacques Grippa earnestly struggled against this revisionist group. They have exposed and repudiated the errors of the revisionist group inside the Party and have firmly resisted and opposed its revisionist line.

Thus it is clear that the struggle inside the Belgian Communist Party is a struggle between the Marxist-Leninist and the revisionist line.

How has the revisionist group in the Belgian Communist Party handled this inner-Party struggle? They have pursued a sectarian and divisive policy and used illegitimate means to attack and ostracize those Communists who have persevered in a principled Marxist-Leninist stand. At the 14th Congress of the Belgian Communist Party they refused to allow Jacques Grippa and other comrades to speak and, disregarding the widespread opposition of the membership, illegitimately declared them expelled from the Party.

It is in these circumstances that Belgian Marxist-Leninists headed by Comrade Jacques Grippa, upholding the revolutionary line, have firmly combated the revisionist and divisive line pursued by the original leading group and fought to rebuild the Belgian Communist Party. Are not their actions absolutely correct and above reproach?

In openly supporting the revisionist group in the Belgian Party and encouraging it to attack and ostracize Belgian Marxist-Leninists, the leaders of the CPSU have simply exposed themselves as creators of splits in fraternal Parties.

As for the Indian Communist Party, its situation is even graver.

On the basis of a wealth of facts, we pointed out in "A Mirror for Revisionists", published by the editorial department of *Renmin Ribao* on March 9, 1963, that the renegade clique headed by Dange had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, betrayed the rev-

olutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and people and embarked on the road of national chauvinism and class capitulationism. This clique has usurped the leadership of the Indian Communist Party and, conforming to the will of the Indian capitalists and landlords, has been transforming the Party into a lackey of the Nehru government which represents their interests.

What has happened to the Indian Communist Party since then?

Now everybody can see that the Dange clique is still travelling on the road of betrayal. It is still advocating class collaboration and the realization of socialism in India through the Nehru government. It actively supported the Nehru government's huge budget providing for arms expansion and war preparation, and its measures for fleecing the people. In August 1963 it sabotaged the great strike of one million people in Bombay against the Nehru government's ruthless taxation policy. It tried to obstruct the holding of a mass rally in Calcutta demanding the release of the imprisoned Communists, in which 100,000 people participated. It is continuing its frenzied anti-Chinese activities and supporting the Nehru government's expansionist policy. It is following the Nehru government's policy of hiring itself out to U.S. imperialism.

As their renegade features are revealed, Dange and company meet increasing opposition and resistance from the broad rank and file of the Indian Communist Party. More and more Indian Communists have come to see clearly that Dange and company are the bane of the Indian Communist Party and the Indian nation. They are now struggling to rehabilitate the Party's glorious and militant revolutionary tradition. They are the genuine representatives and the hope of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people.

The leaders of the CPSU clamour about the Chinese Communist Party's support of "defectors" and "renegades", but is they themselves who support such out-and-out defectors and renegades as Dance and company.

The leaders of the CPSU denounce Communists in many countries who dare to combat revisionism and splittism as “defectors”, “renegades” and “anti-party elements”. But what have these Communists done? Nothing except to adhere to Marxism-Leninism and insist on a revolutionary party and a revolutionary line. Do the leaders of the CPSU really think that their abuse can cow these Marxist-Leninists, make them abandon their struggle for the correct and against the wrong line, and prevent them from carrying it through to the end? This wishful thinking can never be transformed into reality.

Everywhere and at all times, true revolutionaries, true proletarian revolutionary fighters, true Marxist-Leninists (militant materialists), are dauntless people; they are not afraid of the abuse of the reactionaries and revisionists. For they know it is not such seemingly formidable giants as the reactionaries and revisionists, but “nobodies” like themselves who represent the future. All great men were once nobodies. Provided that they possess the truth and enjoy the support of the masses, those who are seemingly insignificant at first are sure to be victorious in the end. This was true of Lenin and of the Third International. On the other hand, the celebrities and the big battalions inevitably dwindle, decline and putrefy when they lose possession of the truth and therefore lose the support of the masses. This was the case with Bernstein, Kautsky and the Second International. Everything tends to change into its opposite in particular conditions.

Communists are makers of revolution. If they refuse to make revolutions, they cease to be Marxist-Leninists and become revisionists and such-like. As Marxist-Leninists, Communists by their very nature should adhere to their revolutionary stand and oppose revisionism. Similarly, a Marxist-Leninist Party should as a matter of course give firm support to revolutionaries and to Communists who oppose revisionism.

The Chinese Communist Party has never concealed its position. We support all revolutionary comrades who adhere

to Marxism-Leninism. In the international communist movement, we have contacts with revisionists; why then can we not have contacts with Marxist-Leninists? The leaders of the CPSU describe our support for Marxist-Leninists in other countries as a divisive act. In our opinion, it is simply a proletarian internationalist obligation which it is our duty to discharge.

Fearing no difficulty or tyranny, upholding truth and daring to struggle, Marxist-Leninists in all countries have demonstrated the great revolutionary spirit of communist fighters. Among such heroic fighters are the Belgian Communists represented by Jacques Grippa and other comrades, the Brazilian Communists represented by João Amazonas, Mauricio Graboïs and other comrades, the Australian Communists represented by E. F. Hill and other comrades, the Ceylonese Communists represented by Premalal Kumarasiri, Nagalingam Sanmugathan and other comrades, and the many Marxist-Leninists both inside and outside the Indian, Italian, French, U.S. and other Communist Parties. They have made important contributions to the common world proletarian cause by upholding the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, by working persistently to build revolutionary vanguard parties of the proletariat armed with Marxist-Leninist principles, and by persevering in the revolutionary line that conforms with the fundamental interests of the proletariat and other working people of their own countries. They deserve the respect, sympathy and support of all people fighting for the victory of communism throughout the world.

In short, whatever the country or place, where one finds oppression, there one finds resistance; where one finds revisionists, there one finds Marxist-Leninists fighting them, and where one finds expulsion of Marxist-Leninists from the Party and other divisive measures, there outstanding Marxist-Leninists and strong revolutionary parties inevitably emerge. Changes contrary to the expectations of the modern revision-

ists are taking place. The revisionists are producing their own opposites and will eventually be buried by them. This is an inexorable law.

THE PRESENT PUBLIC DEBATE

In the last analysis, the present great debate in the international communist movement centres on whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to revisionism, whether to adhere to proletarian internationalism or to great-power chauvinism and whether to desire unity or a split. This dispute over fundamental principles began long ago, following the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It went on in private talks between fraternal Parties for a considerable time until it came into the open a little more than two years ago.

As everybody knows, the leaders of the CPSU first provoked and insisted on the open polemics in the international communist movement.

At their 22nd Congress in October 1961, they made public attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour. In his address at that Congress, Comrade Chou En-lai, the head of the Chinese Communist Party delegation, took exception to this action by the leaders of the CPSU, pointing out that it could not be regarded as representing a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude. What was the answer of the Soviet Party leaders? They declared that they were “absolutely correct”¹ and were taking “the only correct and genuinely Marxist-Leninist position of principle”² in starting the open polemics.

Then, in January 1962, the Viet Nam Workers’ Party suggested that “mutual attacks on the radio and in the press

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Concluding Speech at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, October 27, 1961, *Documents of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, p. 334.

² “The Banner of Our Epoch”, editorial board article in *Pravda*, February 21, 1962.

should be stopped by the Parties". This suggestion was supported by the Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian Party of Labour and other fraternal Parties. But in effect the leaders of the CPSU refused to make a definite commitment to halt public polemics. Far from stopping their open attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, they proceeded to engineer open attacks on the Chinese Communist Party too at the successive Congresses of five fraternal Parties in Europe in late 1962 and early 1963, and so launched another round of open polemics on an even wider scale. This gave us no choice but to make public replies to the attackers.

Although we had not yet answered all the attacks by fraternal Parties, in its reply to the Central Committee of the CPSU in March 1963 the Central Committee of our Party stated that in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the scheduled talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties we would temporarily suspend public replies in the press from March 9, without prejudice to our rights. But on the eve of the talks the leaders of the CPSU took the further step of openly attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name in their Party statements and resolutions.

On July 14, in the midst of the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Party delegations in Moscow, the Central Committee of the CPSU published its Open Letter to Party organizations and all Communists in the Soviet Union, in which it distorted the facts, confused right and wrong, and blatantly and demagogically attacked and abused the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Thus, the leaders of the CPSU took yet a further step and provoked open polemics on a still larger scale.

From July 15, 1963 onward, the leaders of the CPSU slandered and attacked China as their Enemy No. 1, using all the media at their disposal, such as government statements, speeches by leaders, meetings and articles, and setting in motion all their propaganda machinery, from the central and local press to the radio and television stations. Between July

15 and October 31, their twenty-six central newspapers and journals alone published 1,119 articles by editorial boards, editorials, commentaries, signed articles, readers' letters and cartoons, in which the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders, Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and other comrades, were assailed by name. Incomplete figures based on the study of the 15 organs of the Union Republics showed that at least 728 similar anti-Chinese articles and items appeared in the Soviet local press in the same period.

We have published the most important anti-Chinese material including the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which we printed in full twice and broadcast to the whole world in more than a dozen foreign languages in order to acquaint those interested in this open debate with the views of the leaders of the CPSU. We have not printed every one of the Soviet articles attacking China simply because they are so numerous and in most cases repeat each other, and because our press has limited space. Our publishing houses have collected all these articles and will print them in book form.

The Soviet side has already put out nearly two thousand anti-Chinese articles and other items. In accordance with the principle of equality among all fraternal Parties, the Chinese side has the right to publish a commensurate number of replies.

As the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU touches upon many questions involving a series of fundamental theoretical issues in Marxism-Leninism as well as many major events of the past seven or eight years in the international communist movement, the Editorial Departments of our *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*, after careful study, started the series of comments that began on September 6, 1963. Up to now, we have published only seven comments on this Open Letter, including the present one.

We have not yet concluded our comments. As for the vast number of anti-Chinese articles published by the central or

local press of the Soviet Union, we have not even begun to reply to them.

In his answers to newspapermen on October 25, 1963, Khrushchov called for a cessation of the public debate. Subsequently, however, the Soviet press continued to publish articles attacking China.

Recently, the leaders of the CPSU again proposed a halt to the public debate which they said had “done enormous harm to the communist movement”. Yet in the past they said that public polemics were “in the interests of the whole world communist movement”¹ and “the only correct and genuinely Marxist-Leninist position of principle”.² We would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: What sort of games are you playing, saying one thing at one time and another thing at another?

We would also like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Is it in accord with the principle of equality among fraternal Parties for you to ask us to be silent after publishing less than ten articles in reply to your two thousand articles and other items attacking China, and when we have not yet even completed our reply to your Open Letter? Is it in accord with the principles of democratic discussion for you to become impatient and intolerant and to refuse to listen when we have said only a little while you have talked so much and for so long?

Again, we would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Was it not an outright threat and intimidation when you brazenly declared in the Soviet Government statement of September 21, 1963 that if the Chinese continued the polemics, “they must clearly realize that the most resolute rebuff from the CPSU and the Soviet people awaits them on this road”? Do you really believe that other people are bound docilely to obey your orders and tremble at your roar? To be frank, ever since

¹ “Toward New Victories of Communism”, editorial board article in *Kommunist*, No. 16, 1961.

² “The Banner of Our Epoch”, editorial board article in *Pravda*, February 21, 1962.

September 21 we have been eagerly waiting to see what “the most resolute rebuff” would be.

Comrades and friends! You are mistaken, completely mistaken.

Now that the public debate is on, it must proceed according to rule. If you think you have said enough, you should allow the other side ample chance to reply. If you think you still have a lot to say, please say it all. But when you do so, let the other side have his full say as well. In a word, there should be equal rights. Have not you, too, said that fraternal Parties are equal? Why then do you insist that you may start public polemics whenever you want to attack fraternal Parties and at the same time deprive the Parties so attacked of their right to make public replies whenever you choose to stop the polemics?

The leaders of the CPSU unscrupulously provoked, extended and insisted on the open polemics, but now they have begun to clamour for their cessation. What is behind all this?

Apparently, things have not developed according to the expectations of the launchers of these polemics. The public debate, which the leaders of the CPSU at first thought would be to their advantage, is developing in a way contrary to their wishes. Truth is not on the side of the leaders of the CPSU, and therefore in their attacks on others they can only depend on lies, slanders, distortion of the facts and confusion of right and wrong. When argument develops and it becomes necessary to produce facts and reason things out, they find the ground slipping from under their feet and take fright.

Lenin once said that for revisionists “there is nothing more disagreeable, undesirable, unacceptable than the elucidation of the prevailing theoretical, programmatic, tactical and organizational differences”.¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Once More About the International Socialist Bureau and the Liquidators”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., SPPL, Moscow, 1948, Vol. XX, p. 37.

This is precisely the situation in which the leaders of the CPSU now find themselves.

The stand of the Chinese Communist Party on public polemics is known to all. From the very beginning, we have held that differences among fraternal Parties should be resolved through private consultations. The public polemics were neither provoked nor desired by us.

However, since the public debate is already on and since the leaders of the CPSU have said that to conduct it is to "act in Lenin's manner",¹ it must be conducted on the basis of democratic discussion by adducing facts and by reasoning until everything is thrashed out.

More important still, since the leaders of the CPSU have openly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and torn up the Declaration and the Statement, they cannot expect us to refrain from defending Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. Since the debate concerns major issues of principle in the international communist movement, they must be thoroughly thrashed out. This, too, represents a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude.

The essence of the matter is that the existing differences in the international communist movement are between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and between proletarian internationalism and great-power chauvinism. These major differences of principle cannot be solved in a fundamental way by a cessation of the public debate. On the contrary, only through public debate, setting forth the facts and reasoning things out will it be possible to clarify matters, distinguish right from wrong and safeguard and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Marxism-Leninism is a science, and science fears no debate. Anything which fears debate is no science. The present great

¹ "The Historic Congress of the Leninist Party", *Pravda* editorial, November 4, 1961.

debate in the international communist movement is impelling Communists, revolutionists and revolutionary people in all countries to use their brains and ponder over problems concerning the revolution in their own countries and the world revolution in accordance with the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism. Through this great debate, people will be able to distinguish between right and wrong and between real and sham Marxism-Leninism. Through this great debate, all the revolutionary forces in the world will be mobilized, and all Marxist-Leninists will be tempered ideologically and politically and will be able to integrate Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice in their own countries in a more mature way. Thus, Marxism-Leninism will undoubtedly be further enriched, developed and raised to new heights.

THE WAY TO DEFEND AND STRENGTHEN UNITY

The revisionism and great-power chauvinism of the leaders of the CPSU are an unprecedented menace to the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. By taking a revisionist and great-power chauvinist position, the leaders of the CPSU are standing for a split. So long as they maintain such a position, they are in fact working for sham unity and a real split no matter how volubly they may talk of “unity” and abuse others as “splitters” and “sectarians” .

The Chinese Communist Party, other Marxist-Leninist Parties and all Marxist-Leninists persevere in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This position is the only correct one for defending and strengthening the genuine unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism constitute the basis of that unity. Only on this basis can the unity of fraternal Parties and countries be built. Such unity

will be out of the question if one departs from this basis. To fight for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is to work for the unity of the international communist movement. Persevering in principle and upholding unity are inextricably bound together.

If the leaders of the CPSU genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should loyally abide by the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and by the Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning classes and class struggle, the state and revolution, and especially proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is absolutely impermissible for them to substitute class collaboration or class capitulation for class struggle, and social reformism or social pacifism for proletarian revolution, or abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat no matter under what pretext.

If the leaders of the CPSU genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should strictly abide by the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It is absolutely impermissible for them to substitute their own Party programme for the common programme which was unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties.

If the leaders of the CPSU genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should draw a sharp line of demarcation between enemies and comrades and should unite with all socialist countries, all fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties, the proletariat of the whole world, all oppressed people and nations and all peace-loving countries and people in order to oppose U.S. imperialism, the arch-enemy of the people of the world, and its lackeys. It is absolutely impermissible for them to treat enemies as friends and friends as enemies, and to ally themselves with the U.S. imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the renegade Tito clique against fraternal countries and Parties and all revolutionary people, in the vain pursuit of world domination through U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

If the leaders of the CPSU genuinely want unity and are not just pretending, they should be faithful to proletarian internationalism and strictly abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries and Parties, as laid down in the Declaration and the Statement. It is absolutely impermissible for them to replace these principles with policies of great-power chauvinism and national egoism. In other words, they should:

Observe the principle of solidarity and never line up a number of fraternal Parties to attack other fraternal Parties and engage in sectarian and divisive activities;

Adhere to the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance and never try to control others in the name of assistance or, on the pretext of the “international division of labour”, impair the sovereignty and interests of fraternal countries and oppose their building socialism through self-reliance;

Observe the principle of independence and equality and never place themselves above other fraternal Parties or impose their own Party’s programme, line and resolutions on others; never interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal Parties and carry out subversive activities under the pretext of “combating the personality cult”; and never treat fraternal Parties as their property and fraternal countries as their dependencies;

Follow the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation and never force through their own Party’s wrong line in the name of the so-called majority or use the Congresses of their own Party or of other Parties and such forms as resolutions, statements and leaders’ speeches for public and explicit attacks on other fraternal Parties, and certainly never extend ideological differences to state relations.

In short, if the leaders of the CPSU genuinely desire the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist

movement, they must make a clean break with their line of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism. The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement can be safeguarded and strengthened only by remaining loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and by opposing modern revisionism and modern dogmatism, great-power chauvinism and other forms of bourgeois nationalism, and sectarianism and splittism, and by doing so not merely in words but in deeds. This is the sole way to defend and strengthen unity.

Taken as a whole, the present world situation is most favourable. The international communist movement has already gained brilliant victories, bringing about a fundamental change in the international balance of class forces. At present the international communist movement is being assailed by an adverse current of revisionism and splittism; this phenomenon is not inconsistent with the law of historical development. Even though it creates temporary difficulties for the international communist movement and some fraternal Parties, it is a good thing that the revisionists have revealed their true features and that a struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism has ensued.

Without any doubt, Marxism-Leninism will continue to demonstrate its youthful vitality and will sweep the whole world; the international communist movement will grow stronger and more united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; and the cause of the international proletariat and the world people's revolution will win still more brilliant victories. Modern revisionism will undoubtedly go bankrupt.

We would like to advise the leaders of the CPSU to think matters over calmly: what will your clinging to revisionism and splittism lead to? Once again, we would like to make a sincere appeal to the leaders of the CPSU: We hope you will be able to return to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and to the principles

guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries as laid down in these documents, so that the differences will be eliminated and the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp and unity between China and the Soviet Union will be strengthened on these principled bases.

Despite our serious differences with the leaders of the CPSU, we have full confidence in the vast membership of the CPSU and in the Soviet people, who grew up under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin. As always, the Communists and the people of China will unswervingly safeguard the unity between China and the Soviet Union, and consolidate and develop the deep-rooted friendship between our two peoples.

Communists of the world, unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!

**THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION
AND
KHRUSHCHOV'S REVISIONISM**

**Eighth Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(March 31, 1964)

THE present article will discuss the familiar question of “peaceful transition”. It has become familiar and has everybody’s attention because Khrushchov raised it at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and rounded it into a complete system in the form of a programme at the 22nd Congress, where he pitted his revisionist views against the Marxist-Leninist views. The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU of July 14, 1963 once again struck up this old tune.

In the history of the international communist movement the betrayal of Marxism and of the proletariat by the revisionists has always manifested itself most sharply in their opposition to violent revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat and in their advocacy of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. This is likewise the case with Khrushchov’s revisionism. On this question, Khrushchov is a disciple of Browder and Tito as well as of Bernstein and Kautsky.

Since the days of World War II, we have witnessed the emergence of Browderite revisionism, Titoite revisionism and the theory of structural reform. These varieties of revisionism are local phenomena in the international communist movement. But Khrushchov’s revisionism, which has emerged and gained ascendancy in the leadership of the CPSU, constitutes a major question of overall significance for the international communist movement with a vital bearing on the success or failure of the entire revolutionary cause of the international proletariat.

For this reason, in the present article we are replying to the revisionists in more explicit terms than before.

A DISCIPLE OF BERNSTEIN AND KAUTSKY

Beginning with the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchov put forward the road of "peaceful transition", *i.e.*, "transition to socialism by the parliamentary road",¹ which is diametrically opposed to the road of the October Revolution.

Let us examine the "parliamentary road" peddled by Khrushchov and his like.

Khrushchov holds that the proletariat can win a stable majority in parliament under the bourgeois dictatorship and under bourgeois electoral laws. He says that in the capitalist countries "the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to capture a stable majority in parliament".²

Khrushchov maintains that if the proletariat can win a majority in parliament, this in itself will amount to the seizure of state power and the smashing of the bourgeois state machinery. He says that for the working class "to win a majority in parliament and transform it into an organ of the people's power, given a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means smashing the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and setting up a new, proletarian people's state in parliamentary form".³

Khrushchov holds that if the proletariat can win a stable majority in parliament, this in itself will enable it to realize

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, February 1956.

² *Ibid.*

³ N. S. Khrushchov, "For New Victories for the World Communist Movement" (a speech delivered at a meeting of the Party organisations in the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Central Committee of the CPSU, on January 6, 1961), *World Marxist Review*, No. 1, 1961, p. 22.

the socialist transformation of society. He says that the winning of a stable parliamentary majority “could create for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes”.¹ Also,

. . . the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people.²

The Programme of the CPSU maintains that “the working class of many countries can, even before capitalism is overthrown, compel the bourgeoisie to carry out measures that transcend ordinary reforms”.³ The Programme even states that under the bourgeois dictatorship it is possible for a situation to emerge in certain countries, in which “it will be preferable for the bourgeoisie . . . to agree to the basic means of production being purchased from it”.⁴

The stuff Khrushchov is touting is nothing original but is simply a reproduction of the revisionism of the Second International, a revival of Bernsteinism and Kautskyism.

The main distinguishing marks of Bernstein’s betrayal of Marxism were his advocacy of the legal parliamentary road and his opposition to violent revolution, the smashing of the old state machinery and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bernstein held that capitalism could “grow into socialism” peacefully. He said that the political system of modern bourgeois society “should not be destroyed but should only

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU, February 1956.

² *Ibid.*

³ “Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union”, *Documents of 22nd Congress of the CPSU*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1961, p. 482.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

be further developed”,¹ and that “we are now bringing about by voting, demonstrations and similar means of pressure reforms which would have required bloody revolution a hundred years ago”.²

He held that the legal parliamentary road was the only way to bring about socialism. He said that if the working class has “universal and equal suffrage, the social principle which is the basic condition for emancipation is attained”.³

He asserted that “the day will come when it [the working class] will have become numerically so strong and will be so important for the whole of society that so to speak the palace of the rulers will no longer be able to withstand its pressure and will collapse semi-spontaneously”.⁴

Lenin said:

The Bernsteinians accepted and accept Marxism *minus* its directly revolutionary aspect. They do not regard the parliamentary struggle as one of the weapons particularly suitable for definite historical periods, but as the main and almost the sole form of struggle making “force”, “seizure”, “dictatorship”, unnecessary.⁵

Herr Kautsky was a fitting successor to Bernstein. Like Bernstein, he actively publicized the parliamentary road and opposed violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said that under the bourgeois democratic system there is “no more room for armed struggle for the settlement of class conflicts”⁶ and that “it would be ridiculous . . . to

¹ Eduard Bernstein, *The Prerequisites for Socialism and the Tasks of the Social-Democratic Party*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1923, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 197.

³ Eduard Bernstein, *What Is Socialism?* Ger. ed., Berlin, 1922, p. 28.

⁴ Eduard Bernstein, *The Political Mass Strike and the Political Situation of the Social-Democratic Party in Germany*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1905, p. 37.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, “The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers’ Party”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, p. 249.

⁶ Karl Kautsky, *The Materialist Interpretation of History*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1927, pp. 431-32.

preach a violent political overthrow".¹ He attacked Lenin and the Bolshevik Party by comparing them to "an impatient midwife who uses violence to make a pregnant woman give birth in the fifth month instead of the ninth".²

Kautsky was hopelessly afflicted with parliamentary cretinism. He made the well-known statement:

The aim of our political struggle remains, as hitherto, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament and by converting parliament into the master of the government.³

He also said:

The parliamentary republic — with a monarchy at the top on the English model, or without — is to my mind the base out of which proletarian dictatorship and socialist society grow. This republic is the "state of the future" toward which we must strive.⁴

Lenin severely criticized these absurd statements of Kautsky's.

In denouncing Kautsky, Lenin declared:

Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must win the majority in elections carried out *under the yoke of the bourgeoisie*, under *the yoke of wage-slavery*, and that it should win power afterwards. This is the height of folly or hypocrisy; it is substituting voting, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution.⁵

¹ Karl Kautsky, *Social Democracy Versus Communism*, Eng. ed., Rand School Press, New York, 1946, p. 117.

² Karl Kautsky, *The Proletarian Revolution and Its Programme*, Ger. ed., Berlin, 1922, p. 90.

³ Karl Kautsky, "New Tactics", *Die Neue Zeit*, No. 46, 1912.

⁴ Karl Kautsky, Letter to Franz Mehring, July 15, 1893.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, "Greetings to the Italian, French and German Communists", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXX, p. 40.

Lenin made the pointed comment that Kautsky's parliamentary road "is nothing but the purest and the most vulgar opportunism: repudiating revolution in deeds, while accepting it in word".¹ He said:

By so "interpreting" the concept "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" as to expunge the revolutionary violence of the oppressed class against its oppressors, Kautsky beat the world record in the liberal distortion of Marx.²

Here, we have quoted Khrushchov as well as Bernstein and Kautsky and Lenin's criticism of these two worthies at some length in order to show that Khrushchov's revisionism is modern Bernsteinism and Kautskyism, pure and simple. As with Bernstein and Kautsky, Khrushchov's betrayal of Marxism is most sharply manifested in his opposition to revolutionary violence, in what he does "to expunge revolutionary violence". In this respect, Kautsky and Bernstein have now clearly lost their title to Khrushchov who has set a new world record. Khrushchov, the worthy disciple of Bernstein and Kautsky, has excelled his masters.

VIOLENT REVOLUTION IS A UNIVERSAL LAW OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The entire history of the working-class movement tells us that the acknowledgement or non-acknowledgement of violent revolution as a universal law of proletarian revolution, of the necessity of smashing the old state machine, and of the necessity of replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 323.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 47-48.

dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the watershed between Marxism and all brands of opportunism and revisionism, between proletarian revolutionaries and all renegades from the proletariat.

According to the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the key question in every revolution is that of state power. And the key question in the proletarian revolution is that of the seizure of state power and the smashing of the bourgeois state machine by violence, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the replacement of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state.

Marxism has always proclaimed the inevitability of violent revolution. It points out that violent revolution is the midwife to socialist society, the only road to the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a universal law of proletarian revolution.

Marxism teaches us that the state itself is a form of violence. The main components of the state machine are the army and the police. History shows that all ruling classes depend upon violence to maintain their rule.

The proletariat would, of course, prefer to gain power by peaceful means. But abundant historical evidence indicates that the reactionary classes never give up power voluntarily and that they are always the first to use violence to repress the revolutionary mass movement and to provoke civil war, thus placing armed struggle on the agenda.

Lenin has spoken of “civil war, without which not a single great revolution in history has yet been able to get along, and without which not a single serious Marxist has conceived of the transition from capitalism to socialism”.¹

The great revolutions in history referred to by Lenin include the bourgeois revolution. The bourgeois revolution is one in which one exploiting class overthrows another, and yet it cannot be made without a civil war. Still more is this

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Prophetic Words”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXVII, p. 457.

the case with the proletarian revolution, which is a revolution to abolish all exploiting classes and systems.

Regarding the fact that violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that “between capitalism and socialism there lies a long period of ‘birth pains’ — that violence is always the midwife of the old society”,¹ that the bourgeois state “cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of ‘withering away,’ but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution”,² and that “the necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with *this* and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of *all* the teachings of Marx and Engels”.³

Stalin, too, said that a violent revolution of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is “an inevitable and indispensable condition for the advance towards socialism” in all countries ruled by capital.⁴

Can a radical transformation of the bourgeois order be achieved without violent revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat? Stalin answered:

Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the rule of the bourgeoisie, means that one has either gone out of one’s mind and lost normal human understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the proletarian revolution.⁵

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Those Who Are Terrified by the Collapse of the Old and Those Who Fight for the New”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXVI, p. 362.

² V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 219.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁴ J. V. Stalin, “Reply to the Discussion on the Report on ‘The Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party’”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VIII, p. 323.

⁵ J. V. Stalin, “Concerning Questions of Leninism”, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VIII, p. 25.

Basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory of violent revolution and the new experience of the proletarian revolution and the people's democratic revolution led by the proletariat, Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the celebrated dictum that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

. . . revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and that without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.¹

He stated:

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.²

He stated further:

Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.³

To sum up, violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution. This is a fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism. It is on this most important question that Khru hchov betrays Marxism-Leninism.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1964, Vol. I, p. 344.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of War and Strategy", *Selected Military Writings*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1963, p. 267.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST KHRUSHCHOV'S REVISIONISM

When Khrushchov first put forward the “parliamentary road” at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Chinese Communist Party considered it a gross error, a violation of the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism, and absolutely unacceptable.

As Khrushchov's revisionism was still in its incipient stage and the leaders of the CPSU had not as yet provoked open polemics, we refrained for a time from publicly exposing or criticizing Khrushchov's error of the “parliamentary road”. But, as against his erroneous proposition, we stated the Marxist-Leninist view in a positive form in our documents and articles. At the same time we waged the appropriate and necessary struggle against it at inter-Party talks and meetings among the fraternal Parties.

Summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution, we clearly stated in the political report of our Central Committee to the Eighth National Congress of our Party in September 1956:

While our Party was working for peaceful change, it did not allow itself to be put off its guard or to give up the peoples arms. . . .

Unlike the reactionaries, the people are not warlike. . . . But when the people were compelled to take up arms, they were completely justified in doing so. To have opposed the people's taking up arms and to have asked them to submit to the attacking enemy would have been to follow an opportunist line. Here, the question of following a revolutionary line or an opportunist line became the major issue of whether our 600 million people should or should not capture political power when conditions were ripe. Our Party followed the revolutionary line and today we have the People's Republic of China.

On this question, the Marxist-Leninist view of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC is opposed to the revisionist view of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

In December 1956 we explained the road of the October Revolution in a positive way in the article "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", thus in fact criticizing the so-called parliamentary road which Khrushchov set against the road of the October Revolution.

In many private talks with the leaders of the CPSU, the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the CPC made serious criticisms of Khrushchov's erroneous views. We hoped in all sincerity that he would correct his mistakes.

At the time of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957, the delegation of the CPC engaged in a sharp debate with the delegation of the CPSU on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

In the first draft for the Declaration which it proposed during the preparations for the Moscow meeting, the Central Committee of the CPSU referred only to the possibility of peaceful transition and said nothing about the possibility of non-peaceful transition; it referred only to the parliamentary road and said nothing about other means of struggle, and at the same time pinned hopes for the winning of state power through the parliamentary road on "the concerted actions of Communists and socialists". Naturally the Central Committee of the CPC could not agree to these wrong views, which depart from Marxism-Leninism, being written into the programmatic document of all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

After the delegation of the CPC made its criticisms, the Central Committee of the CPSU produced a second draft for the Declaration. Although phrases about the possibility of non-peaceful transition were added, the formulation of the question of peaceful transition in this draft still reflected the revisionist views put forward by Khrushchov at the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

The delegation of the CPC expressed its disagreement with these erroneous views in clear terms. On November 10, 1957 it systematically explained its own views on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism to the Central Committee of the CPSU, to which it also presented a written outline.

The main points made in our written outline are summarized below.

It is advantageous from the point of view of tactics to refer to the desire for peaceful transition, but it would be inappropriate to over-emphasize the possibility of peaceful transition. It is necessary to be prepared at all times to repulse counter-revolutionary attacks and, at the critical juncture of the revolution when the working class is seizing state power, to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force if it uses armed force to suppress the people's revolution (generally speaking, it is inevitable that the bourgeoisie will do so).

The parliamentary form of struggle must be fully utilized, but its role is limited. What is most important is to proceed with the hard work of accumulating revolutionary strength; peaceful transition should not be interpreted in such a way as solely to mean transition through a parliamentary majority. The main question is that of the state machinery, namely, the smashing of the old state machinery (chiefly the armed forces) and the establishment of the new state machinery (chiefly the armed forces).

The social democratic parties are not parties of socialism; with the exception of certain Left wings, they are a variant of bourgeois political parties. On the question of socialist revolution, our position is fundamentally different from that of the social democratic parties. This distinction must not be obscured.

These views of ours are in full accord with Marxism-Leninism.

The comrades of the delegation of the Central Committee of the CPSU were unable to argue against them, but they repeatedly asked us to make allowances for their internal needs, expressing the hope that the formulation of this question in the draft Declaration might show some connection with its formulation by the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

We had refuted the wrong views of the leadership of the CPSU and put forward a written outline of our own views. For this reason and for the sake of the common struggle against the enemy, the delegation of the CPC decided to meet the repeated wishes of the comrades of the CPSU and agreed to take the draft of the Central Committee of the CPSU on this question as the basis, while suggesting amendments in only a few places.

We hoped that through this debate the comrades of the CPSU would awaken to their errors and correct them. But contrary to our hopes, the leaders of the CPSU did not do so.

At the meeting of fraternal Parties in 1960, the delegation of the CPC again engaged in repeated sharp debates with the delegation of the CPSU on the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and thoroughly exposed and criticized Khrushchov's revisionist views. During the meeting, the Chinese and the Soviet sides each adhered to its own position, and no agreement could be reached. In view of the general wish of fraternal Parties that a common document should be hammered out at the meeting, the delegation of the CPC finally made a concession on this question again and agreed to the verbatim transcription of the relevant passages in the 1957 Declaration into the 1960 Statement, again out of consideration for the needs of the leaders of the CPSU. At the same time, during this meeting we distributed the Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition put forward by the Chinese Communist Party on November 10, 1957, and made it clear that we were giving consideration to the leadership of the CPSU on this issue for the last time, and would not do so again.

If comrades now make the criticism that we were wrong in giving this consideration to the leaders of the CPSU, we are quite ready to accept this criticism.

As the formulation of the question of peaceful transition in the Declaration and the Statement was based on the drafts of the CPSU and in some places retained the formulation by its 20th Congress, there are serious weaknesses and errors in the overall presentation, even though a certain amount of patching up was done. While indicating that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily, the formulation in the two documents also asserts that state power can be won in a number of capitalist countries without civil war; while stating that extra-parliamentary mass struggle should be waged to smash the resistance of the reactionary forces, it also asserts that a stable majority can be secured in parliament and that parliament can thus be transformed into an instrument serving the working people; and while referring to non-peaceful transition, it fails to stress violent revolution as a universal law. The leadership of the CPSU has taken advantage of these weaknesses and errors in the Declaration and the Statement and used them as an excuse for peddling Khrushchov's revisionism.

It must be solemnly declared that the Chinese Communist Party has all along maintained its differing views on the formulation of the question of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960. We have never concealed our views. We hold that in the interest of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and in order to prevent the revisionists from misusing these programmatic documents of the fraternal Parties, it is necessary to amend the formulation of the question in the Declaration and the Statement through joint consultation of Communist and Workers' Parties so as to conform to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In order to help readers acquaint themselves with the full views of the Chinese Communist Party on this question, we

are re-publishing the complete text of the Outline of Views on the Question of Peaceful Transition put forward by the delegation of the CPC to the Central Committee of the CPSU on November 10, 1957, as an appendix to this article.¹

In the last eight years the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and of the world's Marxist-Leninists against Khrushchov's revisionism has made great progress. More and more people have come to recognize the true features of Khrushchov's revisionism. Nevertheless, the leaders of the CPSU are still resorting to subterfuge and quibbles, and trying in every possible way to peddle their nonsense.

Therefore, it is still necessary for us to refute the fallacy of "peaceful transition".

SOPHISTRY CANNOT ALTER HISTORY

The leaders of the CPSU openly distort the works of Marx and Lenin and distort history too to cover up their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and justify their revisionist line.

They argue: Did not Marx "admit such a possibility [peaceful transition] for England and America"?² In fact, this argument is taken from the renegade Kautsky who used the self-same method to distort Marx's views and oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is true that in the 1870's Marx said that in countries like the United States and Britain "the workers can reach their goal by peaceful means". But at the same time he stressed that this possibility was an exception. He said that "even if this be so, we must also recognize that in the majority of

¹ See *Appendix I* to "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves", pp. 105-08 of this book.

² O. V. Kuusinen and others, *Foundations of Marxism-Leninism*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1959, p. 526.

countries on the continent force must serve as the lever of our revolution”.¹ What is more, he pointed out:

The English bourgeoisie has always shown its readiness to accept the decision of the majority, so long as it has the monopoly of the suffrage. But believe me, at the moment when it finds itself in the minority on questions which it considers vitally important, we will have a new slaveholders’ war here.²

Lenin said in his criticism of the renegade Kautsky:

The argument that Marx in the ‘seventies granted the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in England and America is the argument of a sophist, or, to put it bluntly, of a swindler who juggles with quotations and references. First, Marx regarded this possibility as an exception even then. Secondly, in those days monopoly capitalism, *i.e.*, imperialism, did not yet exist. Thirdly, in England and America there was no military then — as there is now — serving as the chief apparatus of the bourgeois state machine.³

Lenin said that, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits, imperialism is distinguished “by a minimum attachment for peace and freedom, and by a maximum and universal development of militarism”. “To ‘fail to notice’ this” in the discussion of the question of peaceful or violent change is “to stoop to the position of a common or garden variety lackey of the bourgeoisie.”⁴

¹ Karl Marx, “On the Hague Congress, Speech at a Mass Meeting in Amsterdam”, *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1961, Vol. XVIII, p. 154.

² “Record of a Talk Between K. Marx and the Correspondent of The World”, *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1961, Vol. XVII, p. 637.

³ V. I. Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1945, Vol. XXIII, pp. 233-34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

Today, the leaders of the CPSU have struck up Kautsky's old tune. What is this if not stooping to the position of a common or garden lackey of the bourgeoisie?

Again, the leaders of the CPSU argue: Did not Lenin "admit in principle the possibility of a peaceful revolution"?¹ This is even worse sophistry.

For a time after the February Revolution of 1917 Lenin envisaged a situation in which "in Russia, by way of an exception, this revolution can be a peaceful revolution".² He called this "an exception" because of the special circumstances then obtaining: "The essence of the matter was that the arms were in the hands of the people, and that no coercion from without was exercised in regard to the people."³ In July 1917 the counter-revolutionary bourgeois government suppressed the masses by force of arms, drenching the streets of Petrograd with the blood of workers and soldiers. After this incident Lenin declared that "all hopes for a peaceful development of the Russian Revolution have definitely vanished".⁴ In October 1917 Lenin and the Bolshevik Party resolutely led the workers and soldiers in an armed uprising and seized state power. Lenin pointed out in January 1918 that "the class struggle. . . has turned into a civil war".⁵ The Soviet state had to wage another three and half years of revolutionary war and to make heavy sacrifices before it smashed both the domestic counter-revolutionary rebellion

¹ A. Beliakov and F. Burlatsky, "Lenin's Theory of Socialist Revolution and the Present Day", *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 13, 1960.

² V. I. Lenin, "Speech on Attitude Towards the Provisional Government", delivered at the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 80.

³ V. I. Lenin, "On Slogans", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 88.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, "The Political Situation", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1932, Vol. XXI, Book 1, p. 37.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, "People from the Next World", *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1949, Vol. XXVI, p. 393.

and the foreign armed intervention. Only then was the victory of the revolution consolidated. In 1919 Lenin said that “revolutionary violence gained brilliant successes in the October Revolution”.¹

Now the leaders of the CPSU have the impudence to say that the October Revolution was “the most bloodless of all revolutions”² and was “accomplished almost peacefully”.³ Their assertions are totally contrary to the historical facts. How can they face the revolutionary martyrs who shed their blood and sacrificed their lives to create the world’s first socialist state?

When we point out that world history has thus far produced no precedent for peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, the leaders of the CPSU quibble, saying that “practical experience exists of the achievement of the socialist revolution in peaceful form”. And shutting their eyes to all the facts, they state, “In Hungary in 1919, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established by peaceful means.”⁴

Is this true? No, it is not. Let us see what Bela Kun, the leader of the Hungarian revolution, had to say.

The Communist Party of Hungary was founded in November 1918. The new-born Party immediately plunged into revolutionary struggle and proclaimed as the slogans of socialist revolution: “Disarm the bourgeoisie, arm the proletariat, establish Soviet power.”⁵ The Hungarian Communist Party worked actively in all fields for an armed uprising. It

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Successes and Difficulties of Soviet Power”, Collected *Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXIX, p. 41.

² F. Konstantinov, “Lenin and Our Own Times”, *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 5, 1960.

³ A. I. Mikoyan, Speech at the 20th Congress, *The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1956, Vol. I, p. 313.

⁴ “Marxism-Leninism — the Basis of Unity of the Communist Movement”, editorial board article in *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 15, 1963.

⁵ Bela Kun, *Lessons of the Proletarian Revolution in Hungary*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1960, p. 46.

armed the workers, strove to win over the government troops and organize the demobilized soldiers, staged armed demonstrations, led the workers in expelling their bosses and occupying the factories, led the agricultural workers in seizing large estates, disarmed the reactionary army officers, troops and police, combined strikes with armed uprisings, and so forth.

In fact, the Hungarian revolution abounded in armed struggle of various forms and on various scales. Bela Kun wrote:

From the day of the founding of the Communist Party to the taking of power, armed clashes with the organs of bourgeois power occurred with increasing frequency. Starting with December 12, 1918 when the armed Budapest garrison came out into the streets in a demonstration against the War Minister of the Provisional Government, . . . there was probably not a single day on which the press failed to report sanguinary clashes between the revolutionary workers and soldiers and armed units of the government forces, and in particular of the police. The Communists organized numerous uprisings not only in Budapest but in the provinces as well.¹

The leaders of the CPSU are telling a glaring lie when they say that the Hungarian Revolution was an example of peaceful transition.

It is alleged in the Soviet press that the Hungarian bourgeois government "voluntarily resigned",² and this is probably the only ground the leaders of the CPSU base themselves on. But what were the facts?

Karolyi, the head of the Hungarian bourgeois government at the time, was quite explicit on this point. He declared:

I signed a proclamation concerning my own resignation and the transfer of power to the proletariat, which in reality

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

² "How the World Revolutionary Process Is Developing", *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, August 1, 1963.

had already taken over and proclaimed power earlier . . .
*I did not hand over power to the proletariat, as it had
already won it earlier, thanks to its planned creation of a
Socialist army.*

For this reason, Bela Kun pointed out that to say the bourgeoisie voluntarily handed political power over to the proletariat was a deceptive “legend”.¹

The Hungarian Revolution of 1919 was defeated. In examining the chief lessons of its defeat, Lenin said that one fatal error committed by the young Hungarian Communist Party was that it was not firm enough in exercising dictatorship over the enemy but wavered at the critical moment. Moreover, the Hungarian Party failed to take correct measures to meet the peasants’ demand for the solution of the land problem and therefore divorced itself from the peasantry. Another important reason for the defeat of the revolution was the amalgamation of the Communist Party and the opportunistic Social Democratic Party.

It is a sheer distortion of history when the leaders of the CPSU allege that the Hungarian Revolution of 1918-19 is a model of “peaceful transition”.

Furthermore, they allege that the working class of Czechoslovakia won “power by the peaceful road”.² This is another absurd distortion of history.

The people’s democratic power in Czechoslovakia was established in the course of the anti-fascist war; it was not taken from the bourgeoisie “peacefully”. During World War II, the Communist Party led the people in guerrilla warfare and armed uprisings against the fascists, it destroyed the German fascist troops and their servile regime in Czechoslovakia with the assistance of the Soviet Army and established a national front coalition government. This government was in essence

¹ Bela Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

² L. I. Brezhnev, Speech at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, *Pravda*, December 4, 1962.

a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat, *i.e.*, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In February 1948 the reactionaries inside Czechoslovakia, backed by U.S. imperialism, plotted a counter-revolutionary coup d'état to overthrow the people's government by an armed rebellion. But the government led by the Communist Party immediately deployed its armed forces and organized armed mass demonstrations, thus shattering the bourgeois plot for a counter-revolutionary come-back. These facts clearly testify that the February event was not a "peaceful" seizure of political power by the working class from the bourgeoisie but a suppression of a counter-revolutionary bourgeois coup d'état by the working class through its own state apparatus, and mainly through its own armed forces.

In summarizing the February event Gottwald said:

Even before the February event we said: one of the basic changes compared with what existed before the war is precisely that the state apparatus already serves new classes and not the previous ruling classes. The February event showed that the state apparatus, in this sense, played an outstanding role. . . .¹

How can the above instances be regarded as precedents for peaceful transition?

Lenin said:

Kautsky had to resort to all these subterfuges, sophistries and fraudulent falsifications only in order to *dissociate* himself from *violent* revolution, and to conceal his renunciation of it, his desertion to the *liberal* labour policy, *i.e.*, to the bourgeoisie.

And he added, "That is where the trouble lies."²

¹ Klement Gottwald, Speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, November 17, 1948.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 44.

Why has Khrushchov so shamelessly distorted the works of Marx and Lenin, fabricated history and resorted to subterfuges? Again, that is where the trouble lies.

LIES CANNOT COVER UP REALITY

The principal argument used by the leaders of the CPSU to justify their anti-revolutionary line of “peaceful transition” is that historical conditions have changed.

With regard to the appraisal of the changes in historical conditions since World War II and the conclusions to be drawn from them, Marxist-Leninists hold entirely different views from those of Khrushchev.

Marxist-Leninists hold that historical conditions have changed fundamentally since the War. The change is mainly manifested in the great increase in the forces of proletarian socialism and the great weakening of the forces of imperialism. Since the War, the mighty socialist camp and a whole series of new and independent nationalist states have emerged, and there have occurred a continuous succession of armed revolutionary struggles, a new upsurge in the mass movements in capitalist countries and the great expansion of the ranks of the international communist movement. The international proletarian socialist revolutionary movement and the national democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the two major historical trends of our time.

In the early post-war period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly pointed out that the world balance of forces was favourable to us and not to the enemy, and that this new situation “has opened up still wider possibilities for the emancipation of the working class and the oppressed peoples

of the world and has opened up still more realistic paths towards it".¹

He also indicated,

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.²

Marxist-Leninists base themselves on the fact that the changes in post-war conditions have become increasingly favourable for revolution and on the law that imperialism and reaction will never change their nature. Therefore they draw the conclusion that revolution must be promoted, and they hold that full use must be made of this very favourable situation and that in the light of the specific conditions in different countries the development of revolutionary struggles must be actively promoted and preparations must be made to seize victory in the revolution.

On the other hand, using the pretext of these very changes in post-war conditions, Khrushchov draws the conclusion that revolution must be opposed and repudiated, and he holds that as a result of the changes in the world balance of forces imperialism and reaction have changed their nature, the law of class struggle has changed, and the common road of the October Revolution and the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution have become outmoded.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 284.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 428.

Khrushchov and his like are spreading an Arabian Nights tale. They maintain:

Now favourable international and internal conditions are taking shape for the working class of a number of capitalist countries to accomplish the socialist revolution in peaceful form.¹

They say:

In the period between the first and second world wars, the reactionary bourgeoisie in many European countries, incessantly developing and perfecting its police-bureaucratic machine, savagely repressed the mass movements of the working people and left no possibility for the achievement of the socialist revolution by the peaceful road.

But according to them the situation has now changed.²

They say that "basic shifts in favour of socialism in the relationship of forces in the international arena" now create the possibility of "paralyzing the intervention of international reaction in the affairs of countries carrying out revolution",³ and that "this lessens the possibilities for the unleashing of civil war by the bourgeoisie".⁴

But the lies of Khrushchov and his like cannot cover up realities.

Two outstanding facts since World War II are that the imperialists and the reactionaries are everywhere reinforcing their apparatus of violence for cruelly suppressing the masses and that imperialism headed by the United States is conducting counter-revolutionary armed intervention in all parts of the world.

¹ A. Butenko, "War and Revolution", *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 4, 1961.

² O. V. Kuusinen and others, *Foundations of Marxism-Leninism*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1959, p. 528.

³ A. Beliakov and F. Burlatsky, "Lenin's Theory of Socialist Revolution and the Present Day", *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 13, 1960.

⁴ A. Butenko, *op. cit.*

Today the United States of America has become more militarized than ever and has increased its troops to over 2,700,000 men, or eleven times the 1934 total and nine times the 1939 total. It has so many police and secret service organizations that even some of the big U.S. capitalists have had to admit that it tops the world in this respect, having far surpassed Hitlerite Germany.

Britain's standing army increased from over 250,000 men in 1934 to over 420,000 in 1963, and its police force from 67,000 in 1934 to 87,000 in 1963.

France's standing army increased from 650,000 in 1934 to over 740,000 in 1963, and its police and security forces from 80,000 in 1934 to 120,000 in 1963.

Other imperialist countries and even the ordinary run of capitalist countries are no exceptions to this large-scale strengthening of the armed forces and police.

Khrushchov is zealously using the slogan of general and complete disarmament to immobilize the people. He has been chanting it for many years now. But in actual fact there is not even a shadow of general and complete disarmament. Everywhere in the imperialist camp headed by the United States one finds a general and complete arms drive and an expansion and strengthening of the apparatus of violent suppression.

Why are the bourgeoisie so frenziedly reinforcing their armed forces and police in peace time? Can it be that their purpose is not to suppress the mass movements of the working people but rather to guarantee that the latter can win state power by peaceful means? Haven't the ruling bourgeoisie committed enough atrocities in the nineteen years since the War in employing soldiers and policemen to suppress striking workers and people struggling for their democratic rights?

In the past nineteen years, U.S. imperialism has organized military blocs and concluded military treaties with more than forty countries. It has set up over 2,200 military bases and installations in all parts of the capitalist world. Its armed

forces stationed abroad exceed 1,000,000. Its "Strike Command" directs a mobile land and air force, ready at all times to be sent anywhere to suppress the people's revolution.

In the past nineteen years, the U.S. and other imperialists have not only given every support to the reactionaries of various countries and helped them to suppress the peoples' revolutionary movements; they have also directly planned and executed numerous counter-revolutionary armed aggressions and interventions, *i.e.*, they have exported counter-revolution. U.S. imperialism, for instance, helped Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war in China, sent its own troops to Greece and commanded the attack on the Greek people's liberated areas, unleashed the war of aggression in Korea, landed troops in Lebanon to threaten the revolution in Iraq, aided and abetted the Laotian reactionaries in extending civil war, organized and directed a so-called United Nations force to suppress the national independence movement in the Congo, and conducted counter-revolutionary invasions of Cuba. It is still fighting to suppress the liberation struggle of the people of southern Viet Nam. Recently it has used armed force to suppress the just struggle of the Panamanian people in defence of their sovereignty and participated in the armed intervention in Cyprus.

Not only does U.S. imperialism take determined action to suppress and intervene in all people's revolutions and national liberation movements, but it also tries to get rid of bourgeois regimes which show some nationalist colouration. During these nineteen years, the U.S. Government has engineered numerous counter-revolutionary military coups d'état in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has even used violence to remove puppets of its own fostering, such as Ngo Dinh Diem, once they have ceased to suit its purposes — "kill the donkey as soon as you take it from the millstone", as the saying goes.

Facts have demonstrated that nowadays in order to make revolutions and achieve liberation all oppressed peoples and

nations not only have to cope with violent suppression by the domestic reactionary ruling classes, but must prepare themselves fully against armed intervention by imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism. Without such preparation and without steadfastly rebuffing counter-revolutionary violence by revolutionary violence whenever necessary, revolution, let alone victory, is out of the question.

Without strengthening their armed forces, without preparing to meet imperialist armed aggression and intervention and without adhering to the policy of waging struggles against imperialism, countries which have won independence will not be able to safeguard their national independence and still less to ensure the advance of the revolutionary cause.

We would like to ask the leaders of the CPSU: Since you talk so glibly about the new features of the post-war situation, why have you chosen to omit the most important and conspicuous one, namely, that the U.S. and other imperialists are suppressing revolution everywhere? You never weary of talking about peaceful transition! but why have you never had a single word to say about how to deal with the bloated apparatus of forcible suppression built up by the imperialists and reactionaries? You brazenly cover up the bloody realities of the cruel suppression of the national liberation and popular revolutionary movements by imperialism and reaction and spread the illusion that the oppressed nations and peoples can achieve victory by peaceful means. Isn't it obvious that you are trying to lull the vigilance of the people, pacify the angry masses with empty promises about the bright future and oppose their revolution, thus in fact acting as accomplices of imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries?

On this question, it is useful to let John Foster Dulles, the late U.S. Secretary of State, be our "teacher by negative example".

Dulles said in a speech on June 21, 1956 that all socialist countries had hitherto been established "through the use of violence". He then said that "the Soviet rulers now say that

they will renounce the use of violence” and that “we welcome and shall encourage these developments”.¹

As a faithful champion of the capitalist system, Dulles was of course perfectly aware of the essential role of force in class struggle. While welcoming Khrushchov’s renunciation of violent revolution, he laid great stress on the bourgeoisie’s need to strengthen its counter-revolutionary violence in order to maintain its rule. He said in another speech that “of all the tasks of government the most basic is to protect its citizens [read “reactionary ruling classes”] against violence. . . . So in every civilized community the members contribute toward the maintenance of a police force as an arm of law and order”.²

Here Dulles was telling the truth. The political foundation of the rule of imperialism and all reaction is nothing other than — “a police force”. So long as this foundation is unimpaired, nothing else is of any importance and their rule will not be shaken. The more the leaders of the CPSU cover up the fact that the bourgeoisie relies on violence for its rule and spread the fairy tale of peaceful transition, which was so welcome to Dulles, the more they reveal their true colours as cronies of the imperialists in opposing revolution.

REFUTATION OF THE “PARLIAMENTARY ROAD”

The idea of the “parliamentary road” which was publicized by the revisionists of the Second International was thoroughly refuted by Lenin and discredited long ago. But in Khrushchov’s eyes, the parliamentary road seems suddenly to have acquired validity after World War II.

Is this true? Of course not.

¹ J. F. Dulles, Address at the 41st Annual Convention of Kiwanis International, June 21, 1956.

² J. F. Dulles, Speech at the Annual Luncheon of the Associated Press on April 22, 1957, *New York Times*, April 23, 1957.

Events since World War II have demonstrated yet again that the chief component of the bourgeois state machine is armed force and not parliament. Parliament is only an ornament and a screen for bourgeois rule. To adopt or discard the parliamentary system, to grant parliament greater or less power, to adopt one kind of electoral law or another — the choice between these alternatives is always dictated by the needs and interests of bourgeois rule. So long as the bourgeoisie controls the military-bureaucratic apparatus, either the acquisition of a “stable majority in parliament” by the proletariat through elections is impossible, or this “stable majority” is undependable. To realize socialism through the “parliamentary road” is utterly impossible and is mere deceptive talk.

About half the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are still illegal. Since these Parties have no legal status, the winning of a parliamentary majority is, of course, out of the question.

For example, the Communist Party of Spain lives under White terror and has no opportunity to run in elections. It is pathetic and tragic that Spanish Communist leaders like Ibaruri should follow Khrushchov in advocating “peaceful transition” in Spain.

With all the unfair restrictions imposed by bourgeois electoral laws in those capitalist countries where Communist Parties are legal and can take part in elections, it is very difficult for them to win a majority of the votes under bourgeois rule. And even if they get a majority of the votes, the bourgeoisie can prevent them from obtaining a majority of the seats in parliament by revising the electoral laws or by other means.

For example, since World War II, the French monopoly capitalists have twice revised the electoral law, in each case bringing about a sharp fall in the parliamentary seats held by the Communist Party of France. In the parliamentary election in 1946, the CPF gained 182 seats. But in the election of 1951, the revision of the electoral law by the monopoly capitalists resulted in a sharp reduction in the number of CPF seats to

103, that is, there was a loss of 79 seats. In the 1956 election, the CPF gained 150 seats. But before the parliamentary election in 1958, the monopoly capitalists again revised the electoral law with the result that the number of seats held by the CPF fell very drastically to 10, that is, it lost 140 seats.

Even if in certain circumstances a Communist Party should win a majority of the seats in parliament or participate in the government as a result of an electoral victory, it would not change the bourgeois nature of parliament or government, still less would it mean the smashing of the old and the establishment of a new state machine. It is absolutely impossible to bring about a fundamental social change by relying on bourgeois parliaments or governments. With the state machine under its control the reactionary bourgeoisie can nullify elections, dissolve parliament, expel Communists from the government, outlaw the Communist Party and resort to brute force to suppress the masses and the progressive forces.

For instance, in 1946 the Communist Party of Chile supported the bourgeois Radical Party in winning an electoral victory, and a coalition government was formed with the participation of Communists. At the time, the leaders of the Chilean Communist Party went so far as to describe this bourgeois-controlled government as a “people’s democratic government”. But in less than a year the bourgeoisie compelled them to quit the government, carried out mass arrests of Communists and in 1948 outlawed the Communist Party.

When a workers’ party degenerates and becomes a hireling of the bourgeoisie, the latter may permit it to have a majority in parliament and to form a government. This is the case with the bourgeois social democratic parties in certain countries. But this sort of thing only serves to safeguard and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it does not, and cannot, in the least alter the position of the proletariat as an oppressed and exploited class. Such facts only add testimony to the bankruptcy of the parliamentary road.

Events since World War II have also shown that if Communist leaders believe in the parliamentary road and fall victim to the incurable disease of “parliamentary cretinism”, they will not only get nowhere but will inevitably sink into the quagmire of revisionism and ruin the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

There has always been a fundamental difference between Marxist-Leninists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other on the proper attitude to adopt towards bourgeois parliaments.

Marxist-Leninists have always held that under certain conditions the proletarian party should take part in parliamentary struggle and utilize the platform of parliament for exposing the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie, educating the masses and helping to accumulate revolutionary strength. It is wrong to refuse to utilize this legal form of struggle when necessary. But the proletarian party must never substitute parliamentary struggle for proletarian revolution or entertain the illusion that the transition to socialism can be achieved through the parliamentary road. It must at all times concentrate on mass struggles.

Lenin said:

The party of the revolutionary proletariat must take part in bourgeois parliamentarism in order to enlighten the masses, which can be done during elections and in the struggle between parties in parliament. But to limit the class struggle to the parliamentary struggle, or to regard the latter as the highest and decisive form, to which all the other forms of struggle are subordinate, means actually deserting to the side of the bourgeoisie and going against the proletariat.¹

He denounced the revisionists of the Second International for chasing the shadow of parliamentarism and for abandoning

¹ V. I. Lenin, *The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, p. 36.

the revolutionary task of seizing state power. They converted the proletarian party into an electoral party, a parliamentary party, an appendage of the bourgeoisie and an instrument for preserving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In advocating the parliamentary road, Khrushchov and his followers can only meet with the same fate as that of the revisionists of the Second International.

REFUTATION OF "OPPOSITION TO LEFT OPPORTUNISM"

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU fabricates a tissue of lies in its treatment of the question of proletarian revolution. It asserts that the Chinese Communist Party favours "advancing the slogan of immediate proletarian revolution" even in the absence of a revolutionary situation, that it stands for abandoning "the struggle for the democratic rights and vital interests of the working people in capitalist countries",¹ that it makes armed struggle "absolute",² and so on. They frequently pin such labels as "Left opportunism", "Left adventurism" and "Trotskyism" on the Chinese Communist Party.

The truth is that the leaders of the CPSU are making this hullabaloo in order to cover up their revisionist line which opposes and repudiates revolution. What they are attacking as "Left opportunism" is in fact nothing but the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line.

We have always maintained that a revolution cannot be made at will and is impossible unless a revolutionary situation objectively exists. But the outbreak and the victory of revolution depend not only on the existence of a revolutionary situation

¹ Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

² "Marxism-Leninism — the Basis of Unity of the Communist Movement", editorial board article in *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 15, 1963.

but also on the preparations and efforts made by the subjective revolutionary forces.

It is “Left” adventurism if the party of the proletariat does not accurately appraise both the objective conditions and subjective forces making for revolution and if it rashly launches a revolution before the conditions are ripe. But it is Right opportunism, or revisionism, if the proletarian party makes no active preparations for revolution before the conditions are ripe, or dare not lead a revolution and seize state power when a revolutionary situation exists and the conditions are ripe.

Until the time arrives for seizing state power, the fundamental and most important task for the proletarian party is to concentrate on the painstaking work of accumulating revolutionary strength. The active leadership given in day-to-day struggle must have as its central aim the building up of revolutionary strength and the preparations for seizing victory in the revolution when the conditions are ripe. The proletarian party should use the various forms of day-to-day struggle to raise the political consciousness of the proletariat and the masses of the people, to train its own class forces, to temper its fighting capacity and to prepare for revolution ideologically, politically, organizationally and militarily. It is only in this way that it will not miss the opportunity of seizing victory when the conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, the proletarian party will simply let the opportunity of making revolution slip by even when a revolutionary situation objectively exists.

While tirelessly stressing that no revolution should be made in the absence of a revolutionary situation, the leaders of the CPSU avoid the question of how the party of the proletariat should conduct day-to-day revolutionary struggle and accumulate revolutionary strength before there is a revolutionary situation. In reality, they are renouncing the task of building up revolutionary strength and preparing for revolution on the pretext of the absence of a revolutionary situation.

Lenin once gave an excellent description of the renegade Kautsky's attitude towards the question of a revolutionary situation. He said of Kautsky that if the revolutionary crisis has arrived, "then *he too* is prepared to become a revolutionary! But then, let us observe, every blackguard . . . would proclaim himself a revolutionary!" "If it has not, then Kautsky will turn his back on revolution!" As Lenin pointed out, Kautsky was like a typical philistine, and the difference between a revolutionary Marxist and a philistine is that the Marxist has the courage "to *prepare* the proletariat and all the toiling and exploited masses for it [revolution]".¹ People can judge for themselves whether or not Khrushchov and his followers resemble the Kautsky type of philistine denounced by Lenin.

We have always held that the proletarian parties in the capitalist countries must actively lead the working class and the working people in struggles to oppose monopoly capital, to defend democratic rights, to improve living conditions, to oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations, to defend world peace and to give vigorous support to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations.

In the capitalist countries which are subject to bullying, control, intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism, the proletarian parties should raise the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism and direct the edge of the mass struggle mainly against U.S. imperialism as well as against monopoly capital and other reactionary forces at home which are betraying the national interests. They should unite all the forces that can be united and form a united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

In recent years the working class and the working people in many capitalist countries have been waging broad mass struggles which not only hit monopoly capital and other reactionary forces at home, but render powerful support to the revolu-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 103.

tionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and to the countries of the socialist camp. We have always fully appreciated this contribution.

While actively leading immediate struggles, Communists should link them with the struggle for long-range and general interests, educate the masses in a proletarian revolutionary spirit, ceaselessly raise their political consciousness and accumulate revolutionary strength in order to seize victory in revolution when the time is opportune. Our view is in full accord with Marxism-Leninism.

In opposition to the views of Marxist-Leninists, the leaders of the CPSU spread the notion that “in the highly-developed capitalist countries, democratic and socialist tasks are so closely intertwined that there, least of all, is it possible to draw any sort of lines of demarcation.¹ This is to substitute immediate for long-range struggles and reformism for proletarian revolution.

Lenin said that “no reform can be durable, genuine and serious if it is not supported by the revolutionary methods of struggle of the masses”. A workers’ party that “does not combine this struggle for reforms with the revolutionary methods of the workers’ movement may be transformed into a sect, and may become torn away from the masses, and . . . this is the most serious threat to the success of genuine revolutionary socialism”.²

He said that “every democratic demand . . . is, for the class conscious workers, *subordinated* to the higher interests of socialism”.³ Further, in *The State and Revolution* Lenin quoted Engels as follows. The forgetfulness of the great main standpoint in the momentary interests of the day, the strug-

¹ A. Beliakov and F. Burlatsky, “Lenin’s Theory of Socialist Revolution and the Present Day”, *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 13, 1960.

² V. I. Lenin, “To the Secretary of the ‘Socialist Propaganda League’”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXI, p. 389.

³ V. I. Lenin, “A Caricature of Marxism and ‘Imperialist Economism’”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 392.

gling and striving for the success of the moment without consideration for the later consequences, the sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present was opportunism, and dangerous opportunism at that.

It was precisely on this ground that Lenin criticized Kautsky for “praising reformism and submission to the imperialist bourgeoisie, and blaming and renouncing revolution”.¹ He said that “the proletariat fights for the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie”, while Kautsky “fights for the reformist ‘improvement’ of imperialism, for adaptation to it, while *submitting* to it”.²

Lenin’s criticism of Kautsky is an apt portrayal of the present leaders of the CPSU.

We have always held that in order to lead the working class and the masses of the people in revolution, the party of the proletariat must master all forms of struggle and be able to combine different forms, swiftly substituting one form for another as the conditions of struggle change. It will be invincible in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle, such as peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary and mass struggle, as well as both domestic and international struggle.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was precisely the result of the skilful and thorough mastery of all forms of struggle — in keeping with the specific characteristics of the Chinese revolution — by the Communists of China who learned from the historical experience of international proletarian struggle. Armed struggle was the chief form in the Chinese revolution, but the revolution could not have been victorious without the use of other forms of struggle.

In the course of the Chinese revolution the Chinese Communist Party fought on two fronts. It fought both the Right,

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*

deviation of legalism and the “Left” illegalist deviation, and properly combined legal with illegal struggle. In the country as a whole, it correctly combined struggle in the revolutionary base areas with struggle in the Kuomintang areas, while in the Kuomintang areas it correctly combined open and secret work, made full use of legal opportunities and kept strictly to Party rules governing secret work. The Chinese revolution has brought forth a complexity and variety of forms of struggle suited to its own specific conditions.

From its long practical experience, the Chinese Communist Party is fully aware that it is wrong to reject legal struggle, to restrict the Party’s work within narrow confines and thereby to alienate itself from the masses. But one should never tolerate the legalism peddled by the revisionists. The revisionists reject armed struggle and all other illegal struggle, engage only in legal struggle and activity and confine the Party’s activities and mass struggles within the framework allowed by the ruling classes. They debase and even discard the Party’s basic programme, renounce revolution and adapt themselves solely to reactionary systems of law.

As Lenin rightly pointed out in his criticism, revisionists such as Kautsky were degraded and dulled by bourgeois legality. “For a mess of pottage given to the organizations that are recognized by the present police law, the proletarian right of revolution was sold.”¹

While the leaders of the CPSU and their followers talk about the use of all forms of struggle, in reality they stand for legalism and discard the objective of the proletarian revolution on the pretext of changing forms of struggle. This is again substituting Kautskyism for Leninism.

The leaders of the CPSU often make use of Lenin’s great work, “ ‘Left-Wing’ Communism — an Infantile Disorder”, to

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Collapse of the Second International”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. XVIII, p. 314.

justify their erroneous line and have made it a “basis” for their attacks on the Chinese Communist Party.

This is of course futile. Like all his other works, this book of Lenin’s can only serve as a weapon for Marxist-Leninists in the fight against various kinds of opportunism and can never serve as an instrument of revisionist apologetics.

When Lenin criticized the “Left-wing” infantile disorder and asked the party of the proletariat to be skilful in applying revolutionary tactics and to do better in preparing for revolutions, he had already broken with the revisionists of the Second International and had founded the Third International.

Indeed, in “ ‘Left-Wing’ Communism — an Infantile Disorder”, he stated that the main enemy of the international working-class movement at the time was Kautsky’s type of opportunism. He repeatedly stressed that unless a break was made with revisionism there could be no talk of how to master revolutionary tactics.

Those comrades whom Lenin criticized for their “Left-wing” infantile disorder all wanted revolution, while the latter-day revisionist Khrushchov is against it, has therefore to be included in the same category as Kautsky and has no right whatsoever to speak on the question of combating the “Left-wing” infantile disorder.

It is most absurd for the leadership of the CPSU to pin the label of “Trotskyism” on the Chinese Communist Party. In fact, it is Khrushchov himself who has succeeded to the mantle of Trotskyism and who stands with the Trotskyites of today.

Trotskyism manifests itself in different ways on different questions and often wears the mask of “ultra-Leftism”, but its essence is opposition to revolution, repudiation of revolution.

As far as the fundamental fact of their opposition to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is concerned, Trotskyism and the revisionism of the Second International are virtually the same. This is why Stalin repeatedly said that Trotskyism is a variety of Menshevism, is

Kautskyism and social democracy, and is the advanced detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

In its essence, the present-day revisionism of Khrushchov also opposes and repudiates revolution. Therefore, the only logical conclusion is that Khrushchov's revisionism is not only cut from the same cloth as Kautskyism, but also converges with Trotskyism to oppose revolution. Khrushchov had better pin the label of Trotskyism on himself.

TWO DIFFERENT LINES, TWO DIFFERENT RESULTS

History is the most telling witness. Rich experience has been gained since World War II both in the international communist movement and in the peoples' revolutionary struggles. There has been successful as well as unsuccessful experience. Communists and the revolutionary people of all countries need to draw the right conclusions from this historical experience.

The countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America which have succeeded in making a socialist revolution since the War have done so by following the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and the road of the October Revolution. Now, in addition to the experience of the October Revolution, there is the experience of the revolutions of China, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, Korea, Viet Nam and Cuba. The victorious revolutions in these countries have enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the October Revolution.

From China to Cuba, all these revolutions without exception were won by armed struggle and by fighting against armed imperialist aggression and intervention.

The Chinese people were victorious in their revolution after waging revolutionary wars for twenty-two years, including the three years of the People's Liberation War, in which they thoroughly defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who were backed up to the hilt by U.S. imperialism.

The Korean people carried on fifteen years of revolutionary armed struggle against Japanese imperialism beginning in the 1930's, built up and expanded their revolutionary armed forces, and finally achieved victory with the help of the Soviet Army. After the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it took another three years of war against U.S. imperialist armed aggression before the victory of their revolution could be consolidated.

The Vietnamese people seized state power by the armed uprising of August 1945. Immediately afterwards, they had to begin fighting a war of national liberation lasting eight years against French imperialism and to defeat the U.S. imperialist military intervention, and only then did they triumph in northern Viet Nam. The people of southern Viet Nam are still waging a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialist armed aggression.

The Cuban people started their armed uprising in 1953, and later it took more than two years of people's revolutionary war before they overthrew the rule of U.S. imperialism and its Cuban puppet, Batista. After their victorious revolution, the Cuban people smashed armed invasions by U.S. imperialist mercenaries and safeguarded the fruits of revolution.

The other socialist countries too were all established through armed struggle.

What are the main lessons of the successful proletarian revolutions in the countries extending from China to Cuba after World War II?

1. Violent revolution is a universal law of proletarian revolution. To realize the transition to socialism, the proletariat must wage armed struggle, smash the old state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The peasants are the most dependable allies of the proletariat. The proletariat must closely rely on the peasants, establish a broad united front based on the worker-peasant alliance, and insist upon proletarian leadership in the revolution.

3. U.S. imperialism is the arch enemy of people's revolution in all countries. The proletariat must hold high the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism and have the courage to fight with firm resolve against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in its own country.

4. The revolution of the oppressed nations is an indispensable ally of the proletarian revolution. The workers of all countries must unite, and they must unite with all the oppressed nations and all the forces opposed to imperialism and its lackeys to form a broad international united front.

5. To make a revolution, it is essential to have a revolutionary party. The triumph of the proletarian revolution and the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat are impossible without a revolutionary proletarian party established in accordance with the revolutionary theory and style of Marxism-Leninism, a party which is irreconcilable towards revisionism and opportunism and which takes a revolutionary attitude towards the reactionary ruling classes and their state power.

To insist on revolutionary armed struggle is of primary importance not only to the proletarian revolution but also to the national-democratic revolution of the oppressed nations. The victory of the Algerian national liberation war has set a good example in this respect.

The whole history of the proletarian parties since the War has shown that those parties which have followed the line of revolution, adopted the correct strategy and tactics and actively led the masses in revolutionary struggle are able to lead the revolutionary cause forward step by step to victory and grow vigorously in strength. Conversely, all those parties which have adopted a non-revolutionary opportunist line and accepted Khrushchov's line of "peaceful transition" are doing serious damage to the revolutionary cause and turning themselves into lifeless and reformist parties, or becoming completely degenerate and serving as tools of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. There is no lack of such instances.

The comrades of the Communist Party of Iraq were once full of revolutionary ardour. But acceptance of Khrushchov's revisionist line was forced on them by outside pressure, and they lost their vigilance against counter-revolution. In the armed counter-revolutionary coup d'état, leading comrades heroically sacrificed their lives. thousands of Iraqi Communists and revolutionaries were massacred in cold blood, the powerful Iraqi Communist Party was dispersed, and the revolutionary cause of Iraq suffered a grave setback. This is a tragic lesson in the annals of proletarian revolution, a lesson written in blood.

The leaders of the Algerian Communist Party danced to the baton of Khrushchov and of the leadership of the French Communist Party and completely accepted the revisionist line against armed struggle. But the Algerian people refused to listen to this rubbish. They courageously fought for national independence against imperialism, waged a war of national liberation for over seven years and finally compelled the French Government to recognize Algeria's independence. But the Algerian Communist Party, which followed the revisionist line of the leadership of the CPSU, forfeited the confidence of the Algerian people and its position in Algerian political life.

During the Cuban revolution, some leaders of the Popular Socialist Party refused to pursue the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, the correct line of revolutionary armed struggle, but, following Khrushchov's revisionist line, advocated "peaceful transition" and opposed violent revolution. In these circumstances, Marxist-Leninists outside and inside the Cuban Party, represented by Comrade Fidel Castro, rightly bypassed those leaders who opposed violent revolution, joined hands and made revolution with the revolutionary Cuban people, and finally won a victory of great historic significance.

Certain leaders of the Communist Party of France of whom Thorez is representative have long been pursuing a revisionist line, have publicized the "parliamentary road" in response to Khrushchov's baton, and have actually reduced the Communist Party to the level of a social democratic party. They have

ceased to give active support to the revolutionary aspirations of the people and rolled up the national banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism. The result of their pursuit of this revisionist line is that the Communist Party, which once had great influence among the people, has become increasingly isolated from the masses and has deteriorated more and more.

Certain leaders of the Indian Communist Party, typified by Dange, have long pursued a revisionist line, hauled down the banner of revolution and failed to lead the masses in national and democratic revolutionary struggles. The Dange clique has slid farther and farther down the path of revisionism and degenerated into national chauvinists, into tools of the reactionary policies of India's big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and into renegades from the proletariat.

The record shows that the two fundamentally different lines lead to two fundamentally different results. All these lessons merit close study.

FROM BROWDER AND TITO TO KHRUSHCHOV

Khrushchov's revisionism has deep historical and social roots and bears the imprint of the times. As Lenin said, "opportunism is no accident, no sin, no slip, no betrayal on the part of individual persons, but the social product of a whole historical epoch".¹

While making great progress since World War II, the international communist movement has produced its antithesis within its own ranks — an adverse current of revisionism which is opposed to socialism, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian revolution. This adverse current was chiefly represented first by Browder, later by Tito and now by Khrushchov. Khrushchov

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. XVIII, p. 310.

shchov's revisionism is nothing but the continuation and development of Browderism and Titoism.

Browder began to reveal his revisionism around 1935. He worshipped bourgeois democracy, abandoned making the necessary criticisms of the bourgeois government and regarded the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie as a fine thing for Communists, his slogan being "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism".¹

With the formation of the international and domestic anti-fascist united fronts during World War II, he became obsessed with bourgeois "democracy", "progress" and "reason", prostrated himself before the bourgeoisie and degenerated into an out-and-out capitulationist.

Browder propagated a whole set of revisionist views which embellished the bourgeoisie and opposed and negated revolution.

He declared that the Teheran Declaration of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain ushered in an epoch of "long-term confidence and collaboration" between capitalism and socialism and was capable of guaranteeing "a stable peace for generations".²

He spread the notion that the international agreements of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain represented "the most vital interests of every nation and every people in the world without exception"³ and that the perspective of inner chaos "is incompatible with the perspective of international order". Therefore, it was necessary to oppose "an explosion of class conflict" within the country and "to minimize, and to place definite limits upon" internal class struggle.⁴

¹ Cited in William Foster's *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1952, p. 337.

² Earl Browder, *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1944, pp. 23 and 27.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴ Earl Browder, *Teheran and America*, Eng. ed., Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1944, pp. 17 and 28.

He spread the view that a new war would be “a real catastrophic smash-up of a large part of the world” and “may throw . . . most of the world back into barbarism for 50 or 100 years”, and that the “emphasis upon agreement that transcends all class divisions”¹ was necessary in order to wipe out the disaster of war.

He advocated relying “entirely upon democratic persuasion and conviction”² to realize socialism, and declared that after World War II certain countries “have gained the conditions in which a peaceful transition to socialism has become possible”.³

He negated the independent role of the proletarian parties, saying that “the practical political aims they [the Communists] hold will for a long time be in agreement on all essential points with the aims of a much larger body of non-Communists”.⁴

Guided by these ideas, he dissolved the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

For a time, Browder’s revisionism led the revolutionary cause of the American proletariat to the brink of the precipice, and it contaminated the proletarian parties of other countries with the poison of liquidationism.

Browder’s revisionist line was opposed by many American Communists headed by Comrade William Z. Foster and was rejected and repudiated by many fraternal Parties. However, the revisionist trend represented by Browderism was not thoroughly criticized and liquidated by the international communist movement as a whole. In the new circumstances after the War, the revisionist trend developed anew among the Communist ranks in certain countries.

¹ Earl Browder, *Communists and National Unity*, Eng. ed., Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1944, pp. 9-10.

² Earl Browder, *The Road to Victory*, Eng. ed., Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1941, p. 22.

³ Earl Browder, *World Communism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, Eng. ed., published by the Author, New York City, 1948, p. 19.

⁴ Earl Browder, *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1944, p. 117.

In the capitalist countries, the growth of the revisionist trend first manifested itself in the fact that the leaders of certain Communist Parties abandoned the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and embraced the line of “peaceful transition. This line is clearly typified in Togliatti’s theory of structural reform, which advocates the proletariat’s attainment of the leadership of the state through the legal channels of bourgeois democracy and the socialist transformation of the national economy through such nationalization and planning as serve monopoly capital. According to this line, it is possible to establish new socialist relations of production and make the transition to socialism without smashing the bourgeois state machine. In practice, this amounts to making communism degenerate into social democracy.

In the socialist countries, the revisionist trend first appeared in Yugoslavia. Capitulation to U.S. imperialism is an important characteristic of Titoite revisionism. The Tito clique have sold themselves body and soul to U.S. imperialism; they have not only restored capitalism in Yugoslavia, but have become an imperialist instrument for undermining the socialist camp and the international communist movement and are playing the role of a special detachment of U.S. imperialism for sabotaging world revolution.

In their efforts to serve U.S. imperialism and to oppose and abolish proletarian revolution, the Tito clique have outspokenly asserted that violent revolution has become “increasingly superfluous as a means of resolving social contradictions”¹ and that the “evolutionary process of development toward socialism” through a bourgeois parliament “is not only possible but has already become a real fact”.² They virtually equate capi-

¹ Ilya Kosanović, *Historical Materialism*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1958, p. 352.

² Edvard Kardelj, “Socialist Democracy in Yugoslav Practice”, a lecture delivered before activists of the Norwegian Labour Party in Oslo on October 8, 1954.

talism with socialism, asserting that the present-day world “as a whole has deeply ‘plunged’ into socialism, become socialist”.¹ They also say that “now the question — socialism or capitalism is already solved on a world scale”.²

Browderite revisionism, the theory of structural reform and Titoite revisionism — these have been the chief manifestations of the revisionist trend since World War II.

Between the 20th and the 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, Khrushchov’s revisionist line of “peaceful transition”, “peaceful coexistence” and “peaceful competition” became a complete system. He has been hawking this stuff everywhere as his “new creation”. Yet it is nothing new but is merely a rehashed and meretricious combination of Browderite revisionism, the theory of structural reform and Titoite revisionism. In international relations, Khrushchov’s revisionism practises capitulation to U.S. imperialism; in the imperialist and capitalist countries it practises capitulation to the reactionary ruling classes; in the socialist countries it encourages the development of capitalist forces.

If Bernstein, Kautsky and the other revisionists of the Second International ran in a single line and belonged to the same family around the time of World War I, then the same is true of Browder, Tito and Khrushchov after World War II.

Browder has made this point clear. He wrote in 1960, “Khrushchov has now adopted the ‘heresy’ for which I was kicked out of the Communist Party in 1945.” And he added that Khrushchov’s new policy “is almost word for word the same line I advocated fifteen years ago. So my crime has become — at least for the moment — the new orthodoxy”.³

¹ Mialko Todorović, “On the Declaration Concerning Relations Between the LCY and the CPSU”, *Komunist*, Belgrade, Nos. 7-8, 1956.

² Mirko Perović, *Politička Ekonomija*, 2nd ed., Belgrade, 1958, p. 466.

³ Earl Browder, “How Stalin Ruined the American Communist Party”. *Harper’s Magazine*, March 1960.

Khrushchov himself has admitted that he and the Tito clique “belong to one and the same idea and are guided by the same theory”.¹

In the nature of the case, Khrushchov’s revisionism is even more pernicious than the revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky, Browder and Tito. Why? Because the USSR is the first socialist state, a large country in the socialist camp and the native land of Leninism. The CPSU is a large party created by Lenin and in the international communist movement it enjoys a prestige shaped by history. Khrushchov is exploiting his position as the leader of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union to push through his revisionist line.

He describes his revisionist line as a “Leninist” line and utilizes the prestige of the great Lenin and of the great Bolshevik Party to confuse and deceive people.

Exploiting the inherited prestige of the CPSU and the position of a large party and a large country, he has been waving his baton and employing all kinds of political, economic and diplomatic measures to force others to accept his revisionist line.

In line with the imperialist policy of buying over the labour aristocracy, he is buying over certain bourgeoisified Communists in the international communist movement who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and inducing them to acclaim and serve the anti-revolutionary line of the leaders of the CPSU.

That is why all other revisionists, whether past or present, are dwarfed by Khrushchov.

As the Declaration of 1957 points out, the social source of modern revisionism is surrender to external imperialist pressure and acceptance of domestic bourgeois influence.

Like the old-line revisionists, the modern revisionists answer to the description given by Lenin: “. . . objectively, they are

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Interview with Foreign Correspondents at Brioni in Yugoslavia, August 28, 1963.

a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, . . . they are transmitters of its influence, its agents in the labour movement.”¹

The economic basis of the emergence of modern revisionism, like that of old-line revisionism, is in the words of Lenin “an insignificant section of the ‘top’ of the labour movements”.²

Modern revisionism is the product of the policies of imperialism and of international monopoly capital which are both headed by the United States. Terrified by the policy of nuclear blackmail and corrupted by the policy of buying over, the modern revisionists are serving as the pawns of U.S. imperialism and its servile followers in opposing revolution.

The revisionist Khrushchov is also scared out of his wits by the hysterical war cries of the U.S. imperialists, and he thinks that this “Noah’s ark”, the earth, is threatened with destruction at any moment and he has completely lost confidence in the future of mankind. Proceeding from national egoism, he fears that revolutions by the oppressed classes and nations might create trouble for him and implicate him. Therefore, he tries to oppose every revolution by all means and, as in the case of the Congo, does not scruple to take joint action with U.S. imperialism in stamping out a people’s revolution. He thinks that by so doing he can avoid risks and at the same time conspire with U.S. imperialism to divide the world into spheres of influence, thus killing two birds with one stone. All this only goes to show that Khrushchov is the greatest capitulationist in history. The enforcement of Khrushchov’s pernicious policy will inevitably result in inestimable damage to the great Soviet Union itself.

Why has Khrushchov’s revisionism emerged in the Soviet Union, a socialist state with a history of several decades?

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Collapse of the Second International”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. XVIII, p. 310.

² V. I. Lenin, “Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1930, Vol. XVIII, p. 389.

Actually, this is not so strange. For in every socialist country the question of who wins over whom — socialism or capitalism — can only be gradually settled over a very long historical period. So long as there are capitalist forces and there are classes in society, there is soil for the growth of revisionism.

Khrushchov asserts that in the Soviet Union classes have been abolished, the danger of capitalist restoration is ruled out and the building of communism is under way. All these assertions are lies.

In fact, as a result of Khrushchov's revisionist rule, of the Open declaration that the Soviet state has changed its nature and is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the execution of a whole series of erroneous domestic and foreign policies, the capitalist forces in Soviet society have become a deluge sweeping over all fields of life in the USSR, including the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields. The social source of Khrushchov's revisionism lies precisely in the capitalist forces which are ceaselessly spreading in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov's revisionism represents and serves these capitalist forces. Therefore, it will never bring communism to the Soviet people; on the contrary, it is seriously jeopardizing the fruits of socialism and is opening the floodgates for the restoration of capitalism. This is the very road of "peaceful evolution" craved by U.S. imperialism.

The whole history of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible. However, there is already the Yugoslav precedent for the "peaceful evolution" of socialism back into capitalism. Now Khrushchov's revisionism is leading the Soviet Union along this road.

This is the gravest lesson in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionaries and the generations to come must under no circumstances forget this great lesson.

OUR HOPES

Only eight years have elapsed since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In this extremely short period of history, Khrushchov's revisionism has inflicted very great and grave damage on the Soviet Union and the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat.

Now is the time — now it is high time — to repudiate and liquidate Khrushchov's revisionism!

Here, we would give the leading comrades of the CPSU a piece of advice: Since so many opportunists and revisionists have been thrown on to the rubbish heap of history, why must you obdurately follow their example?

Here, too, we express the hope that those leading comrades of other fraternal Parties who have committed revisionist errors will think this over: What have they gained by following the revisionist line of the leaders of the CPSU? We understand that, excepting those who have fallen deep into the revisionist quagmire, quite a number of comrades have been confused and deceived, or compelled to follow the wrong path. We believe that all those who are proletarian revolutionaries will eventually choose the revolutionary line and reject the anti-revolutionary line, will eventually choose Marxism-Leninism and reject revisionism. We entertain very great hopes in this regard.

Revisionism can never stop the wheel of history, the wheel of revolution. Revisionist leaders who do not make revolution themselves can never prevent the genuine Marxists and the revolutionary people from rising in revolution. In "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" Lenin wrote that when Kautsky became a renegade, the German Marxist Liebknecht could only express his appeal to the working class in this way — "to push aside such 'leaders,' to free themselves from their stultifying and debasing propaganda, to rise in re-

volt *in spite of* them! *without* them, and march over their heads *towards revolution!*"¹

When the Second International's brand of revisionism prevailed in many Parties in Europe, Lenin attached great significance to the views of the French Communist Paul Golay. Golay said:

Our adversaries talked loudly of the bankruptcy of Socialism. That is going a bit too fast. Still, who would dare to assert that they are entirely wrong? What is dying at present is not Socialism at all, but one variety of socialism, a sugary socialism without the spirit of idealism and without passion, with the ways of a paunchy official and of a substantial paterfamilias, a socialism without boldness or fierce enthusiasm, a devotee of statistics with its nose buried in friendly agreements with capitalism, a socialism which is preoccupied solely with reforms and which has sold its birth-right for a mess of pottage, a socialism which in the eyes of the bourgeoisie is a throttle on the popular impatience and an automatic brake on proletarian audacity.²

What a superb description! Lenin called it the honest voice of a French Communist. People now ask: Is not modern revisionism precisely the "variety of socialism" which is dying? They will soon hear the resounding ring of the honest voices of innumerable Communists inside the Parties dominated by revisionism.

"A thousand sails pass by the shipwreck; ten thousand saplings shoot up beyond the withered tree." Bogus socialism is dying, whereas scientific socialism is bursting with youthful vigour and is advancing in bigger strides than ever. Revolutionary socialism with its vitality will overcome all difficulties and obstacles and advance step by step towards victory until it has won the whole world.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 105.

² *The Socialism Which Is Dying and the Socialism Which Must Be Reborn*, Lausanne, 1915.

Let us wind up this article with the concluding words of the *Communist Manifesto*:

“The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

“WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!”

**ON KHRUSHCHOV'S
PHONEY COMMUNISM AND
ITS HISTORICAL LESSONS
FOR THE WORLD**

**Ninth Comment on the Open Letter of
the Central Committee
of the CPSU**

by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao*
(*People's Daily*) and *Hongqi* (*Red Flag*)

(July 4, 1964)

THE theories of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism. The questions of whether revolution should be upheld or opposed and whether the dictatorship of the proletariat should be upheld or opposed have always been the focus of struggle between Marxism-Leninism and all brands of revisionism and are now the focus of struggle between Marxist-Leninists the world over and the revisionist Khrushchov clique.

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, the revisionist Khrushchov clique developed their revisionism into a complete system not only by rounding off their anti-revolutionary theories of “peaceful coexistence”, “peaceful competition” and “peaceful transition” but also by declaring that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary in the Soviet Union and advancing the absurd theories of the “state of the whole people” and the “party of the entire people”.

The Programme put forward by the revisionist Khrushchov clique at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU is a programme of phoney communism, a revisionist programme against proletarian revolution and for the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party.

The revisionist Khrushchov clique abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat behind the camouflage of the “state of the whole people”, change the proletarian character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union behind the camouflage of the “party of the entire people” and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism behind that of “full-scale communist construction”.

In its Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement dated June 14, 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out that it is most absurd in theory and extremely harmful

in practice to substitute the “state of the whole people” for the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the “party of the entire people” for the vanguard party of the proletariat. This substitution is a great historical retrogression which makes any transition to communism impossible and helps only to restore capitalism.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the press of the Soviet Union resort to sophistry in self-justification and charge that our criticisms of the “state of the whole people” and the “party of the entire people” are allegations “far removed from Marxism”, “betray complete isolation from Soviet life” and are a demand that they “return to the past”.

Well, let us ascertain who is actually far removed from Marxism-Leninism, what Soviet life is actually like and who actually wants the Soviet Union to return to the past.

SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

What is the correct conception of socialist society? Do classes and class struggle exist throughout the stage of socialism? Should the dictatorship of the proletariat be maintained and the socialist revolution be carried through to the end? Or should the dictatorship of the proletariat be abolished so as to pave the way for capitalist restoration? These questions must be answered correctly according to the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The replacement of capitalist society by socialist society is a great leap in the historical development of human society. Socialist society covers the important historical period of transition from class to classless society. It is by going through socialist society that mankind will enter communist society.

The socialist system is incomparably superior to the capitalist system. In socialist society, the dictatorship of the proletariat replaces bourgeois dictatorship and the public ownership of the means of production replaces private ownership. The proletariat, from being an oppressed and exploited class, turns into the ruling class and a fundamental change takes place in the social position of the working people. Exercising dictatorship over a few exploiters only, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat practises the broadest democracy among the masses of the working people, a democracy which is impossible in capitalist society. The nationalization of industry and collectivization of agriculture open wide vistas for the vigorous development of the social productive forces, ensuring a rate of growth incomparably greater than that in any older society.

However, one cannot but see that socialist society is a society born out of capitalist society and is only the first phase of communist society. It is not yet a fully mature communist society in the economic and other fields. It is inevitably stamped with the birthmarks of capitalist society. When defining socialist society Marx said:

What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.¹

Lenin also pointed out that in socialist society, which is the first phase of communism, “Communism *cannot* as yet be fully ripe economically and entirely free from traditions or traces of capitalism”.²

¹ Karl Marx, “Critique of the Gotha Programme”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow 1951, Vol. II, p. 21.

² V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 302.

In socialist society, the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between manual and mental labourers still remain, bourgeois rights are not yet completely abolished, it is *not possible* “at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of articles of consumption ‘according to the amount of labour performed’ (and not according to needs)”,¹ and therefore differences in wealth still exist. The disappearance of these differences, phenomena and bourgeois rights can only be gradual and long drawn out. As Marx said, only after these differences have vanished and bourgeois rights have completely disappeared, will it be possible to realize full communism with its principle, “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs”.

Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries all teach us that socialist society covers a very, very long historical stage. Throughout this stage, the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat goes on and the question of “who will win” between the roads of capitalism and socialism remains, as does the danger of the restoration of capitalism.

In its Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement dated June 14, 1963, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party states:

For a very long historical period after the proletariat takes power, class struggle continues as an objective law independent of man’s will, differing only in form from what it was before the taking of power.

After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out a number of times that:

- a. The overthrown exploiters always try in a thousand and one ways to recover the “paradise” they have been deprived of.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

b. New elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty-bourgeois atmosphere.

c. Political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class and among government functionaries as a result of bourgeois influence and the pervasive, corrupting atmosphere of the petty bourgeoisie.

d. The external conditions for the continuance of class struggle within a socialist country are encirclement by international capitalism, the imperialists' threat of armed intervention and their subversive activities to accomplish peaceful disintegration.

Life has confirmed these conclusions of Lenin's.

In socialist society, the overthrown bourgeoisie and other reactionary classes remain strong for quite a long time, and indeed in certain respects are quite powerful. They have a thousand and one links with the international bourgeoisie. They are not reconciled to their defeat and stubbornly continue to engage in trials of strength with the proletariat. They conduct open and hidden struggles against the proletariat in every field. Constantly parading such signboards as support for socialism, the Soviet system, the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism, they work to undermine socialism and restore capitalism. Politically, they persist for a long time as a force antagonistic to the proletariat and constantly attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. They sneak into the government organs, public organizations, economic departments and cultural and educational institutions so as to resist or usurp the leadership of the proletariat. Economically, they employ every means to damage socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership and to develop the forces of capitalism. In the ideological, cultural and educational fields, they counterpose the bourgeois world outlook to the proletarian world outlook and try

to corrupt the proletariat and other working people with bourgeois ideology.

The collectivization of agriculture turns individual into collective farmers and provides favourable conditions for the thorough remoulding of the peasants. However, until collective ownership advances to ownership by the whole people and until the remnants of private economy disappear completely, the peasants inevitably retain some of the inherent characteristics of small producers. In these circumstances spontaneous capitalist tendencies are inevitable, the soil for the growth of new rich peasants still exists and polarization among the peasants may still occur.

The activities of the bourgeoisie as described above, its corrupting effects in the political, economic, ideological and cultural and educational fields, the existence of spontaneous capitalist tendencies among urban and rural small producers, and the influence of the remaining bourgeois rights and the force of habit of the old society all constantly breed political degenerates in the ranks of the working class and Party and government organizations, new bourgeois elements and embezzlers and grafters in state enterprises owned by the whole people and new bourgeois intellectuals in the cultural and educational institutions and intellectual circles. These new bourgeois elements and these political degenerates attack socialism in collusion with the old bourgeois elements and elements of other exploiting classes which have been overthrown but not eradicated. The political degenerates entrenched in the leading organs are particularly dangerous, for they support and shield the bourgeois elements in organs at lower levels.

As long as imperialism exists, the proletariat in the socialist countries will have to struggle both against the bourgeoisie at home and against international imperialism. Imperialism will seize every opportunity and try to undertake armed intervention against the socialist countries or to bring about their peaceful disintegration. It will do its utmost to destroy

the socialist countries or to make them degenerate into capitalist countries. The international class struggle will inevitably find its reflection within the socialist countries.

Lenin said:

The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this *hope* is converted into *attempts* at restoration.¹

He also pointed out:

The abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn *class struggle*, which *after* the overthrow of the power of capital, *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state, *after* the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *does not disappear* (as the vulgar representatives of the old Socialism and the old Social-Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes more fierce.²

Throughout the stage of socialism the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the political, economic, ideological and cultural and educational fields cannot be stopped. It is a protracted, repeated, tortuous and complex struggle. Like the waves of the sea it sometimes rises high and sometimes subsides, is now fairly calm and now very turbulent. It is a struggle that decides the fate of a socialist society. Whether a socialist society will advance to communism or revert to capitalism depends upon the outcome of this protracted struggle.

The class struggle in socialist society is inevitably reflected in the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie and international

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 61.

² V. I. Lenin, "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 210-11.

imperialism both understand that in order to make a socialist country degenerate into a capitalist country, it is first necessary to make the Communist Party degenerate into a revisionist party. The old and new bourgeois elements, the old and new rich peasants and the degenerate elements of all sorts constitute the social basis of revisionism, and they use every possible means to find agents within the Communist Party. The existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism and surrender to imperialist pressure the external source. Throughout the stage of socialism, there is inevitable struggle between Marxism-Leninism and various kinds of opportunism — mainly revisionism — in the Communist Parties of socialist countries. The characteristic of this revisionism is that, denying the existence of classes and class struggle, it sides with the bourgeoisie in attacking the proletariat and turns the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In the light of the experience of the international working-class movement and in accordance with the objective law of class struggle, the founders of Marxism pointed out that the transition from capitalism to communism, from class to classless society, must depend on the dictatorship of the proletariat and that there is no other road.

Marx said that “the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*”.¹ He also said:

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.²

¹ “Marx to J. Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 410.

² Karl Marx, “Critique of the Gotha Programme”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 30.

The development of socialist society is a process of uninterrupted revolution. In explaining revolutionary socialism Marx said:

This socialism is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.¹

In his struggle against the opportunism of the Second International, Lenin creatively expounded and developed Marx's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out:

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is class struggle waged by a proletariat which has been victorious and has taken political power in its hands against a bourgeoisie that has been defeated but not destroyed, a bourgeoisie that has not vanished, not ceased to offer resistance, but that has intensified its resistance.²

He also said:

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society.³

¹ Karl Marx, "The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850", *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 203.

² V. I. Lenin, "Foreword to the Speech 'On Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality'", *Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1959, p. 302.

³ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 367.

In his celebrated work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and in other works, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, basing himself on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, gives a comprehensive and systematic analysis of classes and class struggle in socialist society, and creatively develops the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung examines the objective laws of socialist society from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics. He points out that the universal law of the unity and struggle of opposites operating both in the natural world and in human society is applicable to socialist society, too. In socialist society, class contradictions still remain and class struggle does not die out after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. The struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism runs through the entire stage of socialism. To ensure the success of socialist construction and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, it is necessary to carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts. The complete victory of socialism cannot be brought about in one or two generations; to resolve this question thoroughly requires five or ten generations or even longer.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung stresses the fact that two types of social contradictions exist in socialist society, namely, contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and that the former are very numerous. Only by distinguishing between the two types of contradictions, which are different in nature, and by adopting different measures to handle them correctly is it possible to unite the people, who constitute more than 90 per cent of the population, defeat their enemies, who constitute only a few per cent, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the basic guarantee for the consolidation and development of socialism, for the victory

of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and of socialism in the struggle between the two roads.

Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat ultimately emancipate itself. The historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat has two aspects, one internal and the other international. The internal task consists mainly of completely abolishing all the exploiting classes, developing socialist economy to the maximum, enhancing the communist consciousness of the masses, abolishing the differences between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labourers, eliminating any possibility of the re-emergence of classes and the restoration of capitalism and providing conditions for the realization of a communist society with its principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". The international task consists mainly of preventing attacks by international imperialism (including armed intervention and disintegration by peaceful means) and of giving support to the world revolution until the people of all countries finally abolish imperialism, capitalism and the system of exploitation. Before the fulfilment of both tasks and before the advent of a full communist society, the dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely necessary.

Judging from the actual situation today, the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are still far from accomplished in any of the socialist countries. In all socialist countries without exception, there are classes and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads, the question of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end and the question of preventing the restoration of capitalism. All the socialist countries still have a very long way to go before the differences between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labourers are eliminated, before all classes and class differences

are abolished and a communist society with its principle, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", is realized. Therefore, it is necessary for all the socialist countries to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these circumstances, the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the revisionist Khrushchov clique is nothing but the betrayal of socialism and communism.

ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE EXIST IN THE SOVIET UNION

In announcing the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the revisionist Khrushchov clique base themselves mainly on the argument that antagonistic classes have been eliminated and that class struggle no longer exists.

But what is the actual situation in the Soviet Union? Are there really no antagonistic classes and no class struggle there?

Following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in the Soviet Union, capitalist private ownership was destroyed and socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership were established through the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of agriculture, and great achievements in socialist construction were scored during several decades. All this constituted an indelible victory of tremendous historic significance won by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

However, the old bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes which had been overthrown in the Soviet Union were not eradicated and survived after industry was nationalized and agriculture collectivized. The political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie remained. Spontaneous capitalist tendencies continued to exist both in the city and in the coun-

tryside. New bourgeois elements and kulaks were still incessantly generated. Throughout the long intervening period, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads have continued in the political, economic and ideological spheres.

As the Soviet Union was the first, and at the time the only, country to build socialism and had no foreign experience to go by, and as Stalin departed from Marxist-Leninist dialectics in his understanding of the laws of class struggle in socialist society, he prematurely declared after agriculture was basically collectivized that there were “no longer antagonistic classes”¹ in the Soviet Union and that it was “free of class conflicts”,² one-sidedly stressed the internal homogeneity of socialist society and overlooked its contradictions, failed to rely upon the working class and the masses in the struggle against the forces of capitalism and regarded the possibility of the restoration of capitalism as associated only with armed attack by international imperialism. This was wrong both in theory and in practice. Nevertheless, Stalin remained a great Marxist-Leninist. As long as he led the Soviet Party and state, he held fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist course, pursued a Marxist-Leninist line and ensured the Soviet Union’s victorious advance along the road of socialism.

Ever since Khrushchov seized the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, he has pushed through a whole series of revisionist policies which have greatly hastened the growth of the forces of capitalism and again sharpened the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the roads of socialism and capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Scanning the reports in Soviet newspapers over the last few years, one finds numerous examples demonstrating not only

¹ J. V. Stalin, “On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.”, *Problems of Leninism*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, p. 690.

² J. V. Stalin, “Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B) on the Work of the Central Committee”, *Problems of Leninism*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, p. 777.

the presence of many elements of the old exploiting classes in Soviet society, but also the generation of new bourgeois elements on a large scale and the acceleration of class polarization.

Let us first look at the activities of the various bourgeois elements in the Soviet enterprises owned by the whole people.

Leading functionaries of some state-owned factories and their gangs abuse their positions and amass large fortunes by using the equipment and materials of the factories to set up “underground workshops” for private production, selling the products illicitly and dividing the spoils. Here are some examples.

In a Leningrad plant producing military items, the leading functionaries placed their own men in “all key posts” and “turned the state enterprise into a private one”. They illicitly engaged in the production of non-military goods and from the sale of fountain pens alone embezzled 1,200,000 old roubles in three years. Among these people was a man who “was a Nepman . . . in the 1920’s” and had been a “lifelong thief”.¹

In a silk-weaving mill in Uzbekistan, the manager ganged up with the chief engineer, the chief accountant, the chief of the supply and marketing section, heads of workshops and others, and they all became “new-born entrepreneurs”. They purchased more than ten tons of artificial and pure silk through various illegal channels in order to manufacture goods which “did not pass through the accounts”. They employed workers without going through the proper procedures and enforced “a twelve-hour working day”.²

The manager of a furniture factory in Kharkov set up an “illegal knitwear workshop” and carried on secret operations inside the factory. This man “had several wives, several cars, several houses, 176 neck-ties, about a hundred shirts and

¹ *Krasnaya Zvezda*, May 19, 1962.

² *Pravda Vostoka*, October 8, 1963.

dozens of suits". He was also a big gambler at the horse-races.¹

Such people do not operate all by themselves. They invariably work hand in glove with functionaries in the state departments in charge of supplies and in the commercial and other departments. They have their own men in the police and judicial departments who protect them and act as their agents. Even high-ranking officials in the state organs support and shield them. Here are a few examples.

The chief of the workshops affiliated to a Moscow psycho-neurological dispensary and his gang set up an "underground enterprise", and by bribery "obtained fifty-eight knitting machines" and a large amount of raw material. They entered into business relations with "fifty-two factories, handicraft co-operatives and collective farms" and made three million roubles in a few years. They bribed functionaries of the Department for Combating Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation, controllers, inspectors, instructors and others.²

The manager of a machinery plant in the Russian Federation, together with the deputy manager of a second machinery plant and other functionaries, or forty-three persons in all, stole more than nine hundred looms and sold them to factories in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus and other places, whose leading functionaries used them for illicit production.³

In the Kirghiz SSR, a gang of over forty embezzlers and grafters, having gained control of two factories, organized underground production and plundered more than thirty million roubles' worth of state property. This gang included the Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Republic, a Vice-Minister of Commerce, seven bureau chiefs and division chiefs of the Republic's Council of Ministers, National Eco-

¹ *Pravda Ukrainy*, May 18, 1962.

² *Izvestia*, October 20, 1963, and *Izvestia Sunday Supplement*, No. 12, 1964.

³ *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, August 9, 1963.

conomic Council and State Control Commission, as well as “a big kulak who had fled from exile”.¹

These examples show that the factories which have fallen into the clutches of such degenerates are socialist enterprises only in name, that in fact they have become capitalist enterprises by which these persons enrich themselves. The relationship of such persons to the workers has turned into one between exploiters and exploited, between oppressors and oppressed. Are not such degenerates who possess and make use of means of production to exploit the labour of others out-and-out bourgeois elements? Are not their accomplices in government organizations, who work hand in glove with them, participate in many types of exploitation, engage in embezzlement, accept bribes, and share the spoils, also out-and-out bourgeois elements?

Obviously all these people belong to a class that is antagonistic to the proletariat — they belong to the bourgeoisie. Their activities against socialism are definitely class struggle with the bourgeoisie attacking the proletariat.

Now let us look at the activities of various kulak elements on the collective farms.

Some leading collective-farm functionaries and their gangs steal and speculate at will, freely squander public money and fleece the collective farmers. Here are some examples.

The chairman of a collective farm in Uzbekistan “held the whole village in terror”. All the important posts on this farm “were occupied by his in-laws and other relatives and friends”. He squandered “over 132,000 roubles of the collective farm for his personal ‘needs’”. He had a car, two motor-cycles and three wives, each with “a house of her own”.²

The chairman of a collective farm in the Kursk Region regarded the farm as his “hereditary estate”. He conspired with its accountant, cashier, chief warehouse-keeper, agronomist, general-store manager and others. Shielding each other,

¹ *Sovietskaya Kirghizia*, January 9, 1962.

² *Selskaya Zhizn*, June 26, 1962.

they “fleeced the collective farmers” and pocketed more than 100,000 roubles in a few years.¹

The chairman of a collective farm in the Ukraine made over 50,000 roubles at its expense by forging purchase certificates and cash-account orders in collusion with its woman accountant, who had been praised for keeping “model accounts” and whose deeds had been displayed at the Moscow Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy.²

The chairman of a collective farm in the Alma-Ata Region specialized in commercial speculation. He bought “fruit juice in the Ukraine or Uzbekistan, and sugar and alcohol from Djambul”, processed them and then sold the wine at very high prices in many localities. In this farm a winery was created with a capacity of over a million litres a year, its speculative commercial network spread throughout the Kazakhstan SSR, and commercial speculation became one of the farm’s main sources of income.³

The chairman of a collective farm in Byelorussia considered himself “a feudal princeling on the farm” and acted “personally” in all matters. He lived not on the farm but in the city or in his own splendid villa, and was always busy with “various commercial machinations” and “illegal deals”. He bought cattle from the outside, represented them as the products of his collective farm and falsified output figures. And yet “not a few commendatory newspaper reports” had been published about him and he had been called a “model leader”.⁴

These examples show that collective farms under the control of such functionaries virtually become their private property. Such men turn socialist collective economic enterprises into economic enterprises of new kulaks. There are often people in their superior organizations who protect them. Their relationship to the collective farmers has likewise become that of

¹ *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 35, 1963.

² *Selskaya Zhizn*, August 14, 1963.

³ *Pravda*, January 14, 1962.

⁴ *Pravda*, February 6, 1961.

oppressors to oppressed, of exploiters to exploited. Are not such neo-exploiters who ride on the backs of the collective farmers one hundred-per-cent neo-kulaks?

Obviously, they all belong to a class that is antagonistic to the proletariat and the labouring farmers, belong to the kulak or rural bourgeois class. Their anti-socialist activities are precisely class struggle with the bourgeoisie attacking the proletariat and the labouring farmers.

Apart from the bourgeois elements in state enterprises and collective farms, there are many others in both town and country in the Soviet Union.

Some of them set up private enterprises for private production and sale; others organize contractor teams and openly undertake construction jobs for state or co-operative enterprises; still others open private hotels. A "Soviet woman capitalist" in Leningrad hired workers to make nylon blouses for sale, and her "daily income amounted to 700 new roubles".¹ The owner of a workshop in the Kursk Region made felt boots for sale at speculative prices. He had in his possession 540 pairs of felt boots, eight kilogrammes of gold coins, 3,000 metres of high-grade textiles, 20 carpets, 1,200 kilogrammes of wool and many other valuables.² A private entrepreneur in the Gomel Region "hired workers and artisans" and in the course of two years secured contracts for the construction and overhauling of furnaces in twelve factories at a high price.³ In the Orenburg Region there are "hundreds of private hotels and trans-shipment points", and "the money of the collective farms and the state is continuously streaming into the pockets of the hostelry owners".⁴

Some engage in commercial speculation, making tremendous profits through buying cheap and selling dear or bringing goods from far away. In Moscow there are a great many

¹ *Izvestia*, April 9, 1963.

² *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, October 9, 1960.

³ *Izvestia*, October 18, 1960.

⁴ *Selskaya Zhizn*, July 17, 1963.

speculators engaged in the re-sale of agricultural produce. They “bring to Moscow tons of citrus fruit, apples and vegetables and re-sell them at speculative prices”. “These profit-grabbers are provided with every facility, with market inns, store-rooms and other services at their disposal”.¹ In the Krasnodar Territory, a speculator set up her own agency and “employed twelve salesmen and two stevedores”. She transported “thousands of hogs, hundreds of quintals of grain and hundreds of tons of fruit” from the rural areas to the Don Basin and moved “great quantities of stolen slag bricks, whole wagons of glass” and other building materials from the city to the villages. She reaped huge profits out of such re-sale.²

Others specialize as brokers and middlemen. They have wide contacts and through them one can get any thing in return for a bribe. There was a broker in Leningrad who “though he is not the Minister of Trade, controls all the stocks”, and “though he holds no post on the railway, disposes of wagons”. He could obtain “things the stocks of which are strictly controlled, from outside the stocks”. “All the store-houses in Leningrad are at his service.” For delivering goods, he received huge “bonuses” — 700,000 roubles from one timber combine in 1960 alone. In Leningrad, there is “a whole group” of such brokers.³

These private entrepreneurs and speculators are engaged in the most naked capitalist exploitation. Isn't it clear that they belong to the bourgeoisie, the class antagonistic to the proletariat?

Actually the Soviet press itself calls these people “Soviet capitalists”, “new-born entrepreneurs”, “private entrepreneurs”, “newly-emerged kulaks”, “speculators”, “exploiters”, etc. Aren't the revisionist Khrushchov clique contradicting themselves when they assert that antagonistic classes do not exist in the Soviet Union?

¹ *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 27, 1963.

² *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, July 27 and August 17, 1963.

³ *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, January 27, 1961.

The facts cited above are only a part of those published in the Soviet press. They are enough to shock people, but there are many more which have not been published, many bigger and more serious cases which are covered up and shielded. We have quoted the above data in order to answer the question whether there are antagonistic classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union. These data are readily available and even the revisionist Khrushchov clique are unable to deny them.

These data suffice to show that the unbridled activities of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat are widespread in the Soviet Union, in the city as well as the countryside, in industry as well as agriculture, in the sphere of production as well as the sphere of circulation, all the way from the economic departments to Party and government organizations, and from the grass-roots to the higher leading bodies. These anti-socialist activities are nothing if not the sharp class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

It is not strange that attacks on socialism should be made in a socialist country by old and new bourgeois elements. There is nothing terrifying about this so long as the leadership of the Party and state remains a Marxist-Leninist one. But in the Soviet Union today, the gravity of the situation lies in the fact that the revisionist Khrushchov clique have usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state and that a privileged bourgeois stratum has emerged in Soviet society.

We shall deal with this problem in the following section.

THE SOVIET PRIVILEGED STRATUM AND THE REVISIONIST KHRUSHCHOV CLIQUE

The privileged stratum in contemporary Soviet society is composed of degenerate elements from among the leading cadres of Party and government organizations, enterprises and farms as well as bourgeois intellectuals; it stands in op-

position to the workers, the peasants and the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals and cadres of the Soviet Union.

Lenin pointed out soon after the October Revolution that bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies and force of habit were encircling and influencing the proletariat from all directions and were corrupting certain of its sections. This circumstance led to the emergence from among the Soviet officials and functionaries both of bureaucrats alienated from the masses and of new bourgeois elements. Lenin also pointed out that although the high salaries paid to the bourgeois technical specialists staying on to work for the Soviet regime were necessary, they were having a corrupting influence on it.

Therefore, Lenin laid great stress on waging persistent struggles against the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, on arousing the broad masses to take part in government work, on ceaselessly exposing and purging bureaucrats and new bourgeois elements in the Soviet organs, and on creating conditions that would bar the existence and reproduction of the bourgeoisie. Lenin pointed out sharply that “without a systematic and determined struggle to improve the apparatus, we shall perish before the basis of socialism is created”.¹

At the same time, he laid great stress on adherence to the principle of the Paris Commune in wage policy, that is, all public servants were to be paid wages corresponding to those of the workers and only bourgeois specialists were to be paid high salaries. From the October Revolution to the period of Soviet economic rehabilitation, Lenin’s directives were in the main observed; the leading personnel of the Party and government organizations and enterprises and Party members among the specialists received salaries roughly equivalent to the wages of workers.

At that time, the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union adopted a number of measures in the

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Plan of the Pamphlet ‘On the Food Tax’ ”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1950, Vol. XXXII, p. 301.

sphere of politics and ideology and in the system of distribution to prevent leading cadres in any department from abusing their powers or degenerating morally or politically.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Stalin adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the road of socialism and waged a staunch struggle against the forces of capitalism. Stalin's struggles against the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites were in essence a reflection within the Party of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and of the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. Victory in these struggles smashed the vain plot of the bourgeoisie to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

It cannot be denied that before Stalin's death high salaries were already being paid to certain groups and that some cadres had already degenerated and become bourgeois elements. The Central Committee of the CPSU pointed out in its report to the 19th Party Congress in October 1952 that degeneration and corruption had appeared in certain Party organizations. The leaders of these organizations had turned them into small communities composed exclusively of their own people, "setting their group interests higher than the interests of the Party and the state". Some executives of industrial enterprises "forget that the enterprises entrusted to their charge are state enterprises, and try to turn them into their own private domain". "Instead of safeguarding the common husbandry of the collective farms", some Party and Soviet functionaries and some cadres in agricultural departments "engage in filching collective-farm property". In the cultural, artistic and scientific fields too, works attacking and smearing the socialist system had appeared and a monopolistic "Arakcheyev regime" had emerged among the scientists.

Since Khrushchov usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, there has been a fundamental change in the state of the class struggle in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchov has carried out a series of revisionist policies serving the interests of the bourgeoisie and rapidly swelling the forces of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

On the pretext of “combating the personality cult”, Khrushchov has defamed the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system and thus in fact paved the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In completely negating Stalin, he has in fact negated Marxism-Leninism which was upheld by Stalin and opened the floodgates for the revisionist deluge.

Khrushchov has substituted “material incentive” for the socialist principle, “from each according to his ability, to each according to his work”. He has widened, and not narrowed, the gap between the incomes of a small minority and those of the workers, peasants and ordinary intellectuals. He has supported the degenerates in leading positions, encouraging them to become even more unscrupulous in abusing their powers and to appropriate the fruits of labour of the Soviet people. Thus he has accelerated the polarization of classes in Soviet society.

Khrushchov sabotages the socialist planned economy, applies the capitalist principle of profit, develops capitalist free competition and undermines socialist ownership by the whole people.

Khrushchov attacks the system of socialist agricultural planning, describing it as “bureaucratic” and “unnecessary”. Eager to learn from the big proprietors of American farms, he is encouraging capitalist management, fostering a kulak economy and undermining the socialist collective economy.

Khrushchov is peddling bourgeois ideology, bourgeois liberty, equality, fraternity and humanity, inculcating bourgeois idealism and metaphysics and the reactionary ideas of bourgeois individualism, humanism and pacifism among the Soviet people, and debasing socialist morality. The rotten bourgeois culture of the West is now fashionable in the Soviet Union, and socialist culture is ostracized and attacked.

Under the signboard of “peaceful coexistence”, Khrushchov has been colluding with U.S. imperialism, wrecking the socialist camp and the international communist movement, opposing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, practising great-power chauvinism and national egoism and betraying proletarian internationalism. All this is being done for the protection of the vested interests of a handful of people, which he places above the fundamental interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the whole world.

The line Khrushchov pursues is a revisionist line through and through. Guided by this line, not only have the old bourgeois elements run wild but new bourgeois elements have appeared in large numbers among the leading cadres of the Soviet Party and government, the chiefs of state enterprises and collective farms, and the higher intellectuals in the fields of culture, art, science and technology.

In the Soviet Union at present, not only have the new bourgeois elements increased in number as never before, but their social status has fundamentally changed. Before Khrushchov came to power, they did not occupy the ruling position in Soviet society. Their activities were restricted in many ways and they were subject to attack. But since Khrushchov took over, usurping the leadership of the Party and the state step by step, the new bourgeois elements have gradually risen to the ruling position in the Party and government and in the economic, cultural and other departments, and formed a privileged stratum in Soviet society.

This privileged stratum is the principal component of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union today and the main social basis of the revisionist Khrushchov clique. The revisionist Khrushchov clique are the political representatives of the Soviet bourgeoisie, and particularly of its privileged stratum.

The revisionist Khrushchov clique have carried out one purge after another and replaced one group of cadres after another throughout the country, from the central to the local

bodies, from leading Party and government organizations to economic and cultural and educational departments, dismissing those they do not trust and planting their protégés in leading posts.

Take the Central Committee of the CPSU as an example. The statistics show that nearly seventy per cent of the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU who were elected at its 19th Congress in 1952 were purged in the course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses held respectively in 1956 and 1961. And nearly fifty per cent of the members of the Central Committee who were elected at the 20th Congress were purged at the time of the 22nd Congress.

Or take the local organizations. On the eve of the 22nd Congress, on the pretext of "renewing the cadres", the revisionist Khrushchov clique, according to incomplete statistics, removed from office forty-five per cent of the members of the Party Central Committees of the Union Republics and of the Party Committees of the Territories and Regions, and forty per cent of the members of the Municipal and District Party Committees. In 1963, on the pretext of dividing the Party into "industrial" and "agricultural" Party committees, they further replaced more than half the members of the Central Committees of the Union Republics and of the Regional Party Committees.

Through this series of changes the Soviet privileged stratum has gained control of the Party, the government and other important organizations.

The members of this privileged stratum have converted the function of serving the masses into the privilege of dominating them. They are abusing their powers over the means of production and of livelihood for the private benefit of their small clique.

The members of this privileged stratum appropriate the fruits of the Soviet people's labour and pocket in comes that are dozens or even a hundred times those of the average Soviet worker and peasant. They not only secure high in-

comes in the form of high salaries, high awards, high royalties and a great variety of personal subsidies, but also use their privileged position to appropriate public property by graft and bribery. Completely divorced from the working people of the Soviet Union, they live the parasitical and decadent life of the bourgeoisie.

The members of this privileged stratum have become utterly degenerate ideologically, have completely departed from the revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Party and discarded the lofty ideals of the Soviet working class. They are opposed to Marxism-Leninism and socialism. They betray the revolution and forbid others to make revolution. Their sole concern is to consolidate their economic position and political rule. All their activities revolve around the private interests of their own privileged stratum.

Having usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, the Khrushchov clique are turning the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its glorious revolutionary history into a revisionist party; they are turning the Soviet state under the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state under the dictatorship of the revisionist Khrushchov clique; and, step by step, they are turning socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership into ownership by the privileged stratum.

People have seen how in Yugoslavia, although the Tito clique still displays the banner of "socialism", a bureaucrat bourgeoisie opposed to the Yugoslav people has gradually come into being since the Tito clique took the road of revisionism, transforming the Yugoslav state from a dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bureaucrat bourgeoisie and its socialist public economy into state capitalism. Now people see the Khrushchov clique taking the road already travelled by the Tito clique. Khrushchov looks to Belgrade as his Mecca, saying again and again that he will learn from the Tito clique's experience and declaring that he and the

Tito clique “belong to one and the same idea and are guided by the same theory”.¹ This is not at all surprising.

As a result of Khrushchov’s revisionism, the first socialist country in the world built by the great Soviet people with their blood and sweat is now facing an unprecedented danger of capitalist restoration.

The Khrushchov clique are spreading the tale that “there are no longer antagonistic classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union” in order to cover up the facts about their own ruthless class struggle against the Soviet people.

The Soviet privileged stratum represented by the revisionist Khrushchov clique constitutes only a few per cent of the Soviet population. Among the Soviet cadres its numbers are also small. It stands diametrically opposed to the Soviet people, who constitute more than 90 per cent of the total population, and to the great majority of the Soviet cadres and Communists. The contradiction between the Soviet people and this privileged stratum is now the principal contradiction inside the Soviet Union, and it is an irreconcilable and antagonistic class contradiction.

The glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was built by Lenin, and the great Soviet people displayed epoch-making revolutionary initiative in the October Socialist Revolution, they showed their heroism and stamina in defeating the White Guards and the armed intervention by more than a dozen imperialist countries, they scored unprecedentedly brilliant achievements in the struggle for industrialization and agricultural collectivization, and they won a tremendous victory in the Patriotic War against the German fascists and saved all mankind. Even under the rule of the Khrushchov clique, the mass of the members of the CPSU and the Soviet people are carrying on the glorious revolutionary traditions nurtured by Lenin and Stalin, and they still uphold socialism and aspire to communism.

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Interview with Foreign Correspondents at Brioni in Yugoslavia, August 28, 1963.

The broad masses of the Soviet workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are seething with discontent against the oppression and exploitation practised by the privileged stratum. They have come to see ever more clearly the revisionist features of the Khrushchov clique which is betraying socialism and restoring capitalism. Among the ranks of the Soviet cadres, there are many who still persist in the revolutionary stand of the proletariat, adhere to the road of socialism and firmly oppose Khrushchov's revisionism. The broad masses of the Soviet people, of Communists and cadres are using various means to resist and oppose the revisionist line of the Khrushchov clique, so that the revisionist Khrushchov clique cannot so easily bring about the restoration of capitalism. The great Soviet people are fighting to defend the glorious traditions of the Great October Revolution, to preserve the great gains of socialism and to smash the plot for the restoration of capitalism.

REFUTATION OF THE SO-CALLED STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU Khrushchov openly raised the banner of opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, announcing the replacement of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the "state of the whole people". It is written in the Programme of the CPSU that the dictatorship of the proletariat "has ceased to be indispensable in the U.S.S.R." and that "the state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has, in the new, contemporary stage, become a state of the entire people".

Anyone with a little knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that the concept of the state is a class concept. Lenin pointed out that "the distinguishing feature of the state is the existence of a separate class of people in whose hands

power is concentrated”.¹ The state is a weapon of class struggle, a machine by means of which one class represses another. Every state is the dictatorship of a definite class. So long as the state exists, it cannot possibly stand above class or belong to the whole people.

The proletariat and its political party have never concealed their views; they say explicitly that the very aim of the proletarian socialist revolution is to overthrow bourgeois rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the victory of the socialist revolution, the proletariat and its party must strive unremittingly to fulfil the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and eliminate classes and class differences, so that the state will wither away. It is only the bourgeoisie and its parties which in their attempt to hoodwink the masses try by every means to cover up the class nature of state power and describe the state machinery under their control as being “of the whole people” and “above class”.

The fact that Khrushchov has announced the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and advanced the thesis of the “state of the whole people” demonstrates that he has replaced the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state by bourgeois falsehoods.

When Marxist-Leninists criticized their fallacies, the revisionist Khrushchov clique hastily defended themselves and tried hard to invent a so-called theoretical basis for the “state of the whole people”. They now assert that the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat mentioned by Marx and Lenin refers only to the transition from capitalism to the first stage of communism and not to its higher stage. They further assert that “the dictatorship of the proletariat

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve’s Book”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1960, Vol. I, p. 419.

will cease to be necessary before the state withers away”¹ and that after the end of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is yet another stage, the “state of the whole people”.

These are out-and-out sophistries.

In his “Critique of the Gotha Programme”, Marx advanced the well-known axiom that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the state of the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Lenin gave a clear explanation of this Marxist axiom.

He said:

In his “Critique of the Gotha Programme” Marx wrote: “Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.”

Up to now this axiom has never been disputed by Socialists, and yet it implies the recognition of the existence of the *state* right up to the time when victorious socialism has grown into complete communism.²

Lenin further said:

The essence of Marx’s teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from “classless society”, from Communism.³

¹“Programme for the Building of Communism”, editorial board article in *Pravda*, August 18, 1961.

²V. I. Lenin, “The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up”, *Collected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, Vol. XIX, pp. 269-70.

³V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 234.

It is perfectly clear that according to Marx and Lenin, the historical period throughout which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exists, is not merely the period of transition from capitalism to the first stage of communism, as alleged by the revisionist Khrushchov clique, but the entire period of transition from capitalism to “complete communism”, to the time when all class differences will have been eliminated and “classless society” realized, that is to say, to the higher stage of communism.

It is equally clear that the state in the transition period referred to by Marx and Lenin is the dictatorship of the proletariat and not anything else. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the form of the state in the entire period of transition from capitalism to the higher stage of communism, and also the last form of the state in human history. The withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat will mean the withering away of the state. Lenin said:

Marx deduced from the whole history of Socialism and of the political struggle that the state was bound to disappear, and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from state to nonstate) would be the “proletariat organized as the ruling class”.¹

Historically the dictatorship of the proletariat may take different forms from one country to another and from one period to another, but in essence it will remain the same. Lenin said:

The transition from capitalism to Communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*.²

It can thus be seen that it is absolutely not the view of Marx and Lenin but an invention of the revisionist Khrushchov

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234.

that the end of the dictatorship of the proletariat will precede the withering away of the state and will be followed by yet another stage, "the state of the whole people".

In arguing for their anti-Marxist-Leninist views, the revisionist Khrushchov clique have taken great pains to find a sentence from Marx and distorted it by quoting it out of context. They have arbitrarily described the future *nature of the state* [*Staatswesen* in German] of communist society referred to by Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Programme" as the "'state of communist society' [государственность коммунистического общества in Russian], which is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat".¹ They gleefully announced that the Chinese would not dare to quote this from Marx. Apparently the revisionist Khrushchov clique think it is very helpful to them.

As it happens, Lenin seems to have foreseen that revisionists would make use of this phrase to distort Marxism. In his *Marxism on the State*, Lenin gave an excellent explanation of it. He said, ". . . the dictatorship of the proletariat is a 'political transition period'. . . . But Marx goes on to speak of 'the future *nature of the state* [государственность in Russian, *Staatswesen* in German] of communist society'!! Thus, there will be a state even in '*communist society*'!! Is there not a contradiction in this?" Lenin answered, "No." He then tabulated the three stages in the process of development from the bourgeois state to the withering away of the state:

The first stage — in capitalist society, the state is needed by the bourgeoisie — the bourgeois state.

The second stage — in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, the state is needed by the proletariat — the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The third stage — in communist society, the state is not necessary, it withers away.

¹ M. A. Suslov, Report at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, February 1964, *New Times*, Eng. ed., No. 15, 1964, p. 62.

He concluded: "Complete consistency and clarity!!"

In Lenin's tabulation, only the bourgeois state, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the withering away of the state are to be found. By precisely this tabulation Lenin made it clear that when communism is reached the state withers away and becomes non-existent.

Ironically enough, the revisionist Khrushchov clique also quoted this very passage from Lenin's *Marxism on the State* in the course of defending their error. And then they proceeded to make the following idiotic statement:

In our country the first two periods referred to by Lenin in the opinion quoted already belong to history. In the Soviet Union a state of the whole people — *a communist state system*, the state of the *first phase of communism*, has arisen and is developing.¹

If the first two periods referred to by Lenin have already become a thing of the past in the Soviet Union, then the state should be withering away, and where could a "state of the whole people" come from? If the state is not yet withering away, then it ought to be the dictatorship of the proletariat and under absolutely no circumstances a "state of the whole people".

In arguing for their "state of the whole people", the revisionist Khrushchov clique exert themselves to vilify the dictatorship of the proletariat as undemocratic. They assert that only by replacing the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the "state of the whole people" can democracy be further developed and turned into "genuine democracy for the whole people". Khrushchov has pretentiously said that the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat exemplifies "a line of energetically developing democracy" and that "pro-

¹ "From the Party of the Working Class to the Party of the Whole Soviet People", editorial board article in *Partynaya Zhizn*, No. 8, 1964.

letarian democracy is becoming socialist democracy of the whole people”.¹

These utterances can only show that their authors either are completely ignorant of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the state or are maliciously distorting them.

Anyone with a little knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that the concept of democracy as a form of the state, like that of dictatorship, is a class one. There can only be class democracy, there cannot be “democracy for the whole people”.

Lenin said:

Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e., exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people -- this is the change democracy undergoes during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism.²

Dictatorship over the exploiting classes and democracy among the working people — these are the two aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only under the dictatorship of the proletariat that democracy for the masses of the working people can be developed and expanded to an unprecedented extent. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no genuine democracy for the working people.

Where there is bourgeois democracy there is no proletarian democracy, and where there is proletarian democracy there is no bourgeois democracy. The one excludes the other. This is inevitable and admits of no compromise. The more thoroughly bourgeois democracy is eliminated, the more will proletarian democracy flourish. In the eyes of the bourgeoisie, any country where this occurs is lacking in democracy. But actually this is the promotion of proletarian democracy

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, October 1961, and Report on the Programme of the CPSU, delivered at the Congress.

² V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 291.

and the elimination of bourgeois democracy. As proletarian democracy develops, bourgeois democracy is eliminated.

This fundamental Marxist-Leninist thesis is opposed by the revisionist Khrushchov clique. In fact, they hold that so long as enemies are subjected to dictatorship there is no democracy and that the only way to develop democracy is to abolish the dictatorship over enemies, stop suppressing them and institute “democracy for the whole people”.

Their view is cast from the same mould as the renegade Kautsky’s concept of “pure democracy”.

In criticizing Kautsky Lenin said:

. . . “pure democracy” is not only an *ignorant* phrase, revealing a lack of understanding both of the class struggle and of the nature of the state, but also a thrice-empty phrase, since in communist society democracy will *wither away* in the process of changing and becoming a habit, but will never be “pure” democracy.¹

He also pointed out:

The dialectics (course) of the development is as follows: from absolutism to bourgeois democracy; from bourgeois to proletarian democracy; from proletarian democracy to none.²

That is to say, in the higher stage of communism proletarian democracy will wither away along with the elimination of classes and the withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To speak plainly, as with the “state of the whole people”, the “democracy for the whole people” proclaimed by Khrushchov is a hoax. In thus retrieving the tattered garments of the bourgeoisie and the old-line revisionists, patching them

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 48.

² V. I. Lenin, *Marxism on the State*, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1958, p. 42.

up and adding a label of his own, Khrushchov's sole purpose is to deceive the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the world and cover up his betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat and his opposition to socialism.

What is the essence of Khrushchov's "state of the whole people"?

Khrushchov has abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and established a dictatorship of the revisionist clique headed by himself, that is, a dictatorship of a privileged stratum of the Soviet bourgeoisie. Actually his "state of the whole people" is not a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat but a state in which his small revisionist clique wield their dictatorship over the masses of the workers, the peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals. Under the rule of the Khrushchov clique, there is no democracy for the Soviet working people, there is democracy only for the handful of people belonging to the revisionist Khrushchov clique, for the privileged stratum and for the bourgeois elements, old and new. Khrushchov's "democracy for the whole people" is nothing but out-and-out bourgeois democracy, *i.e.*, a despotic dictatorship of the Khrushchov clique over the Soviet people.

In the Soviet Union today, anyone who persists in the proletarian stand, upholds Marxism-Leninism and has the courage to speak out, to resist or to fight is watched, followed, summoned, and even arrested, imprisoned or diagnosed as "mentally ill" and sent to "mental hospitals". Recently the Soviet press has declared that it is necessary to "fight" against those who show even the slightest dissatisfaction, and called for "relentless battle" against the "rotten jokers"¹ who are so bold as to make sarcastic remarks about Khrushchov's agricultural policy. It is particularly astonishing that the revisionist Khrushchov clique should have on more than one occasion bloodily suppressed striking workers and the masses who put up resistance.

¹ *Izvestia*, March 10, 1964.

The formula of abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat while keeping a state of the whole people reveals the secret of the revisionist Khrushchov clique; that is, they are firmly opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat but will not give up state power till their doom. The revisionist Khrushchov clique know the paramount importance of controlling state power. They need the state machinery for repressing the Soviet working people and the Marxist-Leninists. They need it for clearing the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. These are Khrushchov's real aims in raising the banners of the "state of the whole people" and "democracy for the whole people".

REFUTATION OF THE SO-CALLED PARTY OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU Khrushchov openly raised another banner, the alteration of the proletarian character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He announced the replacement of the party of the proletariat by a "party of the entire people". The programme of the CPSU states:

As a result of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the consolidation of the unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party of the working class has become the vanguard of the Soviet people, a party of the entire people.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU says that the CPSU "has become a political organization of the entire people".

How absurd!

Elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism tells us that, like the state, a political party is an instrument of class struggle. Every political party has a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character. There is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party and

there never has been, nor is there such a thing as a “party of the entire people” that does not represent the interests of a particular class.

The party of the proletariat is built in accordance with the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism; it is the party formed by the advanced elements who are boundlessly faithful to the historical mission of the proletariat, it is the organized vanguard of the proletariat and the highest form of its organization. The party of the proletariat represents the interests of the proletariat and the concentration of its will.

Moreover, the party of the proletariat is the only party able to represent the interests of the people, who constitute over 90 per cent of the total population. The reason is that the interests of the proletariat are identical with those of the working masses, that the proletarian party can approach problems in the light of the historical role as the proletariat and in terms of the present and future interests of the proletariat and the working masses and of the best interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, and that it can give correct leadership in accordance with Marxism-Leninism.

In addition to its members of working-class origin, the party of the proletariat has members of other class origins. But the latter do not join the Party as representatives of other classes. From the very day they join the Party they must abandon their former class stand and take the stand of the proletariat. Marx and Engels said:

If people of this kind from other classes join the proletarian movement, the first condition must be that they should not bring any remnants of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices with them but should whole-heartedly adopt the proletarian outlook.¹

¹ “Marx and Engels to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others (“Circular Letter”), Sept. 17-18, 1879”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 440.

The basic principles concerning the character of the proletarian party were long ago elucidated by Marxism-Leninism. But in the opinion of the revisionist Khrushchov clique these principles are “stereotyped formulas”, while their “party of the entire people” conforms to the “actual dialectics of the development of the Communist Party”.¹

The revisionist Khrushchov clique have cudgelled their brains to think up arguments justifying their “party of the entire people”. They have argued during the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties in July 1963 and in the Soviet press that they have changed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a “party of the entire people” because:

- (1) The CPSU expresses the interests of the whole people.
- (2) The entire people have accepted the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the working class, and the aim of the working class — the building of communism — has become the aim of the entire people.
- (3) The ranks of the CPSU consist of the best representatives of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. The CPSU unites in its own ranks representatives of over a hundred nationalities and peoples.
- (4) The democratic method used in the Party’s activities is also in accord with its character as the Party of the entire people.

It is obvious even at a glance that none of these arguments adduced by the revisionist Khrushchov clique shows a serious approach to a serious problem.

When Lenin was fighting the opportunist muddle-heads, he remarked:

Can people obviously incapable of taking serious problems seriously, themselves be taken seriously? It is difficult to do so, comrades, very difficult! But the question which

¹ “From the Party of the Working Class to the Party of the Whole Soviet People”, editorial board article in *Partynaya Zhizn*, No. 8, 1964.

certain people cannot treat seriously is in itself so serious that it will do no harm to examine even patently frivolous replies to it.¹

Today, too, it will do no harm to examine the patently frivolous replies given by the revisionist Khrushchov clique to so serious a question as that of the party of the proletariat.

According to the revisionist Khrushchov clique, the Communist Party should become a “party of the entire people” because it expresses the interests of the entire people. Does it not then follow that from the very beginning it should have been a “party of the entire people” instead of a party of the proletariat?

According to the revisionist Khrushchov clique, the Communist Party should become a “party of the entire people” because “the entire people have accepted the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the working class”. But how can it be said that everyone has accepted the Marxist-Leninist world outlook in Soviet society where sharp class polarization and class struggle are taking place? Can it be said that the tens of thousands of old and new bourgeois elements in your country are all Marxist-Leninists? If Marxism-Leninism has really become the world outlook of the entire people, as you allege, does it not then follow that there is no difference in your society between Party and non-Party and no need whatsoever for the Party to exist? What difference does it make if there is a “party of the entire people” or not?

According to the revisionist Khrushchov clique, the Communist Party should become a “party of the entire people” because its membership consists of workers, peasants and intellectuals and all nationalities and peoples. Does this mean then that before the idea of the “party of the entire people” was put forward at its 22nd Congress none of the members of the CPSU came from classes other than the working class?

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Clarity First and Foremost!”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, Vol. XX, p. 544.

Does it mean that formerly the members of the Party all came from just one nationality, to the exclusion of other nationalities and peoples? If the character of a party is determined by the social background of its membership, does it not then follow that the numerous political parties in the world whose members also come from various classes, nationalities and peoples are all “parties of the entire people”?

According to the revisionist Khrushchov clique, the Party should be a “party of the entire people” because the methods it uses in its activities are democratic. But from its outset, a Communist Party is built on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism and should always adopt the mass line and the democratic method of persuasion and education in working among the people. Does it not then follow that a Communist Party is a “party of the entire people” from the first day of its founding?

Briefly, none of the arguments listed by the revisionist Khrushchov clique holds water.

Besides making a great fuss about a “party of the entire people”, Khrushchov has also divided the Party, into an “industrial Party” and an “agricultural Party” on the pretext of “building the Party organs on the production principle”.¹

The revisionist Khrushchov clique say that they have done so because of “the primacy of economics over politics under socialism”² and because they want to place “the economic and production problems, which have been pushed to the forefront by the entire course of the communist construction, at the centre of the activities of the Party organizations” and make them “the cornerstone of all their work”.³ Khrushchov said, “We say bluntly that the main thing in the work of the Party

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, November 1962.

² “Study, Know, Act”, editorial of *Economicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 50, 1962.

³ “The Communist and Production”, editorial of *Kommunist*, Moscow, No. 2, 1963.

organs is production.”¹ And what is more, they have foisted these views on Lenin, claiming that they are acting in accordance with his principles.

However, anyone at all acquainted with the history of the CPSU knows that, far from being Lenin’s views, they are anti-Leninist views and that they were views held by Trotsky. On this question, too, Khrushchov is a worthy disciple of Trotsky.

In criticizing Trotsky and Bukharin, Lenin said:

Politics are the concentrated expression of economics. . . . Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the A B C of Marxism.

He continued:

. . . without a proper political approach to the subject the given class cannot maintain its rule, and *consequently* cannot solve *its own production problems*.²

The facts are crystal clear: the real purpose of the revisionist Khrushchov clique in proposing a “party of the entire people” was completely to alter the proletarian character of the CPSU and transform the Marxist-Leninist Party into a revisionist party.

The great Communist Party of the Soviet Union is confronted with the grave danger of degenerating from a party of the proletariat into a party of the bourgeoisie and from a Marxist-Leninist into a revisionist party.

Lenin said:

A party that wants to exist cannot allow the slightest wavering on the question of its existence or any agreement with those who may bury it.³

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Election Meeting of the Kalinin Constituency of Moscow, February 27, 1963.

² V. I. Lenin, “Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IX, pp. 54 and 55.

³ V. I. Lenin, “How Vera Zasulich Demolishes Liquidationism”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XIX, p. 414.

At present, the revisionist Khrushchov clique is again confronting the broad membership of the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union with precisely this serious question.

KHRUSHCHOV'S PHONEY COMMUNISM

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchov announced that the Soviet Union had already entered the period of the extensive building of communist society. He also declared that "we shall, in the main, have built a communist society within twenty years".¹ This is pure fraud.

How can there be talk of building communism when the revisionist Khrushchov clique are leading the Soviet Union onto the path of the restoration of capitalism and when the Soviet people are in grave danger of losing the fruits of socialism?

In putting up the signboard of "building communism" Khrushchov's real aim is to conceal the true face of his revisionism. But it is not hard to expose this trick. Just as the eyeball of a fish cannot be allowed to pass as a pearl, so revisionism cannot be allowed to pass itself off as communism.

Scientific communism has a precise and definite meaning. According to Marxism-Leninism, communist society is a society in which classes and class differences are completely eliminated, the entire people have a high level of communist consciousness and morality as well as boundless enthusiasm for and initiative in labour, there is a great abundance of social products and the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is applied, and in which the state has withered away.

Marx declared:

In the higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Report on the Programme of the CPSU, delivered at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in October 1961.

therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!¹

According to Marxist-Leninist theory, the purpose of upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of socialism is precisely to ensure that society develops in the direction of communism. Lenin said that “forward development, i.e., towards Communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise”.² Since the revisionist Khrushchov clique have abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, it is going backward and not forward, going backward to capitalism and not forward to communism.

Going forward to communism means moving towards the abolition of all classes and class differences. A communist society which preserves any classes at all, let alone exploiting classes, is inconceivable. Yet Khrushchov is fostering a new bourgeoisie, restoring and extending the system of exploitation and accelerating class polarization in the Soviet Union. A privileged bourgeois stratum opposed to the Soviet people now occupies the ruling position in the Party and government and in the economic, cultural and other departments. Can one find an iota of communism in all this?

Going forward to communism means moving towards a unitary system of the ownership of the means of production

¹ Karl Marx, “Critique of the Gotha Programme”, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, p. 23.

² V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 291.

by the whole people. A communist society in which several kinds of ownership of the means of production coexist is inconceivable. Yet Khrushchov is creating a situation in which enterprises owned by the whole people are gradually degenerating into capitalist enterprises and farms under the system of collective ownership are gradually degenerating into units of a kulak economy. Again, can one find an iota of communism in all this?

Going forward to communism means moving towards a great abundance of social products and the realization of the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". A communist society built on the enrichment of a handful of persons and the impoverishment of the masses is inconceivable. Under the socialist system the great Soviet people developed the social productive forces at unprecedented speed. But the evils of Khrushchov's revisionism are creating havoc in the Soviet socialist economy. Constantly beset with innumerable contradictions, Khrushchov makes frequent changes in his economic policies and often goes back on his own words, thus throwing the Soviet national economy into a state of chaos. Khrushchov is truly an incorrigible wastrel. He has squandered the grain reserves built up under Stalin and brought great difficulties into the lives of the Soviet people. He has distorted and violated the socialist principle of distribution of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work", and enabled a handful of persons to appropriate the fruits of the labour of the broad masses of the Soviet people. These points alone are sufficient to prove that the road taken by Khrushchov leads away from communism.

Going forward to communism means moving towards enhancing the communist consciousness of the masses. A communist society with bourgeois ideas running rampant is inconceivable. Yet Khrushchov is zealously reviving bourgeois ideology in the Soviet Union and serving as a missionary for the decadent American culture. By propagating material

incentive, he is turning all human relations into money relations and encouraging individualism and selfishness. Because of him, manual labour is again considered sordid and love of pleasure at the expense of other people's labour is again considered honourable. Certainly, the social ethics and atmosphere promoted by Khrushchov are far removed from communism, as far as far can be.

Going forward to communism means moving towards the withering away of the state. A communist society with a state apparatus for oppressing the people is in conceivable. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is actually no longer a state in its original sense, because it is no longer a machine used by the exploiting few to oppress the overwhelming majority of the people but a machine for exercising dictatorship over a very small number of exploiters, while democracy is practised among the overwhelming majority of the people. Khrushchov is altering the character of Soviet state power and changing the dictatorship of the proletariat back into an instrument whereby a handful of privileged bourgeois elements exercise dictatorship over the mass of the Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals. He is continuously strengthening his dictatorial state apparatus and intensifying his repression of the Soviet people. It is indeed a great mockery to talk about communism in these circumstances.

A comparison of all this with the principles of scientific communism readily reveals that in every respect the revisionist Khrushchov clique are leading the Soviet Union away from the path of socialism and onto the path of capitalism and, as a consequence, further and further away from, instead of closer to, the communist goal of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Khrushchov has ulterior motives when he puts up the sign-board of communism. He is using it to fool the Soviet people and cover up his effort to restore capitalism. He is using it to deceive the international proletariat and the revolutionary people the world over and betray proletarian internationalism.

Under this signboard, the Khrushchov clique has itself abandoned proletarian internationalism and is seeking a partnership with U.S. imperialism for the partition of the world; moreover, it wants the fraternal socialist countries to serve its own private interests and not to oppose imperialism or to support the revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, and it wants them to accept its political, economic and military control and be its virtual dependencies and colonies. Furthermore, the Khrushchov clique wants all the oppressed peoples and nations to serve its private interests and abandon their revolutionary struggles, so as not to disturb its sweet dream of partnership with imperialism for the division of the world, and instead submit to enslavement and oppression by imperialism and its lackeys.

In short, Khrushchov's slogan of basically "building a communist society within twenty years" in the Soviet Union is not only false but also reactionary.

The revisionist Khrushchov clique say that the Chinese "go to the length of questioning the very right of our Party and people to build communism".¹ This is a despicable attempt to fool the Soviet people and poison the friendship of the Chinese and Soviet people. We have never had any doubt that the great Soviet people will eventually enter into communist society. But right now the revisionist Khrushchov clique are damaging the socialist fruits of the Soviet people and taking away their right to go forward to communism. In the circumstances, the issue confronting the Soviet people is not how to build communism but rather how to resist and oppose Khrushchov's effort to restore capitalism.

The revisionist Khrushchov clique also say that "the CPC leaders hint that, since our Party has made its aim a better life for the people, Soviet society is being 'bourgeoisified', is

¹ M. A. Suslov, Report at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, February 1964.

‘degenerating’”.¹ This trick of deflecting the Soviet people’s dissatisfaction with the Khrushchov clique is deplorable as well as stupid. We sincerely wish the Soviet people an increasingly better life. But Khrushchov’s boasts of “concern for the well-being of the people” and of “a better life for every man” are utterly false and demagogic. For the masses of the Soviet people life is already bad enough at Khrushchov’s hands. The Khrushchov clique seek a “better life” only for the members of the privileged stratum and the bourgeois elements, old and new, in the Soviet Union. These people are appropriating the fruits of the Soviet people’s labour and living the life of bourgeois lords. They have indeed become thoroughly bourgeoisified.

Khrushchov’s “communism” is in essence a variant of bourgeois socialism. He does not regard communism as completely abolishing classes and class differences but describes it as “a bowl accessible to all and brimming with the products of physical and mental labour”.² He does not regard the struggle of the working class for communism as a struggle for the thorough emancipation of all mankind as well as itself but describes it as a struggle for “a good dish of goulash”. There is not an iota of scientific communism in his head but only the image of a society of bourgeois philistines.

Khrushchov’s “communism” takes the United States for its model. Imitation of the methods of management of U.S. capitalism and the bourgeois way of life has been raised by Khrushchov to the level of state policy. He says that he “always thinks highly” of the achievements of the United States. He “rejoices in these achievements, is a little envious at

¹ Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to All Party Organizations, to All Communists of the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech for the Austrian Radio and Television, July 7, 1960.

times”.¹ He extols to the sky a letter by Roswell Garst, a big U.S. farmer, which propagates the capitalist system;² actually he has taken it as his agricultural programme. He wants to copy the United States in the sphere of industry as well as that of agriculture and, in particular, to imitate the profit motive of U.S. capitalist enterprises. He shows great admiration for the American way of life, asserting that the American people “do not live badly”³ under the rule and enslavement of monopoly capital. Going further, Khrushchov is hopeful of building communism with loans from U.S. imperialism. During his visits to the United States and Hungary, he expressed on more than one occasion his readiness “to take credits from the devil himself”.

Thus it can be seen that Khrushchov’s “communism” is indeed “goulash communism”, the “communism of the American way of life” and “communism seeking credits from the devil”. No wonder he often tells representatives of Western monopoly capital that once such “communism” is realized in the Soviet Union, “you will go forward to communism without any call from me”.⁴

There is nothing new about such “communism”. It is simply another name for capitalism. It is only a bourgeois label, sign or advertisement. In ridiculing the old-line revisionist parties which set up the signboard of Marxism, Lenin said:

Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political tendency, this “bourgeois labour party,” will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited from doing

¹ N. S. Khrushchov, Interview with Leaders of U.S. Congress and Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, September 16, 1959.

² N. S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, February 1964.

³ N. S. Khrushchov, Talk at a Meeting with Businessman and Public Leaders in Pittsburgh, U.S.A., September 24, 1959.

⁴ N. S. Khrushchov, Talk at a Meeting with French Parliamentarians, March 25, 1960.

this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label, sign, or advertisement.¹

It is thus easily understandable why Khrushchov's "communism" is appreciated by imperialism and monopoly capital. The U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk has said:

. . . to the extent that goulash and the second pair of trousers and questions of that sort become more important in the Soviet Union, I think to that extent a moderating influence has come into the present scene.²

And the British Prime Minister Douglas-Home has said:

Mr. Khrushchov said that the Russian brand of communism puts education and goulash first. That is good; goulash-communism is better than war-communism, and I am glad to have this confirmation of our view that fat and comfortable Communists are better than lean and hungry Communists.³

Khrushchov's revisionism entirely caters to the policy of "peaceful evolution" which U.S. imperialism is pursuing with regard to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. John Foster Dulles said:

. . . there was evidence within the Soviet Union of forces toward greater liberalism which, if they persisted, could bring about a basic change within the Soviet Union.⁴

The liberal forces Dulles talked about are capitalist forces. The basic change Dulles hoped for is the degeneration of socialism into capitalism. Khrushchov is effecting exactly the "basic change" Dulles dreamed of.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, Vol. XI, p. 761.

² Dean Rusk, Interview on British Broadcasting Corporation Television, May 10, 1964.

³ A. Douglas Home, Speech at Norwich, England, April 6, 1964.

⁴ J. F. Dulles, Press Conference, May 15, 1956.

How the imperialists are hoping for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union! How they are rejoicing!

We would advise the imperialist lords not to be happy too soon. Notwithstanding all the services of the revisionist Khrushchov clique, nothing can save imperialism from its doom. The revisionist ruling clique suffer from the same kind of disease as the imperialist ruling clique; they are extremely antagonistic to the masses of the people who comprise over 90 per cent of the world's population, and therefore they, too, are weak and powerless and are paper tigers. Like the clay Buddha that tried to wade across the river, the revisionist Khrushchov clique cannot even save themselves, so how can they endow imperialism with long life?

HISTORICAL LESSONS OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Khrushchov's revisionism has inflicted heavy damage on the international communist movement, but at the same time it has educated the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world by negative example.

If it may be said that the Great October Revolution provided Marxist-Leninists in all countries with the most important positive experience and opened up the road for the proletarian seizure of political power, then on its part Khrushchov's revisionism may be said to have provided them with the most important negative experience, enabling Marxist-Leninists in all countries to draw the appropriate lessons for preventing the degeneration of the proletarian party and the socialist state.

Historically all revolutions have had their reverses and their twists and turns. Lenin once asked:

. . . if we take the matter in its essence, has it ever happened in history that a new mode of production took root

immediately, without a long succession of setbacks, blunders and relapses?¹

The international proletarian revolution has a history of less than a century counting from 1871 when the proletariat of the Paris Commune made the first heroic attempt at the seizure of political power, or barely half a century counting from the October Revolution. The proletarian revolution, the greatest revolution in human history, replaces capitalism by socialism and private ownership by public ownership and uproots all the systems of exploitation and all the exploiting classes. It is all the more natural that so earth-shaking a revolution should have to go through serious and fierce class struggles, inevitably traverse a long and tortuous course beset with reverses.

History furnishes a number of examples in which proletarian rule suffered defeat as a result of armed suppression by the bourgeoisie, for instance, the Paris Commune and the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. In contemporary times, too, there was the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary in 1956, when the rule of the proletariat was almost overthrown. People can easily perceive this form of capitalist restoration and are more alert and watchful against it.

However, they cannot easily perceive and are often off their guard or not vigilant against another form of capitalist restoration, which therefore presents a greater danger. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat takes the road of revisionism or the road of "peaceful evolution" as a result of the degeneration of the leadership of the Party and the state. A lesson of this kind was provided some years ago by the revisionist Tito clique who brought about the degeneration of socialist Yugoslavia into a capitalist country. But the Yugoslav lesson alone has not sufficed to arouse people's attention fully. Some may say that perhaps it was an accident.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 229.

But now the revisionist Khrushchov clique have usurped the leadership of the Party and the state, and there is grave danger of a restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the land of the Great October Revolution with its history of several decades in building socialism. And this sounds the alarm for all socialist countries, including China, and for all the Communist and Workers' Parties, including the Communist Party of China. Inevitably it arouses very great attention and forces Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people the world over to ponder deeply and sharpen their vigilance.

The emergence of Khrushchov's revisionism is a bad thing, and it is also a good thing. So long as the countries where socialism has been achieved and also those that will later embark on the socialist road seriously study the lessons of the "peaceful evolution" promoted by the revisionist Khrushchov clique and take the appropriate measures, they will be able to prevent this kind of "peaceful evolution" as well as crush the enemy's armed attacks. Thus, the victory of the world proletarian revolution will be more certain.

The Communist Party of China has a history of forty-three years. During its protracted revolutionary struggle, our Party combated both Right and "Left" opportunist errors and the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was established. Closely integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has led the Chinese people from victory to victory. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have taught us to wage unrelenting struggle in the theoretical, political and organizational fields, as well as in practical work, so as to combat revisionism and prevent a restoration of capitalism. The Chinese people have gone through protracted revolutionary armed struggles and possess a glorious revolutionary tradition. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking and inseparably linked to the

masses. The numerous cadres of the Chinese Communist Party have been educated and tempered in rectification movements and sharp class struggles. All these factors make it very difficult to restore capitalism in our country.

But let us look at the facts. Is our society today thoroughly clean? No, it is not. Classes and class struggle still remain, the activities of the overthrown reactionary classes plotting a comeback still continue, and we still have speculative activities by old and new bourgeois elements and desperate forays by embezzlers, grafters and degenerates. There are also cases of degeneration in a few primary organizations; what is more, these degenerates do their utmost to find protectors and agents in the higher leading bodies. We should not in the least slacken our vigilance against such phenomena but must keep fully alert.

The struggle in the socialist countries between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism — between the forces of capitalism attempting a comeback and the forces opposing it — is unavoidable. But the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries and their degeneration into capitalist countries are certainly not unavoidable. We can prevent the restoration of capitalism so long as there is a correct leadership and a correct understanding of the problem, so long as we adhere to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, take the appropriate measures and wage a prolonged, unremitting struggle. The struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads can become a driving force for social advance.

How can the restoration of capitalism be prevented? On this question Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a set of theories and policies, after summing up the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and studying the positive and negative experience of other countries, mainly of the Soviet Union, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and has thus enriched and developed the Marxist Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The main contents of the theories and policies advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in this connection are as follows:

FIRST, it is necessary to apply the Marxist-Leninist law of the unity of opposites to the study of socialist society. The law of contradiction in all things, *i.e.*, the law of the unity of opposites, is the fundamental law of materialist dialectics. It operates everywhere, whether in the natural world, in human society, or in human thought. The opposites in a contradiction both unite and struggle with each other, and it is this that forces things to move and change. Socialist society is no exception. In socialist society there are two kinds of social contradictions, namely, the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. These two kinds of social contradictions are entirely different in their essence, and the methods for handling them should be different, too. Their correct handling will result in the increasing consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the further strengthening and development of socialist society. Many people acknowledge the law of the unity of opposites but are unable to apply it in studying and handling questions in socialist society. They refuse to admit that there are contradictions in socialist society -- that there are not only contradictions between ourselves and the enemy but also contradictions among the people -- and they do not know how to distinguish between these two kinds of social contradictions and how to handle them correctly, and are therefore unable to deal correctly with the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

SECOND, socialist society covers a very long historical period. Classes and class struggle continue to exist in this society, and the struggle still goes on between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. The socialist revolution on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) is insufficient by itself and cannot be consolidated. There must also be a thorough socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Here a very long period of time is needed

to decide “who will win” in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Several decades won’t do it; success requires anywhere from one to several centuries. On the question of duration, it is better to prepare for a longer rather than a shorter period of time. On the question of effort, it is better to regard the task as difficult rather than easy. It will be more advantageous and less harmful to think and act in this way. Anyone who fails to see this or to appreciate it fully will make tremendous mistakes. During the historical period of socialism it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end if the restoration of capitalism is to be prevented, socialist construction carried forward and the conditions created for the transition to communism.

THIRD, the dictatorship of the proletariat is led by the working class, with the worker-peasant alliance as its basis. This means the exercise of dictatorship by the working class and by the people under its leadership over the reactionary classes and individuals and those elements who oppose socialist transformation and socialist construction. Within the ranks of the people democratic centralism is practised. Ours is the broadest democracy beyond the bounds of possibility for any bourgeois state.

FOURTH, in both socialist revolution and socialist construction it is necessary to adhere to the mass line, boldly to arouse the masses and to unfold mass movements on a large scale. The mass line of “from the masses, to the masses” is the basic line in all the work of our Party. It is necessary to have firm confidence in the majority of the people and, above all, in the majority of the worker-peasant masses. We must be good at consulting the masses in our work and under no circumstances alienate ourselves from them. Both commandism and the attitude of one dispensing favours have to be fought. The full and frank expression of views and great debates are important forms of revolutionary struggle which have been created by the people of our country in the course

of their long revolutionary fight, forms of struggle which rely on the masses for resolving contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.

FIFTH, whether in socialist revolution or in socialist construction, it is necessary to solve the question of whom to rely on, whom to win over and whom to oppose. The proletariat and its vanguard must make a class analysis of socialist society, rely on the truly dependable forces that firmly take the socialist road, win over all allies that can be won over, and unite with the masses of the people, who constitute more than 95 per cent of the population, in a common struggle against the enemies of socialism. In the rural areas, after the collectivization of agriculture it is necessary to rely on the poor and lower middle peasants in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance, defeat the spontaneous capitalist tendencies and constantly strengthen and extend the positions of socialism.

SIXTH, it is necessary to conduct extensive socialist education movements repeatedly in the cities and the countryside. In these continuous movements for educating the people we must be good at organizing the revolutionary class forces, enhancing their class consciousness, correctly handling contradictions among the people and uniting all those who can be united. In these movements it is necessary to wage a sharp, tit-for-tat struggle against the anti-socialist, capitalist and feudal forces — the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois rightists, and the embezzlers, grafters and degenerates — in order to smash the attacks they unleash against socialism and to remould the majority of them into new men.

SEVENTH, one of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is actively to expand the socialist economy. It is necessary to achieve the modernization of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defence step by step under the guidance of the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. On the basis of the growth of produc-

tion, it is necessary to raise the living standards of the people gradually and on a broad scale.

EIGHTH, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership are the two forms of socialist economy. The transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people, from two kinds of ownership to a unitary ownership by the whole people, is a rather long process. Collective ownership itself develops from lower to higher levels and from smaller to larger scale. The people's commune which the Chinese people have created is a suitable form of organization for the solution of the question of this transition.

NINTH, "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is a policy for stimulating the growth of the arts and the progress of science and for promoting a flourishing socialist culture. Education must serve proletarian politics and must be combined with productive labour. The manual workers should at the same time be intellectuals and the intellectuals manual workers. Among those engaged in science, culture, the arts and education, the struggle to promote proletarian ideology and destroy bourgeois ideology is a protracted and fierce class struggle. It is necessary to build up a large detachment of working-class intellectuals who serve socialism and who are both "red and expert", *i.e.*, who are both politically conscious and professionally competent, by means of the cultural revolution, and revolutionary practice in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

TENTH, it is necessary to maintain the system of cadre participation in collective productive labour. The cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers and not overlords sitting on the backs of the people. By taking part in collective productive labour, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent revisionism and dogmatism.

ELEVENTH, the system of high salaries for a small number of people should never be applied. The gap between the incomes of the working personnel of the Party, the government, the enterprises and the people's communes, on the one hand, and the incomes of the mass of the people, on the other, should be rationally and gradually narrowed and not widened. All working personnel must be prevented from abusing their power and enjoying special privileges.

TWELFTH, it is always necessary for the people's armed forces of a socialist country to be under the leadership of the Party of the proletariat and under the supervision of the masses, and they must always maintain the glorious tradition of a people's army, with unity between the army and the people and between officers and men. It is necessary to keep the system under which officers serve as common soldiers at regular intervals. It is necessary to practise military democracy, political democracy and economic democracy. Moreover, militia units should be organized and trained all over the country, so as to make everybody a soldier. The guns must for ever be in the hands of the Party and the people and must never be allowed to become the instruments of careerists.

THIRTEENTH, the people's public security organs must always be under the leadership of the Party of the proletariat and under the supervision of the mass of the people. In the struggle to defend the fruits of socialism and the people's interests, the policy must be applied of relying on the combined efforts of the broad masses and the security organs, so that not a single bad person escapes or a single good person is wronged. Counter-revolutionaries must be suppressed whenever found, and mistakes must be corrected whenever discovered.

FOURTEENTH, in foreign policy, it is necessary to uphold proletarian internationalism and oppose great-power chauvinism and national egoism. The socialist camp is the product of the struggle of the international proletariat and working people. It belongs to the proletariat and working people of the

whole world as well as to the people of the socialist countries. We must truly put into effect the fighting slogans, "Workers of all countries, unite!" and "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!", resolutely combat the anti-Communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of imperialism and reaction and support the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed classes and oppressed nations. Relations among socialist countries should be based on the principles of independence, complete equality and the proletarian internationalist principle of mutual support and mutual assistance. Every socialist country should rely mainly on itself for its construction. If any socialist country practises national egoism in its foreign policy, or, worse yet, eagerly works in partnership with imperialism for the partition of the world, such conduct is degenerate and a betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

FIFTEENTH, as the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party must exist as long as the dictatorship of the proletariat exists. The Communist Party is the highest form of organization of the proletariat. The leading role of the proletariat is realized through the leadership of the Communist Party. The system of Party committees exercising leadership must be put into effect in all departments. During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian party must maintain and strengthen its close ties with the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people, maintain and develop its vigorous revolutionary style, uphold the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of its own country, and persist in the struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and opportunism of every kind.

In the light of the historical lessons of the dictatorship of the proletariat Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stated:

Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements

are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will forever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour.¹

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that, in order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.

In the final analysis, the question of training successors for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is one of whether or not there will be people who can carry on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary cause started by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, whether or not the leadership of our Party and state will remain in the hands of proletarian

¹ Mao Tse-tung, Note on "The Seven Well-Written Documents of the Chekiang Province Concerning Cadres' Participation in Physical Labour", May 9, 1963.

revolutionaries, whether or not our descendants will continue to march along the correct road laid down by Marxism-Leninism, or, in other words, whether or not we can successfully prevent the emergence of Khrushchovite revisionism in China. In short, it is an extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for a hundred, a thousand, nay ten thousand years. Basing themselves on the changes in the Soviet Union, the imperialist prophets are pinning their hopes of “peaceful evolution” on the third or fourth generation of the Chinese Party. We must shatter these imperialist prophecies. From our highest organizations down to the grass-roots, we must everywhere give constant attention to the training and upbringing of successors to the revolutionary cause.

What are the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat?

They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

They must be revolutionaries who whole-heartedly serve the majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.

They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong. But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and government at any level.

They must be models in applying the Party’s democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on

the principle of “from the masses, to the masses”, and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party’s democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.

They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must not cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution. It is essential to test and know cadres and choose and train successors in the long course of mass struggle.

The above series of principles advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung are creative developments of Marxism-Leninism, to the theoretical arsenal of which they add new weapons of decisive importance for us in preventing the restoration of capitalism. So long as we follow these principles, we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, ensure that our Party and state will never change colour, successfully conduct the socialist revolution and socialist construction, help all peoples’ revolutionary movements for the overthrow of imperialism and its lackeys, and guarantee the future transition from socialism to communism.

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Regarding the emergence of the revisionist Khrushchov clique in the Soviet Union, our attitude as Marxist-Leninists is the same as our attitude towards any “disturbance” — first, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it.

We did not wish it and are opposed to it, but since the revisionist Khrushchov clique have already emerged, there is nothing terrifying about them, and there is no need for alarm.

The earth will continue to revolve, history will continue to move forward, the people of the world will, as always, make revolutions, and the imperialists and their lackeys will inevitably meet their doom.

The historic contributions of the great Soviet people will remain forever glorious; they can never be tarnished by the revisionist Khrushchov clique's betrayal. The broad masses of the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and Communists of the Soviet Union will eventually surmount all the obstacles in their path and march towards communism.

The Soviet people, the people of all the socialist countries and the revolutionary people the world over will certainly learn lessons from the revisionist Khrushchov clique's betrayal. In the struggle against Khrushchov's revisionism, the international communist movement has grown and will continue to grow mightier than ever before.

Marxist-Leninists have always had an attitude of revolutionary optimism towards the future of the cause of the proletarian revolution. We are profoundly convinced that the brilliant light of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of socialism and of Marxism-Leninism will shine forth over the Soviet land. The proletariat is sure to win the whole world and communism is sure to achieve complete and final victory on earth.

**WHY
KHRUSHCHEV FELL**

Editorial. *Hongqi (Red Flag)*

(November 21, 1964)

KHRUSHCHOV has fallen.

This arch-schemer who usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, this number one representative of modern revisionism, has finally been driven off the stage of history.

This is a very good thing and is advantageous to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

The collapse of Khrushchov is a great victory for the Marxist-Leninists of the world in their persistent struggle against revisionism. It marks the bankruptcy, the fiasco, of modern revisionism.

How was it that Khrushchov fell? Why couldn't he muddle on any longer?

This question has aroused different comments from different political groups all over the world.

The imperialists, the reactionaries, and the opportunists and revisionists of all shades, whether they sympathize with Khrushchov or have had conflicts of interest with him, have expressed varied views on the sudden collapse of this seemingly "strong man", Khrushchov.

Many Communist and Workers' Parties have also published articles or documents expressing their opinion on Khrushchov's downfall.

In the present article we too would like to discuss the question of Khrushchov's downfall.

For Marxist-Leninists, this downfall is not something which is hard to understand. Indeed, it may be said to have been fully expected. Marxist-Leninists had long foreseen that Khrushchov would come to such an end.

People may list hundreds or even thousands of charges against Khrushchov to account for his collapse. But the most important one of all is that he has vainly tried to obstruct the advance of history, flying in the face of the law of historical

development as discovered by Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary will of the people of the Soviet Union and the whole world. Any obstacle on the peoples road of advance must be removed. The people were sure to reject Khrushchov, whether he and his kind liked it or not. Khrushchov's downfall is the inevitable result of the anti-revisionist struggle waged staunchly by the people of the Soviet Union and revolutionary people throughout the world.

Ours is an epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are moving to their doom and socialism and communism are marching towards victory. The historic mission this epoch has placed on the people is to bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man through their own efforts and in the light of the concrete conditions of their respective countries. This is the inexorable trend of historical development and the common demand of the revolutionary people of the world. This historical trend is an objective law which operates independently of man's will, and it is irresistible. But Khrushchov, this buffoon on the contemporary political stage, chose to go against this trend in the vain hope of turning the wheel of history back onto the old capitalist road and of thus prolonging the life of the moribund exploiting classes and their moribund system of exploitation.

Khrushchov collected all the anti-Marxist views of history's opportunists and revisionists and out of them knocked together a full-fledged revisionist line consisting of "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition", "peaceful transition", "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people". He pursued a capitulationist line towards imperialism and used the theory of class conciliation to oppose and liquidate the people's revolutionary struggles. In the international communist movement, he enforced a divisive line, replacing proletarian internationalism with great-power chauvinism. In the Soviet Union he worked hard to disintegrate the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, attempting to replace the socialist system with the ideology, politics, economy and culture of the bourgeoisie, and to restore capitalism.

In the last eleven years, exploiting the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the first socialist country that had been built up under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchov did all the bad things he possibly could in contravention of the genuine will of the Soviet people. These bad things may be summed up as follows:

1. On the pretext of “combating the personality cult” and using the most scurrilous language, he railed at Stalin, the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. In opposing Stalin, he opposed Marxism-Leninism. He tried at one stroke to write off all the great achievements of the Soviet people in the entire period under Stalin’s leadership in order to defame the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system, the great Soviet Communist Party, the great Soviet Union and the international communist movement. In so doing, Khrushchov provided the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries with the dirtiest of weapons for their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist activities.

2. In open violation of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, he sought “all-round co-operation” with U.S. imperialism and fallaciously maintained that the heads of the Soviet Union and the United States would “decide the fate of humanity”, constantly praising the chieftains of U.S. imperialism as “having a sincere desire for peace”. Pursuing an adventurist policy at one moment, he transported guided missiles to Cuba, and pursuing a capitulationist policy at another, he docilely withdrew the missiles and bombers from Cuba on the order of the U.S. pirates. He accepted inspection by the U.S. fleet and even tried to sell out Cuba’s sovereignty by agreeing, behind the Cuban Government’s back, to the “inspection” of Cuba by the United Nations, which is under U.S. control. In so doing, Khrushchov brought a humil-

iating disgrace upon the great Soviet people unheard of in the forty years and more since the October Revolution.

3. To cater to the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and prevent socialist China from building up her own nuclear strength for self-defence, he did not hesitate to damage the defense capabilities of the Soviet Union itself and concluded the so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty in collusion with the two imperialist powers of the United States and Britain. Facts have shown that this treaty is a pure swindle. In signing this treaty Khrushchov perversely tried to sell out the interests of the Soviet people, the people of all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving people of the world.

4. In the name of "peaceful transition" he tried by every means to obstruct the revolutionary movements of the people in the capitalist countries, demanding that they take the so-called legal, parliamentary road. This erroneous line paralyses the revolutionary will of the proletariat and disarms the revolutionary people ideologically, causing serious setbacks to the cause of revolution in certain countries. It has made the Communist Parties in a number of capitalist countries lifeless social-democratic parties of a new type and caused them to degenerate into servile tools of the bourgeoisie.

5. Under the signboard of "peaceful coexistence" he did his utmost to oppose and sabotage the national liberation movement and went so far as to work hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations. He instructed the Soviet delegate at the United Nations to vote for the dispatch of forces of aggression to the Congo, which helped the U.S. imperialists to suppress the Congolese people, and he used Soviet transport facilities to move these so-called United Nations troops to the Congo. He actually opposed the revolutionary struggles of the Algerian people, describing the Algerian national liberation struggle as an "internal affair" of France. He had the audacity to "stand aloof" over the events in the Gulf of Bac Bo engineered by U.S. imperialism against Viet Nam, and cudgelled his brains

for ways to help the U.S. provocateurs get out of their predicament and to whitewash the criminal aggression of the U.S. pirates.

6. In brazen violation of the Statement of 1960, he spared no effort to reverse its verdict on the renegade Tito clique, describing Tito who had degenerated into a lackey of U.S. imperialism as a “Marxist-Leninist” and Yugoslavia which had degenerated into a capitalist country as a “socialist country”. Time and again he declared that he and the Tito clique had “the same ideology” and were “guided by the same theory” and expressed his desire to learn modestly from this renegade who had betrayed the interests of the Yugoslav people and sabotaged the international communist movement.

7. He regarded Albania, a fraternal socialist country, as his sworn enemy, devising every possible means to injure and undermine it, and only wishing he could devour it in one gulp. He brazenly broke off all economic and diplomatic relations with Albania, arbitrarily deprived it of its legitimate rights as a member state in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and publicly called for the overthrow of its Party and state leadership.

8. He nourished an inveterate hatred for the Communist Party of China which upholds Marxism-Leninism and a revolutionary line, because the Chinese Communist Party was a great obstacle to his effort to press on with revisionism and capitulationism. He spread innumerable rumours and slanders against the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao-Tse-tung and resorted to every kind of baseness in his futile attempt to subvert socialist China. He perfidiously tore up several hundred agreements and contracts and arbitrarily withdrew more than one thousand Soviet experts working in China. He engineered border disputes between China and the Soviet Union and even conducted large-scale subversive activities in Sinkiang. He backed the reactionaries of India in their armed attacks on socialist China and, together with the

United States, incited and helped them to perpetrate armed provocations against China by giving them military aid.

9. In flagrant violation of the principles guiding relations among the fraternal countries, he encroached upon their independence and sovereignty and wilfully interfered in their internal affairs. In the name of “mutual economic assistance”, he opposed the independent development of the economies of fraternal countries and forced them to become a source of raw materials and an outlet for finished goods, thus reducing their industries to appendages. He bragged that these were all new theories and doctrines of his own invention, but in fact they were the jungle law of the capitalist world which he applied to relations among socialist countries, taking the Common Market of the monopoly capitalist blocs as his model.

10. In complete violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties, he resorted to all sorts of schemes to carry out subversive and disruptive activities against them. Not only did he use the sessions of the Central Committee and Congress of his own Party as well as the Congresses of some fraternal Parties to launch overt large-scale unbridled attacks on the fraternal Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism, but in the case of many fraternal Parties he shamelessly bought over political degenerates, renegades and turncoats to support his revisionist line, to attack and even illegally expel Marxist-Leninists from these Parties, thus creating splits without considering the consequences.

11. He wantonly violated the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal Parties and, playing the “patriarchal father Party” role, he wilfully decided to convene an illegal international meeting of the fraternal Parties. In the notice dated July 30, 1964, he ordered that a meeting of the so-called drafting committee of the twenty-six fraternal Parties be held on December 15 this year, so as to create an open split in the international communist movement.

12. To cater to the needs of the imperialists and the domestic forces of capitalism, he pursued a series of revisionist

policies leading back to capitalism. Under the signboard of the “state of the whole people”, he abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat; under the signboard of the “party of the entire people”, he altered the proletarian character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and divided the Party into an “industrial” and an “agricultural” Party in contravention of the Marxist-Leninist principle of Party organization. Under the signboard of “full-scale communist construction” he tried in a thousand and one ways to switch back to the old path of capitalism the world’s first socialist state which the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin had created by their sweat and blood. His blind direction of Soviet agriculture and industry wrought great havoc with the Soviet national economy and brought great difficulties to the life of the Soviet people.

Everything Khrushchov did over the last eleven years proves that the policy he pursued was one of alliance with imperialism against socialism, alliance with the United States against China, alliance with the reactionaries everywhere against the national liberation movements and the people’s revolutions, and alliance with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all Marxist-Leninist fraternal Parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism. This policy of Khrushchov’s has jeopardized the basic interests of the Soviet people, the people of the countries of the socialist camp and the revolutionary people all over the world.

Such are the so-called meritorious deeds of Khrushchov.

The downfall of a fellow like Khrushchov is certainly not due to old age or ill health, nor is it merely due to mistakes in his methods of work and style of leadership. Khrushchov’s downfall is the result of the revisionist general line and the many erroneous policies he pursued at home and abroad.

Khrushchov considered the masses of the people as simply beneath his notice, thinking that he could manipulate the destiny of the Soviet people at his own sweet will and that the “heads” of the two great powers, the Soviet Union and

the United States, could settle the destiny of the people of all countries. To him, the people were nothing but fools and he alone was the “hero” making history. He vainly tried to force the Soviet people and the people of other countries to prostrate themselves under his revisionist baton. Thus he placed himself in direct opposition to the Soviet people, to the people of the countries of the socialist camp and to the proletariat and revolutionary people of the whole world, and got himself into an impasse — he was deserted by his own followers and could not extricate himself from internal and external difficulties. He put the noose around his own neck — dug his own grave.

History has witnessed many buffoons who cherished the idle hope of turning back the tide of history, but they all came to an ignominious end. Countless instances have demonstrated that the evil-doer who goes counter to the needs of social development and the will of the people can only end up as a ridiculous good-for-nothing, no matter what kind of “hero” he may have been, and no matter how arrogant. To start with the aim of doing harm to others only to end up by ruining oneself — such is the general law governing these people.

“Personages” such as Bakunin in the period of the First International were arrogant anti-Marxist “heroes” in their day, but they were soon relegated to the garbage-heap of history. Anti-Marxist “heroes” like Bernstein and Kautsky in the period of the Second International were once “formidable giants” entrenched in leading positions, but in the end history wrote them down as notorious renegades. Trotsky, the ring-leader of the opposition faction, decked himself out as a “hero” after Lenin’s death, but facts confirmed the correctness of Stalin’s remark: “. . . he resembles an actor rather than a hero; and an actor should not be confused with a hero under any circumstances.”

“But progress is the eternal law of man’s world.” History has taught us that whoever wants to stop the wheel of history

will be ground to dust. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out, imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, and the revisionists are too. However rampant and overbearing they may be, “heroes” representing reactionary classes and reactionary forces are actually paper tigers, powerful only in appearance; they are only fleeting transients soon to be overwhelmed by the surging waves of history. Khrushchov is no exception. Just think of his inordinate arrogance in the days when he viciously attacked Stalin and Marxism-Leninism at the 20th and 22nd Congresses, and when at the Bucharest meeting he launched his surprise attack on the Chinese Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism. But it did not take long for this anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-Chinese “hero” to meet the same fate as his revisionist predecessors. However much people reasoned with him and asked him to return to the fold, he paid not the slightest heed and finally plunged to his doom.

Khrushchov has fallen and the revisionist line he enthusiastically pursued is discredited, but Marxism-Leninism will continue to overcome the revisionist trend and forge ahead, and the revolutionary movement of the people of all countries will continue to sweep away the obstacles in its path and surge forward.

Nevertheless, the course of history will continue to be tortuous. Although Khrushchov has fallen, his supporters — the U.S. imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists — will not resign themselves to this failure. These ogres are continuing to pray for Khrushchov and are trying to “resurrect” him with their incantations, vociferously proclaiming his “contributions” and “meritorious deeds” in the hope that events will develop along the lines prescribed by Khrushchov, so that “Khrushchevism without Khrushchev” may prevail. It can be asserted categorically that theirs is a blind alley.

Different ideological trends and their representatives invariably strive to take the stage and perform. It is entirely up

to them to decide which direction they will take. But there is one point on which we have not the slightest doubt. History will develop in accordance with the laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism; it will march forward along the road of the October Revolution. Beyond all doubt, the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Soviet people, with their revolutionary traditions, are fully capable of making new contributions in safeguarding the great socialist achievements, the lofty prestige of the first socialist power founded by Lenin, the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the victorious advance of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Let the international communist movement unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

APPENDICIES

THE LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPC

(March 30, 1963)

March 30, 1963

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that our proposals on measures aimed at strengthening unity and solidarity in the ranks of the communist movement have met with a favourable response on the part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. We welcome your agreement to the holding of a meeting between representatives of the CPSU and CPC. This meeting is called upon to play an important part in creating a favourable atmosphere in relations between the fraternal Parties and in smoothing out the differences which have arisen in recent times in the world communist movement. We would like to hope that as a result of this meeting it will be possible to carry out a number of constructive measures to surmount existing difficulties.

In its letter the CPC Central Committee invites Comrade N. S. Khrushchov to visit Peking en route to Cambodia. The CPSU Central Committee and Comrade N. S. Khrushchov express gratitude for this invitation. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov would with great pleasure visit the People's Republic of China, and meet the leadership of the Communist Party of China to exchange views on urgent questions of the international situa-

tion and of the communist movement with the object of achieving a common understanding of our tasks and strengthening solidarity between our Parties. However, it is not in fact planned that Comrade N. S. Khrushchov will make a tour of Cambodia as you mention in your letter. As we all know, in conformity with a decision passed by our leading bodies on February 12, 1963, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will travel to Cambodia, as the Cambodian Government has already been notified and as has been announced in the press. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, who has already visited the People's Republic of China three times, does not lose hope of availing himself of your kind invitation in the future to visit China and meet the Chinese comrades.

We remember that during his stay in Moscow in 1957 Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that he had only been in the USSR twice and had only visited Moscow and Leningrad. He expressed the desire to visit the Soviet Union again to become better acquainted with our country. He said then that he would like to travel from the Far Eastern borders of our country to the western borders, and from the northern to the southern borders. We welcomed this desire of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The CPSU Central Committee sent a letter to Comrade Mao Tse-tung on May 12, 1960, inviting him to come and spend a holiday in the USSR and familiarize himself with the life of the Soviet people. Unfortunately, Comrade Mao Tse-tung could not at that time avail himself of our invitation. The CPSU Central Committee would welcome a visit by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The best time for such a visit would be the approaching spring or summer, which are the good seasons of the year in our country. We are also ready at any other time to give a worthy reception to Comrade Mao Tse-tung as a representative of a fraternal Party and of the fraternal Chinese people. In this tour of our country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung would not, of course, be alone. Comrades from the leadership of our Party would go with him and it would be a fine op-

portunity for an exchange of opinion on different questions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung would be able to see how the Soviet people are working, and what successes they have scored in the construction of communism and in the implementation of the Programme of our Party.

If a visit by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to Moscow cannot take place at present, we are ready to accept your ideas about a top-level meeting between representatives of the CPSU and CPC in Moscow. We believe that a meeting of this kind could take place around May 15, 1963, if this date is acceptable to you.

We are very pleased that the Chinese comrades, like ourselves, regard the forthcoming meeting of representatives of the CPC and the CPSU as a “necessary step in preparing for the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers’ Parties of all countries.” Indeed, without violating the principle of equality and without infringing upon the interests of other fraternal Parties, this meeting must facilitate the better preparation and holding of the meeting. Without such a meeting, and without the ending of open polemics in the press and of criticism within the Party of other fraternal Parties, preparation for the meeting and the achievement of its main aim — the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement — would be difficult. Precisely for this reason the Central Committee of the CPSU, while agreeing with the proposals made by the Vietnamese, Indonesian, British, Swedish and other comrades at the beginning of 1962 regarding the convocation of a meeting of fraternal Parties of all countries, at the same time stressed the need for taking such measures as would create a favourable atmosphere for the work of the world communist forum.

In its letter of February 22, 1962, the Central Committee of the CPSU urged that “unnecessary arguments be stopped regarding questions on which we have different opinions, that public statements capable of aggravating rather than smoothing out our differences be given up.” In the letter to the Central Committee of the CPC of May 31, 1962, we wrote:

As you are well aware, our Party has always come out and still comes out for collective discussion of vital problems of the world communist movement. The Central Committee of the CPSU was the initiator of the meetings of fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960. In both cases these meetings were connected with serious changes in the international situation and the need for working out corresponding tactics in the communist movement. Now too we fully support the proposal for the convocation of a meeting of all the fraternal Parties.

We considered it would be useful in the preparations for such a meeting that the fraternal Parties could thoroughly and profoundly analyse the new phenomena in international affairs and their own activity in carrying out the collective decisions of our movement. The Central Committee of the CPSU displayed concern, perfectly understandable to all Communists, that the meeting should not aggravate the differences but do as much as possible to overcome them.

In their pronouncements many of the leaders of fraternal Parties have recently been justly expressing the same point of view on the necessity of taking, before the meeting, a number of steps to create a normal situation in the communist movement and to place conflicts of opinions within the permissible bounds of a comradely Party discussion. Now you also agree with this, as is seen from your letter, and it can be said that certain progress has been made in the preparation of the forthcoming meeting.

It goes without saying that when our two Parties are discussing questions concerning all fraternal Parties, the discussion can only be of a preliminary nature. The 1957 and 1960 Meetings have shown that the elaboration of the policy of the international communist movement can be successful only if all fraternal Parties collectively take part in it and if due consideration is given to the extensive experience of all its component detachments.

We have attentively studied your views concerning the range of questions which could be discussed at the meeting of representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. These are important questions, and we are ready to discuss them.

In our turn, we would like to dwell in this letter on some questions of principle, which, in our opinion, are the centre of attention of the fraternal Parties and their struggle for our common cause. We do not mean, of course, an exhaustive statement of our views on these questions. We only wish to note that which is of paramount importance, by which we are guided in our policy in the international arena and in our relations with fraternal Parties.

We hope that this statement of our views will help to define the range of questions requiring an exchange of opinions at a bilateral meeting and will contribute to overcoming the existing differences. We are doing this so as to stress once again our determination to uphold firmly and consistently the ideological standpoint of the entire world communist movement, its general line as expressed in the Declaration and the Statement.

During the time that has passed since the adoption of the Statement, experience has not only not invalidated any of its main conclusions, but has, on the contrary, fully confirmed the correctness of the course taken by the world communist movement, as worked out jointly through generalization of present-day experience and the creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds from the basis that our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is an epoch of struggle between two opposed social systems, an epoch of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, an epoch of the collapse of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, an epoch of transition to

socialism by ever more nations, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

The situation that has developed in the world and the changes in the development of the class forces in the international arena which opened up new opportunities for our movement demanded that a general line be worked out for the world communist movement, a general line in conformity with its basic tasks at the present stage.

After the Second World War a number of countries in Europe took the road of socialism, a socialist revolution triumphed in China and other Asian countries, and a world socialist system was formed. The new system grew strong in the countries of People's Democracy and was able to ensure a rapid rate of economic, political and cultural development in the countries following the road of socialism. The socialist community was closely united politically and militarily. Thanks to the achievements of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries the correlation of forces in the world changed substantially in favour of socialism, and to the detriment of imperialism. An important part in this respect was played by the ending of America's monopoly of atomic and hydrogen weapons and by the creation of a mighty war potential by the Soviet Union.

The formation of the world socialist system is a historic achievement of the international working class and of all the working people. This achievement is the incarnation of mankind's dreams of a new society. The growth of production and the vast achievements of science and engineering in the socialist countries have helped to provide the socialist community with an economic and military might that reliably defends the gains of socialism and also serves as a mighty mainstay of peace and security for the peoples of the world.

The radical change in the correlation of forces is also connected with a further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the intensification of all its contradictions. After the end of the Second World War a change occurred in the

distribution of forces within the imperialist camp. Following the economic centre, the political and military centres of imperialism also shifted from Europe to the United States of America. The monopolist bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. has become the main citadel of international reaction, and has assumed the role of the saviour of capitalism. The American imperialists are now performing the functions of an international gendarme. Using the policy of military blocs, the American imperialists endeavour to subordinate to their rule other capitalist states. This evokes opposition to the United States on the part of France, West Germany, Japan and other major capitalist states. The recovery of the economy of the capitalist countries which had suffered in the world war, and their rate of development, more rapid than in the United States, intensify the desire of a number of European countries to free themselves from the American diktat. All this leads to the aggravation of existing centres of imperialist competition and conflicts, and the appearance of new ones and weakens the capitalist system on the whole.

The anti-popular and rapacious nature of imperialism has not changed, but with the formation of the world socialist system and the growth of its economic and military might the ability of imperialism to influence the course of historical development has been noticeably narrowed, while the forms and methods of its struggle against the socialist countries and the world revolutionary and national-liberation movement have changed. The imperialists are frightened by the tempestuous growth of the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement, they unite their forces, make feverish efforts to continue the struggle for their exploiting aims, and everywhere strive to undermine the positions of the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement, and to weaken their influence.

It is perfectly obvious that in our age the main content and the chief trends of the historical development of human society are no longer determined by imperialism but by the world

socialist system by all the progressive forces struggling against imperialism for the reorganization of society along socialist lines. The contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the chief contradiction of our epoch. On the outcome of the struggle of the two world systems the destinies of peace, democracy and socialism depend to a decisive extent. And the correlation of forces in the world arena is changing all the time in favour of socialism.

The struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national and social liberation, and the successes already achieved in this field, the growing struggle of the working class, of all the working people of the capitalist countries against the monopolies and against exploitation, in the interests of social progress, are of the greatest importance for the destinies of the historical development of mankind. Socialist revolutions, national-liberation anti-imperialist and anti-colonial revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, extensive peasant movements, the struggle of the masses for the overthrow of fascist and other tyrannical regimes, general democratic movements against national oppression — in our time all these merge into a single world revolutionary stream undermining and destroying capitalism.

Working out its policy in conformity with the new conditions, the world communist movement could not fail to take into account quite seriously also such an important factor as the radical qualitative change in the military-technical means of waging war resulting from the emergence and stockpiling of thermo-nuclear weapons possessing unprecedented destructive force. Until disarmament is effected the socialist community must always maintain superiority over the imperialists in their armed forces. We shall never allow the imperialists to forget that should they unleash a war with the aim of deciding by force of arms whether mankind must develop along the road of capitalism or of socialism, it will be the last war, the one in which imperialism will be finally routed.

Under present-day conditions it is the duty of all champions of peace and socialism to use to the utmost the existing favourable opportunities for the victory of socialism, and not to allow imperialism to unleash a world war.

The correct analysis of the alignment of class forces in the world arena, and the correct Marxist-Leninist policy elaborated at the Moscow Meetings, made it possible for the fraternal Parties to gain major successes in developing the world socialist system, and facilitated the growth of the class revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries and of the national-liberation movement.

The socialist system is exerting an ever-growing influence on the course of world development. The entire world revolutionary process is today developing under the direct influence of the great example provided by the new life in the countries of socialism. The more successfully the ideas of communism make their way to the minds and hearts of the general masses, the greater and more significant are our achievements in the building of socialism and communism. It is, therefore, clear that he who wants to bring closer the victory of socialism throughout the entire world should, in the first place, show concern for strengthening the great socialist community and its economic might, should seek to raise the standard of living of its peoples, develop science, engineering and culture, consolidate its unity and solidarity and the growth of its international authority. The Statement of the Moscow Meeting places the responsibility to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism on the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries.

Tirelessly strengthening the world socialist system, the fraternal Parties and peoples of our countries make their contribution to the great cause of the struggle of the international working class, of all the working people, of the entire liberation movement for solving the basic problems of the day in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

The present correlation of forces in the world arena gave the socialist countries, together with all peace-loving forces, the opportunity of envisaging as an entirely feasible task for the first time in history that of averting a new world war and of ensuring peace and security of the peoples.

The years that have passed since the adoption of this Statement have fully corroborated the correctness of this thesis. The failure of the aggressive forces to push mankind over the abyss of a destructive thermo-nuclear war is a highly important result of the strengthening of the might of the socialist countries, of the peace-loving foreign policy which they unswervingly pursue and which is increasingly winning recognition and support among hundreds of millions of people and gaining the upper hand over the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

No Marxist doubts that imperialism, losing one position after another, is trying by every means to preserve its domination over peoples and to regain its lost positions. At present the greatest conspiracy ever of the international imperialists is taking place against the countries of socialism and the world movement of liberation. Of course, there is no guarantee that the imperialists will not try to unleash a world war. The Communists should clearly see this danger.

But the position of the aggressor under present-day conditions radically differs from his position before the Second World War and, even more, before the First World War. In the past, wars usually ended with some capitalist countries defeating others, but the vanquished continued to live, regained their strength after a time, and even proved able to start renewed aggression, as is shown, in particular, by the example of Germany. A thermo-nuclear war does not offer such a prospect to any aggressor, and the imperialists are compelled to reckon with this. Fear of a retaliatory blow, fear of retribution, keeps them from letting loose a world war. The socialist community has become so strong that imperialism can no longer impose its conditions on the peoples and dictate its

will as before. This is a historic gain by the international working class and the peoples of all countries.

By virtue of its predatory nature imperialism cannot get rid of the desire to solve contradictions in the international arena by means of war. But on the other hand it cannot unleash a world thermo-nuclear war without realizing that it will thereby place itself in danger of being destroyed.

A world war, such as imperialism threatens mankind with, is not fatally inevitable. With the balance of forces increasingly tipping in favour of socialism and against imperialism, and with the forces of peace increasingly gaining weight over the forces of war, it will become really possible to rule out the possibility of world war from the life of society even before socialism fully triumphs on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.

Of course, to prevent such a war it is necessary to continue strengthening the socialist system to the utmost and to rally all the forces of the international working-class and the national-liberation movement, to rally all democratic forces. Those who prize the interests of socialism and the interests of peace must do everything to frustrate the criminal designs of world reaction and to prevent it from unleashing a thermo-nuclear war and dragging hundreds of millions of people down into the grave with it. A sober appraisal of the inevitable consequences that a thermo-nuclear war would have for the whole of mankind and for the cause of socialism sets before Marxist-Leninists the need to do everything in our power to prevent a new world conflict.

The CPSU Central Committee firmly abides by the thesis of the 1960 Statement that "In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by V. I. Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses

of the CPSU, and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties."

Our Party, which the great Lenin educated in the spirit of relentless struggle against imperialism keeps in mind Lenin's warning that moribund capitalism is still able to cause humanity untold calamities. The Soviet Union is doing everything to boost its economy and to improve its defences on this basis; it is building up its armed might and maintaining its armed forces in a state of constant readiness. However, we have employed and will continue to employ our country's increasing might not to threaten anyone or to fan war passions, but to consolidate peace, prevent another world war, and defend our own country and the other socialist countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence accords with the vital interests of all the peoples; it serves to strengthen the positions of socialism, to help the international influence of the socialist countries, and to increase the authority and influence of the Communists.

Peaceful coexistence does not imply conciliation between socialist and bourgeois ideologies. That policy would spell abandonment of Marxism-Leninism and obstruction of the building of socialism. Bourgeois ideology is a sort of Trojan horse, which imperialism is trying to sneak into the ranks of the communist and working-class movement. The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems presupposes an unremitting ideological, political and economic struggle between the two social systems, and the class struggle of the working people inside the countries of the capitalist system, including armed struggle when the peoples find that necessary, and the steady advance of the national-liberation movement among the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

The facts go to show that efforts to prevent a world war in no way weaken the forces of the world communist and national-liberation movements but on the contrary rally the broadest masses to the Communists. It was precisely in con-

ditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems that the socialist revolution triumphed on Cuba, that the Algerian people gained national independence, that more than 40 countries won national independence, that the fraternal Parties grew in number and strength, and that the influence of the world communist movement increased.

Availing themselves of the conditions of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries are scoring more and more victories in the economic competition with capitalism. Our adversaries realize that it is difficult for them to count on winning the competition against us. They are unable to keep up with the rapid economic advance of the socialist countries; they are powerless in the face of the appeal that the example of the socialist countries makes to the peoples under capitalism's yoke.

As the economy of the socialist commonwealth advances, the advantages and superiority of socialism, and the greater opportunities of the working people to obtain material and spiritual riches, as compared to capitalism, will display themselves more and more vividly. The rising standards of living the socialist countries are a great magnet for the working class of all the capitalist countries. The achievements of the socialist commonwealth will constitute a kind of catalyst, a revolutionizing factor in broadening the class struggle in the capitalist countries and enabling the working class to triumph over capitalism.

The peoples embarking on socialism inherit from the past economies and cultures at different levels. Regardless of this, however, socialism awakens mighty productive forces — as exemplified by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The Soviet Union has already outpaced the leading capitalist countries of Europe in economic development and has taken second place in the world; the time is not far off when it will take first place in the world. The other socialist countries have likewise gained great successes. The socialist

system is so progressive by nature that it enables the peoples to swiftly eliminate their backwardness, to catch up with the more highly-developed countries, and, marching in one rank with them, to fight for the building of communism.

All this inspires the peoples, giving them the conviction that they can embark upon the road of socialism and score achievements, regardless of their present level of historical development. The advance of the peoples to a new life is facilitated by their opportunity to select the best from the world's experience in building socialism, taking into account both the merits and the shortcomings in the practices of socialist construction.

The faster the productive forces of the socialist countries develop, the higher their economic potential will rise, and the stronger the influence of the socialist community will become on the rate and trend of the whole of historical development in the interests of peace and of the complete triumph of socialism.

Our Party proceeds from the thesis that there are favourable international and internal conditions in the present epoch for more and more countries to go over to socialism. This is true of the developed capitalist countries as well as of the countries which have recently achieved national independence.

The world revolutionary process is developing on an ever larger scale, embracing all continents. The struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement are closely linked, and help one another. The course of social development has led to a situation in which the revolutionary struggle, in whichever country it takes place, is directed against the main common enemy, imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties throughout the world have a common ultimate aim, to mobilize all forces in the struggle for the winning of power by the workers and the labouring peasantry, and to build socialism and communism. In drawing up the tactical policy for their struggle, every Communist

Party must take into account the experience of the entire world communist movement, must take into consideration those interests, aims and tasks set by our movement as a whole, its general line at the present time.

But at the same time, the working out of forms and methods of fighting for socialism in each separate country is the internal affair of the working class of that country and of its communist vanguard. No other fraternal Party, whatever its membership, experience and authority, can lay down the tactics, forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle in other countries.

Revolution is the cause of the masses themselves. An accurate analysis of the actual situation and a correct estimation of the correlation of forces are among the most important conditions of a revolution. The enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses in the struggle for the victory of a socialist revolution cannot be kept back when objective and subjective conditions are ripe. It would be tantamount to death. But a revolution cannot be artificially instigated if conditions for it are not yet ripe. A premature uprising, as the experience of the revolutionary class struggle teaches, is doomed to failure. Communists rally the working people under the red banner in order to win in the struggle for a better life on earth, and not to perish, even though heroically. Heroism and self-sacrifice, necessary in revolutionary battles, are of no use by themselves, but only for the victory of the great ideas of socialism.

The CPSU has always hailed and will continue to hail the revolutionary working class and the working people of any country who, headed by their communist vanguard, make skilful use of the revolutionary situation to inflict a crushing blow against the class enemy and to establish a new social system.

The tactics and policy of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have in common substantial features connected with the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the correlation of forces that has developed in the inter-

national arena. The development of state-monopoly capitalism has, besides aggravating the contradictions of the capitalist society which appeared before, also given birth to new contradictions. State-monopoly capitalism has led to a still greater narrowing of the social base of imperialism within a country, and to the concentration of power in the hands of a small group of the strongest monopolists. This gives rise, on the other hand, to a joint anti-monopoly movement embracing the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the working intellectuals and certain other sections of capitalist society interested in freeing themselves from the sway of the monopolies and from exploitation, and interested in changing over to socialism.

Our time is characterized by a sharp growth in the significance of democratic movements — the struggle for world peace, for the prevention of a world thermo-nuclear catastrophe, for the preservation of national sovereignty; movements in defence of democracy, against the onslaught of fascism, for the introduction of agrarian transformations, the humanistic movement in defence of culture, and others.

Our Party fully adheres to Leninist principles and to the principles expressed in the Statement, in saying that socialist revolution is not necessarily connected with war. If world wars bring about triumphant revolutions, revolutions are nevertheless entirely possible without wars.

If Communists were to start tying up the victory of the socialist revolution with world war, this would not evoke any sympathy for socialism, but would drive the masses away from it. With modern means of warfare having such terrible destructive consequences, an appeal like this would only play into the hands of our enemies.

The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Parties, endeavour to carry out socialist revolutions in a peaceful way without civil war. The realization of such a possibility is in keeping with the interests of the working class and all the people, and with the national interests of the country. At

the same time the choice of the means of developing the revolution depends not only on the working class. If the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the working class will be forced to use non-peaceful means of seizing power. Everything depends on the particular conditions and on the distribution of class forces within the country and in the world arena.

Naturally, no matter what means are used for the transition from capitalism to socialism, such a transition is possible only by means of a socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in various forms. Appreciating highly the selfless struggle of the working class headed by the Communists in the capitalist countries, the CPSU considers it its duty to render them every kind of aid and support.

Our Party regards the national-liberation movement as an integral part of the world revolutionary process, as a mighty force destroying the front of imperialism. The peoples of the former colonies are today rising to full stature as independent creators of history, and are seeking ways to promote their national economy and culture. The growth of the forces of the socialist system actively helps the liberation of the oppressed peoples, their achievement of economic independence, the further development and expansion of the national-liberation movement, and the peoples' struggle against all forms of old and new colonialism.

The national-liberation movement has entered the final stage of the abolition of colonial regimes. The time is not far off when all the peoples as yet living under the yoke of the colonialists will win freedom and independence. The freed peoples are now faced with the problem of consolidating political independence, overcoming economic and cultural backwardness and putting an end to all forms of dependence upon imperialism.

The countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke carry out the vital tasks of national resurgence successfully only in vigorous struggle against imperialism and the remnants of

feudalism, by uniting all the patriotic forces of the nation in a single national front — the working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie and the democratic intellectuals.

The peoples who are fighting for their national liberation and have already won political independence have ceased, or are ceasing, to serve as a reserve for imperialism; with the support of the socialist states and of all progressive forces they are more and more frequently inflicting defeats upon the imperialist powers and coalitions.

The young national states are developing at a time when there is competition between the two world social systems. This circumstance has the strongest influence upon their political and economic development, upon the choice of the roads they will follow in the future. The states that have recently achieved their national liberation belong neither to the system of socialist states nor to the system of capitalist states, but the overwhelming majority of them have not yet broken away from the orbit of the world capitalist economy, although they hold a special place there. This part of the world is still exploited by the capitalist monopolies.

Now when political independence has been won, the struggle of the young sovereign states against imperialism, for their ultimate national revival, for economic independence, comes to the forefront. The achievement of complete independence by the developing countries would mean a further serious weakening of imperialism, for then the entire present system of the predatory, unequal international division of labour would be destroyed, and the foundation of the economic exploitation of the “world countryside” by the capitalist monopolies would be undermined. The development of independent national economies in the developing countries relying upon the effective assistance of the socialist system will deal a further heavy blow against imperialism.

In the struggle for the attainment and consolidation of independence it is necessary to muster the whole of a nation's forces in readiness to fight against imperialism. In an

endeavour to strengthen its dominant position after the attainment of independence, the right-wing national bourgeoisie sometimes succeeds in establishing reactionary political regimes for a time, and starts persecuting Communists and other democrats. However, such regimes are short-lived for the simple reason that they obstruct progress and the solution of vital national problems — primarily the attainment of economic independence and the development of productive forces. That is why, in spite of the active support of the imperialists, these regimes will be overthrown as a result of the struggle of the masses.

The CPSU regards fraternal alliance with the peoples who have shaken off the colonial yoke and with the peoples of semi-colonial states as one of the corner-stones of its international policy. Our Party considers it its international duty to help the peoples who have taken the road of winning and consolidating national independence, all the peoples fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system. The Soviet Union has always supported the sacred wars of the peoples for freedom, and given every kind of moral, economic, military and political support to the national-liberation movement.

The Soviet people gave great support to the Algerian people when they fought against the French colonialists. When the Yemeni people rose up in revolt against slavery in their country, we were the first to offer them a helping hand. We rendered various kinds of aid to the Indonesian people in their struggle for the liberation of West Irian, against the Dutch imperialists who got their support from the U.S. imperialists. We hail the struggle of the Indonesian people for the liberation of Northern Kalimantan.

Colonialists, both old and new, are busy weaving intrigues and plots against the liberation movement of the peoples of Southeast Asia. Our sympathies and support are invariably with those who fight for national freedom and independence. We are deeply convinced that, in spite of all the efforts of the American imperialists and their puppets, the peoples of

South Vietnam and South Korea will be victorious in their struggle and will achieve the reunification of their native lands.

While being against the export of revolution, our Party has always done everything to prevent the export of counter-revolution. We are firmly convinced that the interconnection and unity of action of the three great revolutionary forces of our time — the peoples building socialism and communism, the international revolutionary working-class movement, and the national-liberation movement — are the foundation of the peoples' struggle against imperialism, and a guarantee of their victory.

The entire course of world development in recent years has fully confirmed the correctness of the policy of the communist movement, which has yielded remarkable practical results. Thanks to the realization of this policy, the forces fighting against imperialism, for peace, national independence and socialism, have scored new successes. The CPSU considers it its duty consistently and steadfastly to carry out this policy.

We are firmly convinced that there are no grounds for a revision of this policy.

Besides this, the CPSU Central Committee is of the opinion that it would be beneficial during the preparations for the meeting, as well as at the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, to exchange opinions on the new aspects with which life has in recent years enriched the policy of the world communist movement as laid down in the Declaration and Statement.

In your letter, dear comrades, you justly note that the guarantee of all our achievements is the strengthening of the unity of the communist movement and the solidarity of the socialist countries. In recent time the CPSU has at its congresses and at international Communist meetings time and again expressed its conception of the principles concerning the relations between Marxist-Leninist Parties. We emphasized, for the whole world to see, that in the communist movement,

just as in the socialist community, all Communist and Workers' Parties, of all socialist countries have always been completely equal. In the communist movement there are no "superior" and "subordinate" Parties. And it could not be so. The domination of any party, or the manifestation of any hegemony whatsoever, does not benefit the international communist and workers' movement; on the contrary, it can only do it harm. All Communist Parties are independent and equal. All bear responsibility for the destiny of the communist movement, for its victories and setbacks, all must build their relations on the basis of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance.

We also proceed from the basis that proletarian internationalism places equal demands on all Parties, big and small, but makes no exceptions for anyone. All fraternal Parties must show equal concern that their activities be based on Marxist-Leninist principles, in accordance with the interests of strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and of the entire world communist and workers' movement.

The formation and development of the world socialist system give special significance to the question of correct relations between Marxist-Leninist Parties. Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of socialism are ruling parties. They bear responsibility for the destiny of the states, for the destiny of their peoples. Under these conditions the violation of Marxist-Leninist principles in the relations between Parties can affect not only Party interests but the interests of the wide masses of the people.

Guided by the supreme interests of our cause, the CPSU has eliminated the consequences of the Stalin personality cult, and done everything to restore in full the Leninist principles of equality in the relations between the fraternal Parties and respect for the sovereignty of socialist countries. This has played a large and positive role in strengthening the unity of the entire socialist community. A favourable situation has been created for the strengthening of our friendship on the basis of equality, respect for the sovereignty of each state,

mutual assistance and comradely co-operation, voluntary fulfilment of international duty by each country. At the same time, we should like to emphasize that socialist equality not only means having equal rights to take part in working out collectively the common policy but also entails equal responsibilities for the fraternal Parties of socialist countries for the destinies of the entire community.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the Fraternal Parties stressed the need for the closest alliance between countries breaking away from capitalism, for the pooling of their efforts in the building of socialism and communism. National interests and the interests of the socialist system as a whole combine harmoniously. Life has proved convincingly that every country can best solve its national tasks only through the closest co-operation with the other socialist countries on the basis of genuine equality and mutual aid.

Our unity, our well-concerted actions, do not arise spontaneously. They are dictated by objective necessity, they are the result of conscious activities, of the purposeful internationalist policy of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and their tireless concern for the uniting of our ranks.

We do not close our eyes to the fact that different interpretations of certain questions of internal construction and the international communist movement, different interpretations of the forms and methods of our co-operation may occur in the relations between socialist countries. This is possible, for the countries making up the world socialist system are at different stages in the construction of a new society, and their experience in developing relations with the outside world is not the same in all respects. One should not exclude the possibility, either, that differences may result from different approaches to the solution of some questions of Marxism-Leninism in individual fraternal Parties. To exaggerate the role of national, specific features may lead to a departure from Marxism-Leninism. To ignore national features may

lead to a breaking away from life and from the masses, and do harm to the cause of socialism.

All this necessitates constant efforts to find ways and means to enable us to settle the differences arising, from positions of principle and with the least damage to our common cause.

We Communists can argue between ourselves. But in all circumstances our sacred duty remains the education of the peoples of our countries in the spirit of deep solidarity with all the peoples of the socialist community. Communists must inculcate in the peoples not only love for their own country, but also love for the whole of the socialist community, for all peoples; they must foster in each man and woman living in any socialist country an understanding of their fraternal duty towards the working people of the world. Failure to do this means failure to follow the first rule of Communists, which requires the uniting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples building socialism, the cherishing of our unity above all else.

Ideological and tactical differences must in no circumstances be used to incite nationalist feelings and prejudices, mistrust and dissension between the socialist peoples. We declare with full responsibility that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never taken and will never take a single step that could sow hostility among the peoples of our country towards the fraternal Chinese people or other peoples. On the contrary, in all circumstances our Party has steadily and consistently propagated the ideas of internationalism and warm friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, and with all peoples of the world. We consider it important to stress this, and we hope that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China shares this view.

In the international communist, working-class and liberation movements it is necessary to unite all efforts, mobilizing the peoples for struggle against imperialism. The militant call "Workers of all countries, unite!" formulated by Marx and Engels means that at the basis of this unity lies anti-imperialist

class solidarity, and not any principle of nationality, colour or geographical location. The uniting of the masses in the struggle against imperialism solely on the basis of their belonging to a particular continent — whether Africa, Asia, Latin America or Europe — can be detrimental to the fighting peoples. This would be not uniting but in fact splitting the forces of the united anti-imperialist front.

The strength of the world communist movement lies in its faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has fought and will continue to fight any departure from Marxism-Leninism and any opportunism. We firmly adhere to the principles of the Statement of 1960 indicating the necessity for a struggle on two fronts — against Right and “Left” opportunism. The Statement rightly says that the main danger in the world communist movement is revisionism, and at the same time points out the necessity for a resolute struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism, which can become the main danger at any stage in the development of separate Parties if not consistently combated.

Motivated by the desire to consolidate the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party will continue to fight resolutely against both right-wing and left-wing opportunism, which are today no less dangerous than revisionism. But while being implacable as regards fundamental questions of principle in the theory and tactics of the communist movement, while struggling against revisionism and sectarianism, we shall spare no effort to elucidate, by painstaking comradely discussion, questions on which there are different interpretations, so as to clear away all extraneous obstacles interfering with our unity. In so doing, we proceed from the premise that when criticizing any mistake relating to questions of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the fraternal Parties, and also international conferences of the communist movement, should set themselves the objective of pointing out the danger of such

mistakes and of helping to remedy them, and not of harping on these mistakes for all time. We are striving to facilitate the complete uniting of revolutionary forces, and not their disintegration or the amputation of one or another section in our movement. Naturally, Communists cannot allow concessions on points of principle in Marxist-Leninist theory.

As an internationalist Party, the CPSU carefully studies the experience accumulated in the struggles of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in all countries. We greatly prize the struggle being waged by the working class and its revolutionary vanguard of Communist Parties in France, Italy, the U.S.A., Britain, the other capitalist countries, as well as the heroic struggle which the Communist Parties of Asian, African and Latin American countries are carrying on for national and social emancipation from the domination of the imperialist monopolies, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Communist Parties have developed into influential national forces, into advanced detachments of fighters for the happiness of their peoples. No wonder the reactionaries are striking blow after blow at the Communists in their efforts to break their will. In their fight against the communist movement the reactionaries bring out the shop-soiled lie about the "hand of Moscow," claiming that the Communist Parties are not a national force but a vehicle for the policy of another country, the tool of another country. The imperialists are doing this with evil intent, in order to counter the mounting influence of the Communist Parties, in order to make the masses suspect them, in order to justify police persecution of the Communists.

However, all honest-minded men and women know that the Communist Parties are the true upholders and champions of national interests, that they are staunch patriots who combine love for their country and proletarian internationalism in their struggle for the happiness of the people. The CPSU considers it its obligation to give every support to its brothers

in the heroic struggle they are waging in the capitalist countries, to strengthen international solidarity with them.

These, in general outline, are some of our ideas on important contemporary questions of principle, on the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement, which we thought it necessary to touch upon in this letter.

Being firmly convinced that the present policy of the international communist movement, which found its expression in the Declaration and Statement of the fraternal Parties, is the only correct one, we believe that at the forthcoming meeting between the representatives of the CPSU and CPC it would be expedient to discuss the following most urgent problems:

a. Questions concerning the struggle for the further strengthening of the might of the world socialist system and its transformation into the decisive factor in the development of human society, which is the main distinguishing feature of our era. We could jointly discuss how faster and better to secure a victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism;

b. Questions concerning the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. The need to pool the efforts of all peace-loving forces for the struggle to prevent a world thermonuclear war. The creation and the strengthening of the broadest united front of peace supporters. The exposure of the reactionary essence of imperialism, the heightening of vigilance and the mobilization of the broad masses to fight against the preparations being made by the imperialists for a new world war, frustrate their aggressive schemes and isolate the forces of reaction and war. Assertion in international relations of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The struggle for general and complete disarmament and for the elimination of the traces of the Second World War;

c. Questions concerning the struggle against imperialism headed by the U.S. The use, in the interests of our cause, of the weakening positions of capitalism and the growing

instability of the entire capitalist system of world economy, the aggravation of contradictions of capitalism, and above all contradictions between labour and capital, and the severe crisis in bourgeois ideology and politics. Support of the revolutionary and class struggle of the working people in capitalist countries against the monopolies, for their social liberation, for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, for the extension of the democratic rights and freedoms of the peoples;

d. Questions concerning the national-liberation movement. The support and utmost development of the national-liberation movement of the peoples. The struggle for the complete and final ending of colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms. The rendering of support to peoples fighting against colonialism, and also to countries which have achieved their national liberation. The development of economic and cultural co-operation with these countries;

e. Questions concerning the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and of the ranks of the communist movement. The need for consolidating in every way the international communist movement, the most influential political force of our times, particularly in conditions where the imperialist reactionaries have joined forces in the fight against communism. The prevention of any actions which could undermine this unity, the firm adherence by each fraternal Party to the assessments and conclusions worked out jointly. The continuation of the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, as an indispensable condition for the defense of Marxism-Leninism in its pure form, and of its creative development, and for the further successes of the communist movement. The development of relations among the fraternal Parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and mutual aid and support. The working out of joint measures to intensify the ideological and political struggle against imperialism and reaction.

During the talks it will be possible to discuss all the questions mentioned in your letter, questions of common interest stemming from the tasks in the struggle to implement the decisions of the Moscow Meetings. An important role could be played by the discussion of the questions connected with the consolidation of unity between the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

In your letter you raise the Albanian and Yugoslav questions. We have already written to you that these questions, though of a basic nature, cannot and should not eclipse the main problems of our times which call for discussion at our meeting.

Our Party, having condemned the splitting activities of the Albanian leaders, has at the same time taken a number of steps towards normalizing the relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and the CPSU and other fraternal Parties. In spite of the fact that the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour have recently been coming out with slanderous attacks on our Party and the Soviet people, we, being guided by supreme interests, do not relinquish the hope that the relations between the CPSU and the Albanian Party of Labour may be improved. At the end of February this year the CPSU Central Committee once again took the initiative and suggested to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour that a bilateral meeting be held between representatives of our two Parties. However, this comradely step on our part did not meet with due response on the part of the Albanian leadership. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour did not even deem it necessary to acknowledge our letter containing the CPSU Central Committee's proposal about the bilateral meetings. Having obviously later come to their senses, the Albanian leaders sent us a letter in which, after some reservations and stipulations, they speak of such a meeting. If real desire is in fact shown, we are ready to have a meeting.

As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, we maintain, proceeding from an analysis and assessment of the objective economic and political conditions in that country, that it is a socialist country, and in our relations with it we strive to establish closer relations between the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the socialist commonwealth, in accordance with the policy pursued by the fraternal Parties for the cementing together of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world. We also take into consideration the definite positive tendencies shown of late in Yugoslavia's economic and socio-political life. Meanwhile the CPSU is aware of the serious differences that exist with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on several ideological questions and considers it necessary to tell the Yugoslav comrades so frankly, criticizing those views of theirs which it finds wrong.

In its letter of March 9, 1963, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China agrees with us in saying that today the world communist movement faces a crucial time. It depends on us, on our Parties, on the correctness of our policy, whether we continue to advance together in one rank or allow ourselves to be involved in a struggle harmful to the working class, to our peoples and to all working people, a struggle that can only result in mutual estrangement, weaken the forces of socialism, and undermine the unity of the world communist movement.

Naturally, being large, strong Parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China would emerge from this situation with smaller losses; but as far as the other fraternal Parties, especially those working in complex conditions, are concerned, they would be faced with great and moreover unnecessary complications, which, of course, is not our aim.

Everything depends on how we act in this serious and complex situation. Are we to continue engaging in polemics, to fall prey to our passions, and to turn arguments into recriminations and unproved accusations and sallies against

the fraternal Parties? Or are we, aware of the great responsibility that we bear for the destinies of our great cause, to direct developments along a different channel, and show enough courage to rise above all that divides us today, cease uncomradely polemics, and concentrate on a search for ways of consolidating militant Soviet-Chinese co-operation, of consolidating the friendship of all the fraternal Parties?

We realize that any movement, including the communist movement, is unthinkable without controversy. However, no differences, no displeasure at the behaviour of a particular Party, can justify methods of struggle detrimental to the interests of the international communist movement. The deeper and broader our understanding of the aims and tasks of the international working class, the greater the vigour with which we should strive to analyse our differences, however serious they may seem today, quietly and relevantly, and prevent them from interfering with our positive work, from disorganizing the revolutionary activities of the international working class.

Let us struggle together for consistent adherence to the Marxist-Leninist course in the international communist movement, against revisionism and dogmatism, for closer unity in the ranks of the international communist movement, for respect for collectively worked out policies, and against any violations or arbitrary interpretations of these.

Our Party does not succumb to the heat of the polemic struggle but, aware of our common responsibility to the world communist movement, wishes to stop the dangerous process of sliding into a new series of discussions. It is obvious to everyone that we could have found much to say in defence of the Leninist policy of the CPSU, in defence of the common line of the international communist movement, in reply to groundless attacks made in articles recently carried by the Chinese press. And if we are not doing it now it is only because we do not want to gladden the foes of the communist movement. We hope that the harm caused by the sharpen-

ing polemics will be realized, and the interests of the unity of the socialist system and the international communist movement will be placed above all else. Therefore we suggest a meeting to you, not in order to aggravate the dispute but in order to reach a mutual understanding on major problems that have arisen in the international communist movement.

We know that such meeting is being looked forward to by our friends in all the countries of the world, and that they pin great hopes on it. It depends on us, on our will and reason, whether results gladdening to our friends and upsetting to the enemies of communism will be achieved at the meeting. This will be our common contribution to the cause of the struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people, for the victory of peace and socialism on earth, for the triumph of the great revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

With communist greetings,

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

**OPEN LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
TO ALL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, TO ALL COMMUNISTS
OF THE SOVIET UNION**

(July 14, 1963)

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the CPSU deems it necessary to address this open letter to you in order to set out its position on the fundamental questions of the international communist movement in connection with the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of June 14, 1963.

Soviet people are well aware that our party and government, expressing the will of the entire Soviet people, spare no efforts to strengthen fraternal friendship with the peoples of all the socialist countries, with the Chinese people. We are united by common struggle for the victory of communism, we share the same aim, the same aspirations and hopes.

For many years relations between our parties were good. **But some time ago there came to light serious differences between the CPC on the one hand, and the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, on the other. At the present time, the statements and actions of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which are undermining the cohesion of our parties and the friendship of our peoples, are causing increasing concern to the CPSU Central Committee.**

For its part, the CPSU Central Committee has been doing everything possible to overcome the differences that have

The bold-type emphases in this letter are *Renmin Ribao's* — Ed.

arisen, and in January this year proposed the cessation of open polemics in the communist movement, so that the issues be discussed calmly and in a businesslike manner, and solved on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis. This proposal of the CPSU met with the warm support of all the fraternal parties. Agreement was subsequently reached on a meeting between representatives of the CPSU and the CPC, which is now taking place in Moscow.

The CPSU Central Committee hoped that the Chinese comrades would, like ourselves, display good will and would facilitate the success of the meeting in the interests of our peoples, in the interests of strengthening the unity of the communist movement. **To our regret, when agreement was reached on the Moscow meeting of representatives of the CPSU and CPC, when the delegations were appointed and the date of the meeting set, the Chinese comrades, instead of submitting the divergencies for discussion at this meeting, unexpectedly found it possible not only to state the old differences openly, before the entire world, but also to advance new charges against the CPSU and other Communist parties. This found expression in the publication of the June 14 letter of the CPC Central Committee, which gives an arbitrary interpretation of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, and distorts the basic principles of these historic documents. The CPC Central Committee letter contains groundless, slanderous attacks on our party and on other Communist parties, on the decisions of the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU and on the CPSU Programme.**

As you know from the statement of the CPSU Central Committee published in Pravda on June 19, the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, having studied the June 14 letter of the CPC Central Committee, **arrived at the conclusion that its publication in the Soviet press at that time would have been inadvisable. Publication of the letter would, naturally, have required a public reply on our part; this would have**

further aggravated the controversy and inflamed passions, and would have thereby worsened relations between our parties. Publication of the letter of the CPC Central Committee would have been the more untimely since a meeting was to be held between representatives of the CPSU and CPC with the purpose, in our opinion, of contributing, through comradely examination of existing differences, to better mutual understanding between our two parties on the vital questions of present-day world development, and of creating a favourable atmosphere for the preparation and holding of a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' parties.

At the same time, the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee considered it necessary to acquaint the members of the CPSU Central Committee and all the participants in its Plenary Meeting with the letter of the CPC Central Committee, and inform them of the substance of the differences between the CPC leadership and the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

In its unanimously adopted decision the Central Committee Plenum fully endorsed the political activity of the CPSU Central Committee Presidium and of First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. N. S. Khrushchov aimed at further uniting the forces of the world communist movement, and all the steps taken by the CPSU Central Committee Presidium in its relations with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum instructed the Presidium of the Central Committee unswervingly to follow the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of our party at the meeting with representatives of the CPC, a line approved at the meetings of representatives of the Communist parties and embodied in the Declaration and Statement, a line that has been fully confirmed by life, by the course of international developments. The Central Committee Plenum emphatically

rejected as groundless and slanderous the attacks of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on our party and other Communist parties, on the decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses, on the Programme of the CPSU. Expressing the will of the entire party, it declared its readiness and determination consistently to pursue a course to unite our fraternal parties and overcome existing differences. The Plenum declared that our party would continue its efforts to strengthen unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the CPC in the interests of the struggle for our common cause.

Unfortunately, recent events have shown that the Chinese comrades interpret our restraint in their own way. They depict our sincere striving to avoid a sharpening of the controversy in the communist movement as little short of an intention to hide the views of the Chinese leaders from the Soviet Communists and people. Mistaking our restraint for weakness, the Chinese comrades, contrary to the standards of friendly relations between fraternal socialist countries, began, with increasing importunity and persistence, unlawfully to circulate in Moscow and other Soviet cities the June 14 letter of the CPC Central Committee, of which a large number of copies were printed in Russian. Not content with this, the Chinese comrades began sedulously to popularize and spread throughout the world this letter and other documents directed against our party, not scrupling to use imperialist publishing houses and agencies for their distribution.

The position has been aggravated by the fact that when the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs drew the attention of the Chinese Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the impermissibility of such actions, **which constitute a gross violation of our country's sovereignty**, the Chinese representatives, far from stopping them, declared in a demonstrative way that they regarded it as their right to continue to circulate the letter in the U.S.S.R.

On July 7, when the Moscow meeting had already begun, a mass rally was held in Peking at which the Chinese expelled from the Soviet Union for the unlawful distribution of materials containing attacks on our party and the Soviet government were hailed as heroes by Chinese officials. **Seeking to instigate among the fraternal Chinese people sentiments and feelings unfriendly to the U.S.S.R.,** the Chinese officials tried, at this rally, to prove their right to violate the sovereignty of our state and the standards of international relations. On July 10, the CPC Central Committee issued another statement, in which it justifies these actions and, **in effect, tries to arrogate to itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union,** which the Soviet government, naturally, will never allow. Such actions can only aggravate relations and can do nothing but harm.

In its leading article on July 13, the Peking People's Daily again attacked our party and gave a distorted interpretation of the fact that the Soviet press did not publish the June 14 letter of the CPC Central Committee.

The frankly unfriendly actions of the CPC leaders, their persistent striving to aggravate the controversy in the international communist movement, the deliberate distortion of our party's position, the misinterpretation of our motives in temporarily refraining from publishing the letter, impel us to publish the letter of the CPC Central Committee of June 14, 1963, and to give our appraisal of it.

Everyone who reads the letter of the CPC Central Committee will see behind the fine phrases about unity and cohesion unfriendly, slanderous attacks on our party and the Soviet Union, a striving to play down the historic significance of our people's struggle for the victory of communism in the U.S.S.R., for the triumph of peace and socialism throughout the world. The document contains every manner of charge, direct and veiled, against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Its authors permit themselves fabrications, unseemly and insulting to Communists, about "betrayal of the interests of

the international proletariat and all the peoples of the world,” “departure from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism,” hint at “cowardice in face of the imperialists,” “a step back in the course of historic development,” and even at “organizational and moral disarming of the proletariat and all the working people” tantamount to “contributing to the restoration of capitalism” in our country. How can they say these things about the party of the great Lenin, about the motherland of socialism, about the people who were the first in the world to accomplish a socialist revolution, upheld its great gains in fierce battles against international imperialism and domestic counter-revolution, are displaying miracles of heroism and dedication in the effort to build communism, are faithfully fulfilling their internationalist duty to the working people of the world.

I

For nearly half a century the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has been fighting for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for the freedom and happiness of the working people throughout the world. From the very first days of the Soviet state, when the great Lenin stood at its helm, and right up to the present day, our people have rendered and are rendering tremendous and disinterested assistance to all the peoples fighting for liberation from the yoke of imperialism and colonialism, for the building of a new life.

World history furnishes no example of a country rendering aid to other countries on such a scale in the development of their economy, science and technology.

The working people of China and the Chinese Communists felt in full measure the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet people, of our party, both in the period of their revolutionary struggle for the liberation of their country and in the years

of socialist construction. Immediately after the formation of the People's Republic of China, the Soviet government signed with the government of People's China a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, which is a powerful weapon against imperialist encroachments, a factor for consolidating peace in the Far East and the whole world.

The Soviet people generously shared with their Chinese brothers their experience in socialist construction, accumulated over many years, their achievements in the fields of science and technology. Our country has rendered and is rendering substantial aid to the economic development of People's China. With the active assistance of the Soviet Union, People's China built 198 factories, factory departments and other industrial units equipped with up-to-date machinery. With the assistance of our country, China started such new industries as automobiles, tractors, aircraft and others. The Soviet Union handed over to the P.R.C. more than 21,000 sets of scientific and technical documentation, including more than 1,400 major projects. We have invariably helped China strengthen her defence capacity and create a modern defence industry. Thousands of Chinese specialists and workers have been trained in Soviet higher schools and in our industries. Now, too, the Soviet Union continues its technical assistance to the People's Republic of China in the construction of 88 industrial enterprises and projects. **We mention all this not by way of boasting, but only because of late the CPC leaders have sought to belittle the significance of Soviet aid; nor do we forget that the Soviet Union, in its turn, received needed goods from the P.R.C.**

It is not so long ago that the Chinese leaders spoke justly and eloquently about the friendship of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, about the unity of the CPSU and the CPC, giving a high appraisal of Soviet aid and urging the people to learn from the experience of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1957: "In their struggle for national liberation, the Chinese people had the fraternal

sympathy and support of the Soviet people. After the victory of the Chinese revolution the Soviet Union has likewise been rendering all-round and immense assistance in the construction of socialism in China. The Chinese people will never forget all this.”

One can only regret that the Chinese leaders have begun to forget this.

Our party, all Soviet people, rejoiced at, and took pride in, the successes of the great Chinese people in building the new life. Speaking at a reception in Peking on the tenth anniversary of the People’s Republic of China, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov said: “The heroic and industrious people of China demonstrated, under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party, what a people is capable of when it takes power into its own hands. . . . Now everybody admits the successes of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China. The peoples of Asia and Africa see along which path, under which system, the talents, the creative forces of the people can be fully developed, so that a nation can demonstrate the breadth and depth of its mighty creative strength.”

That is how things stood until the Chinese leaders began to deflect from the general course of the world communist movement.

In April 1960 the Chinese comrades openly revealed their disagreements with the world communist movement by publishing the collection of articles “Long Live Leninism!” This collection, made up, in the main, of distorted, truncated and incorrectly interpreted passages from well-known works of Lenin, contained propositions directed, in substance, against the fundamentals of the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of 1957, which was signed on behalf of the CPC by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, against the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, against the possibility of preventing world war in the present era, against recognition of the peaceful as well as non-peaceful road of development of socialist revolution. The CPC leaders tried

to impose their views on all the fraternal parties. In June 1960, during the Peking session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Chinese leaders, without the knowledge of the leadership of fraternal parties, arranged a meeting of representatives of several parties then in Peking and launched open criticism of the position of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties and the Declaration adopted by the Moscow Meeting in 1957. Furthermore, the Chinese comrades aired their differences with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties from the open tribune of a non-party organization.

Such steps by the CPC leadership aroused anxiety in the fraternal parties. In view of this, an attempt was made at the Bucharest Meeting of Communist Parties in 1960 to discuss the differences that had arisen with the leaders of the CPC. Representatives of 50 Communist and Workers' parties subjected the views and actions of the Chinese leaders to comradely criticism and urged them to return to the path of unity and co-operation with the international communist movement, in conformity with the principles of the Moscow Declaration. Unfortunately, the CPC leadership disregarded this comradely assistance and continued to pursue its erroneous course and deepen its differences with the fraternal parties.

Anxious to prevent such a development of events, the CPSU Central Committee suggested talks with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. These took place in Moscow in September 1960. But then, too, it was impossible to resolve the differences due to the stubborn unwillingness of the CPC delegation to heed the opinion of a fraternal party. At the Meeting of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960, the absolute majority of the fraternal parties rejected the incorrect views and concepts of the CPC leadership. The Chinese delegation at this meeting stubbornly upheld its own particular

views and signed the Statement only when the danger of its complete isolation became clear.

It is now perfectly clear that in appending their signatures to the 1960 Statement, the CPC leaders were only manoeuvring. Shortly after the meeting they resumed the propaganda of their policy, using as their mouthpiece the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour. Behind the back of our party they launched a campaign against the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government.

In October 1961 the CPSU Central Committee made fresh efforts to normalize relations with the CPC. Comrades N. S. Khrushchov, F. R. Kozlov and A. I. Mikoyan had talks with Comrades Chou En-lai, Peng Chen and other leading CPC officials attending the 22nd CPSU Congress. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov explained in detail to the Chinese delegation the position of the CPSU Central Committee on the questions of principle discussed at the 22nd Congress and stressed our invariable desire to strengthen friendship and co-operation with the Communist Party of China.

In its letters of February 22 and May 31, 1962, the CPSU Central Committee drew the attention of the CPC Central Committee to the dangerous consequences for our common cause that might follow from the weakening of the unity of the communist movement. We then suggested to the Chinese comrades that steps be taken to deprive the imperialists of the opportunity to use in their interests the difficulties which had arisen in Soviet-Chinese relations. The CPSU Central Committee also suggested more effective measures on such questions as exchange of internal political information, co-ordination of the positions of our fraternal parties in international democratic organizations and in other matters.

However, these letters and the other practical steps aimed at improving relations with the CPC and the P.R.C. in all fields, did not meet with a response in Peking.

In the autumn of last year, the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee had a long talk with Comrade Liu Hsiao,

the then P.R.C. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., before his departure from Moscow. In the course of this conversation, the members of the Central Committee Presidium again took the initiative in strengthening Chinese-Soviet friendship. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov asked Comrade Liu Hsiao to convey to Comrade Mao Tse-tung our proposal: "To set aside all disputes and differences, not to try to establish who is right and who is wrong, not to stir up the past, but to start our relations from a clean slate." But we did not even receive an answer to this sincere appeal.

Deepening their ideological differences with the fraternal parties, the leaders of the CPC began to carry them over to governmental relations. Chinese government agencies began curtailing economic and trade relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. On the initiative of the P.R.C. government, the volume of China's trade with the Soviet Union was cut to nearly one-third in the past three years; delivery of complete sets of industrial plant dropped to one-fortieth of the former volume. This was done on the initiative of the Chinese leaders. We regret that the P.R.C. leadership has embarked on such a policy. Now as always, we believe it is necessary to go on developing Soviet-Chinese relations and extend co-operation. This would be mutually beneficial, above all to People's China, which has received great assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In the past, the Soviet Union developed extensive relations with China, and today, too, it wants their expansion, not curtailment. One would expect the CPC leadership to be the first to display concern for the development of economic relations with the socialist countries. However, it has been acting in the opposite direction, disregarding the damage such actions cause the P.R.C. economy.

The Chinese leaders did not tell their people the truth about who is responsible for curtailing these relations. Extensive propaganda aimed at discrediting the foreign and domestic Policy of the CPSU, at stirring up anti-Soviet senti-

ment, was started among the Chinese Communists and even among the population.

The CPSU Central Committee drew the Chinese comrades' attention to these incorrect actions. We told the Chinese comrades that the people should not be prompted to praise or anathematize this or that party depending on the emergence of disputes and differences. It is clear to every Communist that disagreements among fraternal parties are but temporary episodes, whereas relations between the peoples of the socialist countries are now being shaped for all time.

Every time, however, the Chinese leaders ignored the comrades' warnings of the CPSU and further strained Chinese-Soviet relations.

Beginning with the close of 1961, Chinese representatives in international democratic organizations have been openly imposing their erroneous views. In December 1961, at the Stockholm session of the World Peace Council, the Chinese delegation opposed the convocation of the World Congress for Peace and Disarmament. In the course of 1962 the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Movement, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation, and many other organizations, was placed in jeopardy by the divisive activities of the Chinese representatives. They opposed participation of representatives of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees of the European socialist countries in the third Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in Moshi. The leader of the Chinese delegation told the Soviet representatives that "whites have no business here." At the journalists' conference in Djakarta, the Chinese representatives followed a line designed to deny Soviet journalists full-fledged delegate status on the plea that the Soviet Union . . . is not an Asian country.

That the Chinese comrades should have accused the overwhelming majority of the recent World Congress of Women of splitting activities and of following a wrong political line,

is strange and surprising, considering that out of the 110 countries represented, only two — China and Albania — voted against the Appeal to Women of All Continents. Is it a case of the entire multi-million army of freedom-loving women being out of step, and only two marching in step, keeping the ranks?

Such, in brief, is the history of the differences between the Chinese leadership and the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. It shows that the CPC leaders counterpose their own special line to the general line of the communist movement, trying to impose on it their own dictate, their deeply erroneous views on the key problems of our time.

II

What is the substance of the differences between the CPC, on the one hand, and the CPSU and the international communist movement, on the other? That question will undoubtedly be asked by everyone who reads the CPC Central Committee letter of June 14.

At first glance, many of its propositions may set one wondering: whom are the Chinese comrades actually arguing with? Are there Communists who object, for instance, to socialist revolution, or who do not regard it their duty to fight imperialism, or support the national-liberation movement? Why is the CPC leadership so insistent in advancing such propositions?

The question may also arise: why is it impossible to agree with the position of the Chinese comrades, formulated in their letter, on many important problems? Take, for instance, such a cardinal problem as war and peace. The CPC Central Committee letter speaks of peace and peaceful co-existence.

The essence of the matter is that, having started an offensive against the views of the Marxist-Leninist parties on the cardinal problems of the times, the Chinese comrades, firstly,

ascribe to the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties views which they have never expressed and which are alien to them; secondly, they try, by verbal acceptance of formulas and principles taken from the documents of the communist movement, to mask their erroneous views and incorrect positions. To come out openly against the peoples' struggle for peace, against peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, against disarmament, etc., would expose their policy in the eyes of the Communists and peace-loving peoples of the whole world and would alienate them. The further the polemics develop, the clearer the weakness of the CPC leadership's position becomes, the more zealously they resort to such camouflage. If this method of the Chinese comrades is not taken into consideration, it might appear to the outsider that the controversy has acquired a scholastic nature, that it concerns individual formulas, far removed from vital issues.

In point of fact, however, the controversy centres on issues affecting the vital interests of the peoples.

They are the issue of war and peace, the question of the role and development of the world socialist system, they are questions of the struggle against the ideology and practice of the "personality cult," they are questions of the strategy and tactics of the world labour movement and the national-liberation struggle.

These questions are posed by life itself, by the deep-going changes that have taken place in the socialist countries and throughout the world, the changes in recent years in the balance of strength between socialism and imperialism, the new possibilities for our movement. The communist movement had to, and did, provide the answers to these questions and worked out a general line in adaptation to the conditions and requirements of the present stage of world development.

In the unanimous opinion of the Communist parties, an immense part in this was played by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which ushered in a new stage in the development of the entire communist movement. This appraisal was recorded

in the 1957 Declaration and in the 1960 Statement, the documents of the Communist parties worked out collectively and formulating the general political course of the communist movement in the present era.

But the CPC leaders have now advanced, as a counterweight, a different course; their positions are diverting more and more from the general line of the communist movement on basic issues.

This applies, above all, to the question of war and peace.

In the appraisal of the problems of war and peace, in the approach to their solution, there can be no vagueness or reservations, for this is an issue in which the destinies of peoples, the future of all mankind, are involved.

The CPSU Central Committee considers it its duty to tell the party and the people with all frankness that on the question of war and peace the CPC leadership has cardinal, fundamental differences with us, with the world communist movement. Their essence lies in the diametrically opposite approach to such vital problems as the possibility of averting a world thermonuclear war, peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, the interconnection between the struggle for peace and the development of the world revolutionary movement.

Our party, in the decisions of its 20th and 22nd Congresses, and the world communist movement in the Declaration and Statement, set before Communists, as a vital and urgent task, the struggle for peace, the struggle to avert a world thermonuclear catastrophe. We realistically appraise the balance of strength in the world and draw the conclusion that, though the nature of imperialism has not changed, and the danger of war breaking out has not been averted, in modern conditions the forces of peace, of which the mighty community of socialist states is the main bulwark, can, through their joint efforts, prevent a new world war.

We also soberly appraise the radical, qualitative change of the means of waging war and, accordingly, its possible con-

sequences. **The nuclear and rocket weapons created in the middle of this century have changed former conceptions of war.** These weapons possess unprecedented destructive power. Suffice it to say that the explosion of only one powerful thermonuclear bomb surpasses the explosive force of all the ammunition used during all previous wars, including the first and the second world wars. And many thousands of such bombs have been accumulated.

Have Communists the right to ignore this danger? Must we tell the people the whole truth about the consequences of a thermonuclear war? We believe that undoubtedly we must. This cannot have a “paralyzing” effect on the masses, as the Chinese comrades assert. On the contrary, the truth about modern war mobilizes the will and energy of the masses for the struggle for peace, against imperialism — the source of the war danger.

The historic task of the Communists is to organize and head the struggle of the peoples to prevent a world thermonuclear war.

Prevention of a new world war is a fully real and feasible task. **The 20th Congress of our party arrived at a conclusion of the utmost importance — that in our times there is no fatal inevitability of war between states.** That conclusion is based not merely on good intentions; it is the result of a realistic, strictly scientific analysis of the balance of class forces in the world arena; it is based on the vast might of world socialism. Our views on this question are shared by the entire world communist movement. “World war can be averted”; “a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world,” the Statement stresses.

That Statement bears the signatures also of the Chinese comrades.

But what is the position of the CPC leadership? What can be the meaning of the propositions they advocate, viz., that

we cannot put an end to war as long as imperialism exists; that peaceful co-existence is an illusion, it is not the general foreign-policy principle of the socialist countries; that the struggle for peace hinders revolutionary struggle?

These propositions mean that the Chinese comrades are acting contrary to the general policy of the world communist movement on questions of war and peace. They do not believe in the possibility of preventing a new world war, they underestimate the forces of peace and socialism and overestimate the forces of imperialism, and virtually ignore the mobilization of the masses to fight the war danger.

It turns out that the Chinese comrades do not believe in the ability of the peoples of the socialist countries, the international working class, and all the democratic and peace-loving forces to foil the plans of the warmongers and achieve peace for our and future generations. What is behind the loud revolutionary phrases of the Chinese comrades? Disbelief in the strength of the working class and its revolutionary capabilities, disbelief both in the possibility of peaceful co-existence and in the victory of the proletariat in the class struggle. The struggle to prevent war unites all peace-loving forces. They differ in class composition and class interests. But they can be united by the struggle for peace, for averting war, because **the atomic bomb does not draw class distinctions** — it destroys everybody within the range of its destructive action.

To follow the road proposed by the Chinese comrades would be to alienate the masses from the Communist parties, which have won the sympathies of the peoples by their persevering and courageous struggle for peace.

In the minds of the broad masses; socialism and peace are now inseparable!

The Chinese comrades obviously underestimate all the danger a thermonuclear war would present. "The atomic bomb is a paper tiger," it "is not at all terrible," they contend. The main thing, they say, is to put an end to imperialism as quick-

ly as possible, but how and with what losses this will be achieved appears to be a secondary question. Secondary for whom, it may be asked — for the hundreds of millions of people who would be doomed to death if a thermonuclear war were unleashed? For the countries that would be wiped off the face of the earth in the very first hours of such a war?

No one, not even a big state, has the right to play with the destinies of millions of people. Those who do not want to exert themselves to banish world war from the life of the peoples, to avert mass annihilation and destruction of the values of human civilization, deserve condemnation.

The CPC Central Committee letter of June 14 has much to say about “inevitable sacrifices,” allegedly in the name of the revolution. Some responsible Chinese leaders have also declared that it is possible to sacrifice hundreds of millions of people in a war. There is this assertion in the collection “Long Live Leninism!” which was approved by the CPC Central Committee: “The victorious peoples will create with tremendous speed on the ruins of destroyed imperialism a civilization a thousand times higher than under the capitalist system, and will build a really beautiful future.”

It is permissible to ask the Chinese comrades: do they realize what sort of “ruins” a world nuclear and rocket war would leave behind?

The CPSU Central Committee — and we are convinced that the entire party and the Soviet people unanimously support us in this — cannot share the views of the Chinese leadership about the creation of “a thousand times higher civilization” on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people. Such views are fundamentally contrary to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

It is permissible to ask the Chinese comrades: what means do they propose for the destruction of imperialism? We fully favour the destruction of imperialism and capitalism. Not only do we believe in the inevitable demise of capitalism, but we are doing everything to achieve this through the class struggle, and as soon as possible. Who must decide this his-

toric question? First of all, the working class, guided by its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist party, the working people of each country.

The Chinese comrades propose something different. They frankly say: “On the ruins of destroyed imperialism,” in other words, as a result of the unleashing of war, “a beautiful future will be built.” If we are to accept that then, indeed, there is no need for the principle of peaceful co-existence, for the struggle to strengthen peace. We cannot take such an adventurous path: it contradicts the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

Everyone knows that under present conditions a world war would be a thermonuclear war. The imperialists will never agree to quit the scene voluntarily, to put themselves into the coffin of their own free will, without having resorted to the extreme methods at their disposal.

Apparently those who describe the thermonuclear weapon as a “paper tiger” are not fully aware of its destructive power.

We soberly take this into account. We ourselves produce thermonuclear weapons and have manufactured them in sufficient quantities. We know their destructive power full well. And if imperialism starts a war against us, we shall not hesitate to use this formidable weapon against the aggressor. But if we are not attacked, we shall not be the first to use it.

Marxists-Leninists strive to ensure durable peace not by supplications to imperialism, but by rallying the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, by rallying the working class of all countries, by rallying the peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence, by relying on the economic and defence might of the socialist states.

We might ask the Chinese comrades, who offer to build a beautiful future on the ruins of the old world destroyed by thermonuclear war: did they consult, on this issue, the working class of countries where imperialism is in power? The working class of the capitalist countries would be sure to tell them: are we asking you to unleash war and destroy our countries in the process of destroying the imperialists. After

all, the monopolists, the imperialists, are only a comparatively small group, while the bulk of the population of the capitalist countries consists of the working class, the working peasantry, working intelligentsia. The atomic bomb does not distinguish between imperialists and working people, it strikes at areas, so that millions of workers would be killed for every monopolist destroyed. The working class, the working people, will ask such “revolutionaries”: What right have you to decide for us questions involving our very existence and our class struggle — we too want socialism, but we want to win it through the class struggle, not by unleashing a world thermonuclear war.

The way the Chinese comrades present the question can arouse legitimate suspicion that this is no longer a class approach to the struggle for the abolition of capitalism, but that there are entirely different aims. If both the exploiters and the exploited are buried under the ruins of the old world, who will build the “beautiful future”?

The fact cannot pass unnoticed, in this connection, that instead of the class, internationalist approach expressed in the slogan “Workers of all countries, united the Chinese comrades stubbornly propagate a slogan deprived of all class meaning: “The wind from the East prevails over the wind from the West.”

On questions of the socialist revolution our party firmly adheres to Marxist-Leninist class positions, believing that in each country the revolution is carried out by the working class, the working people, without outside military interference.

It stands to reason, of course, that if the imperialist madmen unleash a war, the peoples will sweep away capitalism and bury it. But the Communists, representatives of the peoples, true champions of socialist humanism, must do everything they can to prevent another world war, in which hundreds of millions would perish.

No party that has the interests of the people at heart can fail to appreciate its responsibility in the struggle to avert another world war and endure peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

Expressing the policy of our party, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov said: "There will be liberative wars as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. These are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only permissible but even unavoidable, since the colonialists do not grant independence to nations voluntarily. Therefore it is only through struggle, including armed struggle, that the peoples can win freedom and independence." The Soviet Union is rendering the broadest support to the national-liberation movement. Everybody is familiar with the practical assistance our country has given the peoples of Viet-Nam, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria, Yemen, Cuba and other countries.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has proclaimed the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence the general line of Soviet foreign policy and is unswervingly following that line. Since 1953, and particularly after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the effect of our peace policy and its influence on the course of international relations in the interests of the masses have sharply increased.

The Chinese comrades allege that in our understanding, the concept "peaceful co-existence" exhausts all the principles of our relations not only with imperialist countries, but also with the socialist countries and the countries that have recently broken out of the colonial yoke. They know perfectly well that this is not the case, that we were the first to proclaim the principle of friendship and comradely mutual assistance as the most important principle in relations between the countries of socialism and adhere to it firmly and consistently, that we render all-round and manifold assistance to liberated nations. And yet, for some reason, they find it to their advantage to present all this in an entirely distorted light.

The Soviet Union's persevering struggle for peace and international security, general and complete disarmament, elimination of the vestiges of World War II, negotiated settlement of all international issues, has yielded its results. Our country's prestige throughout the world stands higher than ever. Our international position is stronger than ever. We owe this to the steadily growing economic and military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to their peaceful foreign policy.

The CPSU Central Committee declares that we have been following; are now following, and will continue to follow the Lenin policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. In this our party sees its duty both to the Soviet people and the peoples of all other countries. To ensure peace means to contribute most effectively to the consolidation of the socialist system, and, consequently, to the growth of its influence on the entire course of the liberation struggle, on the world revolutionary process.

The deep difference in the views on war, peace and peaceful co-existence held by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, on the one hand, and the CPC leaders, on the other, was manifested with particular clarity during the 1962 Caribbean crisis. It was a sharp international crisis: never before had mankind come so close to the brink of thermonuclear war as it did last October.

The Chinese comrades claim that in the period of the Caribbean crisis we made an "adventuristic" mistake by supplying rockets to Cuba and then "capitulated" to American imperialism when we withdrew the rockets from Cuba.*

Such assertions utterly contradict the facts.

How did things actually stand? The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government had reliable information that United States imperialism was about to launch armed

* Such allegations were made in the leading article in the People's Daily of March 8, 1963, "On the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." [*Note in the original.*]

aggression against Cuba. It was amply clear to us that to rebuff aggression, to defend the Cuban revolution effectively, would require the most resolute measures. **Imprecations and warnings — even if they are called “serious warnings” and are repeated 250 times — have no effect on the imperialists.**

Proceeding from the need to defend the Cuban revolution, the Soviet government and the government of Cuba reached agreement on the stationing of missiles on Cuba, since this was the only realistic means of preventing American imperialist aggression. The delivery of missiles to Cuba signified that an attack on her would meet with a resolute rebuff, with the employment of rocket weapons against the organizers of the aggression. This resolute step on the part of the Soviet Union and Cuba came as a shock to the American imperialists — for the first time in history they were made to feel that an armed attack on Cuba would be answered by a smashing blow at their own territory.

Inasmuch as it was not merely a conflict between the United States and Cuba, but a clash between the two major nuclear powers, the Caribbean crisis would have developed into a world crisis. There was a real danger of world thermonuclear war.

There were two possibilities in the prevailing situation: either to fall in with the “wildmen” (the appellation of the most aggressive and reactionary representatives of American imperialism) and follow a path that would unleash a world thermonuclear war, or, using the opportunities offered by the delivery of missiles, to take all measures to reach agreement on peaceful settlement of the crisis and prevent aggression against the Cuban Republic.

We chose, as is known, the second path and we are convinced that we acted rightly. We are confident that this is the unanimous view of our people. The Soviet people have on more than one occasion demonstrated their ability to stand up for themselves, defend the cause of the revolution, the cause of socialism. And no one knows better than they how

much grief and suffering war brings, what hardships and sacrifices it costs the peoples.

Agreement on the removal of the missile weapons in reply to the United States government's commitment not to invade Cuba and keep its allies from doing so, the heroic struggle of the Cuban people, the support given them by the peace-loving nations, made it possible to thwart the plans of the extreme adventuristic circles of American imperialism, which were ready to go the whole hog. As a result it was possible to defend revolutionary Cuba and save peace.

The Chinese comrades regard as an "embellishment of imperialism" our statement that the Kennedy government, too, displayed a certain reasonableness, a realistic approach in the course of the crisis around Cuba. Do they really think that all bourgeois governments, in all their doings, lack reason?

Thanks to the courageous and farsighted policy of the U.S.S.R., the staunchness and restraint of the heroic Cuban people and their government, the forces of socialism and peace proved their ability to curb the aggressive forces of imperialism and impose peace on the war advocates. This was a major victory for the policy of reason, for the forces of peace and socialism; this was a defeat for the forces of imperialism, for the policy of war gambles.

As a result, revolutionary Cuba is living in peace and is building socialism under the leadership of her United Party of the Socialist Revolution and the leader of the Cuban people, Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz.

When agreement was reached with the President of the United States, and a start thus made on liquidating the Caribbean crisis, the Chinese comrades were particularly inventive in insulting and abusing the Soviet Union, arguing that there was no believing the imperialists' word.

We are living in an age when there are two worlds, two systems: socialism and imperialism. **It would be absurd to think that all the issues inevitably arising in relations between the countries of these two systems must be resolved only by**

force of arms, ruling out talks and agreements. If that were so, there would never be an end to war. We reject such an approach.

The Chinese comrades argue that the imperialists cannot be believed in anything, that they are bound to deceive. It is not a matter of believing, but of sober calculation. Eight months have passed since liquidation of the crisis in the Caribbean, and the United States government is keeping its word — there has been no invasion of Cuba. We, too, have fulfilled our obligation to remove the missiles from Cuba.

But it should also be remembered that we have undertaken an obligation to the Cuban people too: if the United States imperialists do not keep their promise and invade Cuba, we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people. Every sensible person realizes that in the event of an American imperialist invasion, we shall come to the assistance of the Cuban people from Soviet territory, just as we would have helped them from Cuban territory. True, in that case the rockets would be in flight slightly longer, but their precision would not be impaired.

Why, then, do the Chinese comrades obstinately ignore the assessment the leaders of the Cuban revolution themselves have given the Soviet government's policy as a policy of fraternal solidarity and genuine internationalism? What are the Chinese leaders dissatisfied with? The fact, perhaps, that it was possible to prevent the invasion of Cuba and the unleashing of world war?

And what line of conduct did the CPC leadership take during the Caribbean crisis? At that critical moment the Chinese comrades opposed to the realistic and firm stand of the Soviet government their own position. Guided by some particular concepts of their own, they concentrated the fire of their criticism not so much on U.S. aggressive imperialism as on the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The CPC leadership, which had been arguing that imperialism might at any time unleash a world war, at this crucial

juncture assumed the role of critic, not of fighting ally and comrade. In those days no one heard statements from the Chinese leaders about their practical actions in defence of the Cuban revolution. Instead, the Chinese leaders were clearly working to aggravate the already critical situation in the Caribbean area, and added fuel to the smouldering coals of the conflict.

The true position of the CPC leadership on the issue of war and peace, its gross underestimation — more, its deliberate ignoring — of the struggle for disarmament, has been brought out with full clarity. The Chinese comrades object to Communists even raising this question, going to the length of pleading adherence to Marxism-Leninism, and trying to prove in every way the “infeasibility” of disarmament, on the one hand, and its needlessness on the other. Juggling with quotations, they try to prove that general disarmament is possible only with socialism triumphant the world over.

Must Marxists sit and wait for the world victory of socialism at a time when the world is in the suffocating clutches of the arms race, when the imperialists are stockpiling nuclear arms and threaten to plunge mankind into the abyss of a world war?

No, that would be criminal inaction in face of the imperative needs of the times.

This truth has long been known to all genuine Marxists-Leninists, who are aware of their responsibility to the peoples and who for several years have been waging — and will go on waging — a hard and persistent struggle for general and complete disarmament, for prohibition of nuclear weapons and their testing.

In fighting for peace, in advancing the slogan of general disarmament, we proceed from the vital interests of the peoples, take account of the actual situation and do not shut our eyes to the difficulties. The imperialists are naturally doing everything to delay and wreck agreement on disarmament — they stand to gain by this. They use the arms race to enrich

themselves and to hold the people in capitalist countries in a state of fear. But must we swim with the stream, must we follow in the wake of imperialism and refuse to mobilize all the forces to fight for peace and disarmament?

No. That would mean surrendering to the aggressive forces, to the militarists and imperialists. We believe that the working class, the working people of all countries, can force the imperialist governments to accept disarmament, can prevent war. For this they must above all become conscious of their strength and unite.

There must be opposed to the forces of imperialism and war the organized might of the world working class. It now has the advantage of being able to rely on the material power and the defence might of the socialist countries, which stand opposed to imperialism. The time when imperialism held complete sway has gone for ever. The situation has also changed sharply compared with the first decades after the October Revolution, when our country was alone and much weaker than today. In our day there is an entirely different balance of strength in the world arena. That is why **to maintain that war is inevitable is to display lack of faith in the forces of socialism, to succumb to moods of hopelessness and defeatism.**

One can repeat endlessly that war is inevitable, passing off this view as proof of one's "revolutionary spirit." In actual fact, this approach merely indicates disbelief in ones strength, fear of imperialism.

There are still powerful forces in the imperialist camp opposed to disarmament. But it is precisely to compel these forces to retreat that we must rouse the peoples' wrath against them, force them to comply with the will of the peoples.

The peoples want disarmament and believe that the Communists are the vanguard and organizers of the struggle to achieve it.

Our struggle for disarmament is not a tactical expedient. We sincerely want disarmament. And here we stand four-square on Marxism-Leninism. Way back at the close of the

last century, Frederick Engels pointed out that disarmament was possible, describing it as the “guarantee of peace.” In our time, the disarmament slogan was first advanced as a practical aim by V. I. Lenin, and the first Soviet proposals on complete or partial disarmament were submitted as early as 1922, at the Genoa Conference. This was in Lenin’s lifetime, and he formulated the disarmament proposals.

The struggle for disarmament is a cardinal factor in averting war. It is an effective struggle against imperialism. In this struggle the socialist camp has on its side the absolute majority of mankind.

The Chinese comrades put out the slogan “spearpoint against spearpoint” as a counter-blast to the policy of the other socialist countries aimed at improving the international situation and ending the cold war. This slogan, in effect, brings grist to the mill of imperialist brinkmanship policy and helps the arms race supporters. One gets the impression that the CPC leaders consider it to their advantage to preserve and aggravate international tension, especially in relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. They apparently believe that the Soviet Union should reply to provocation by provocation, should fall into the traps set by the imperialist “wildmen,” should accept the imperialist challenge to competition in adventurism and aggressiveness, that is, to competition in unleashing war, not in assuring peace.

To take that road would be to jeopardize the peace and security of the nations. The Communists, who cherish the interests of the peoples, will never follow that road.

The struggle for peace, for implementation of the principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, is one of the most important forms of the peoples’ struggle against imperialism, against the new wars it is preparing, against aggressive imperialist actions in colonial countries, against imperialist military bases on foreign territory, against the arms race, etc. This struggle is in the interests of

the working class, of all the working people, and in that sense it is a class struggle.

Our party, all fraternal parties, remember, and are guided by, the conclusion drawn in the Statement that the struggle against the danger of a new world war has to be developed without waiting for the atomic and hydrogen bombs to be dropped. The struggle must be waged now, and intensified from day to day. The main thing is to curb the aggressors a in good time, prevent war, not allow it to break out. Fighting for peace today implies maintaining supreme vigilance, tirelessly exposing imperialist policy, keeping close watch on the war instigators' manoeuvres and machinations, rousing the wrath of the peoples against those whose policy is war, enhancing the organization of the peace forces, constantly intensifying mass activity for peace, strengthening co-operation with all states not interested in new wars.

The struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence weakens the front of imperialism, isolates its most aggressive circles from the people and helps advance the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples.

The struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence is organically linked with the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. "In conditions of peaceful co-existence," the Statement of the 81 Communist parties says, "favourable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful co-existence."

In conditions of peaceful co-existence, new important victories have been scored in recent years in the class struggle of the proletariat and in the struggle of the peoples for national freedom. The world revolutionary process is developing successfully.

For this reason, to separate the fight for peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems from the revolutionary fight against imperialism and colonialism, for independence and socialism — to counterpose them, as the Chinese comrades do — is to reduce the principle of peaceful co-existence to a hollow phrase, to deprive it of all real meaning, to ignore, in effect, the need for resolute struggle against imperialism, for peace and peaceful co-existence. But that would be to the benefit only of the imperialists.

In its June 14 letter, the CPC Central Committee accuses the Communist parties of extending peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems to relations between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressed and oppressor classes, between the working people and the imperialists. This is a monstrous fabrication and slander of the fraternal parties, which are leading the proletariat in its class battles with capital and which always support the revolutionary struggle and the just liberation wars against imperialism.

The arguments the CPC leaders advance in their struggle against the CPSU and the other fraternal parties are so feeble that they have to resort to all manner of subterfuge. They begin by ascribing to us absolutely groundless propositions of their own invention and then proceed to accuse us, to fight us and expose these propositions. That applies to their absurd allegation that the CPSU and the other fraternal parties have renounced revolution and have substituted peaceful co-existence for the class struggle. Even political-study-group students know that peaceful co-existence applies to governmental relations between socialist and capitalist states. The principle of peaceful co-existence, naturally, can in no way be extended to relations between antagonistic classes in capitalist states. Nor is it permissible to extend it to the working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie for its class interests, or to the struggle of oppressed peoples against the colonialists. The CPSU is resolutely opposed to peaceful co-existence in

ideology. This is a truism which all who regard themselves as Marxists-Leninists should have mastered.

III

There are serious differences between the CPC and the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties on the question of combating the consequences of the Stalin personality cult.

The CPC leaders have taken upon themselves the role of defenders of the personality cult and peddlers of Stalin's erroneous ideas. They are trying to impose upon other parties the order of things, the ideology and morals, the forms and methods of leadership that flourished in the period of the personality cult. Let it be frankly said that this is an unenviable role, and one that will bring them neither honour nor glory. No one will succeed in persuading Marxists-Leninists, or progressives in general, to take up the defence of the personality cult.

The Soviet people and the world communist movement highly appreciate the courage, boldness, the truly Leninist firmness of principle displayed by our party and its Central Committee headed by N. S. Khrushchov in eliminating the consequences of the personality cult.

Everyone knows that our party did this in order to remove the heavy burden that fettered the powerful forces of the people and thereby accelerate the development of Soviet society. Our party did this in order to keep pure the ideals of socialism bequeathed to us by the great Lenin and purge them of the stigma of abuse of personal power and arbitrariness. It did this in order to prevent a recurrence of the tragic events that were a concomitant of the personality cult, to help all fighters for socialism draw lessons from our experience.

The entire communist movement correctly understood and supported the struggle against the personality cult, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, against its harmful consequences.

The Chinese leaders, too, approved. They spoke of the tremendous international significance of the 20th CPSU Congress.

In his opening address at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, in September 1956, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

“The Soviet comrades, the Soviet people, have acted in accordance with Lenin’s instructions. They have achieved brilliant successes in a brief space of time. The recent 20th Congress of the CPSU likewise worked out many correct political propositions and condemned shortcomings in the work of the party. It can be said with confidence that in future their work will develop on an exceptionally great scale.”

In the political report of the CPC Central Committee, delivered at the Congress by Comrade Liu Shao-chi, this appraisal was further amplified:

“The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in February this year, is a most important political event of world-wide significance. It not only outlined the magnificent sixth five-year plan and a number of most important political directives aimed at furthering the cause of socialism and condemned the personality cult, which had led to serious consequences in the party, but it also advanced proposals for the further promotion of peaceful co-existence and international co-operation and made an outstanding contribution to the relaxation of international tension.”

Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, in his report on changes in the Party Rules at the same Eighth Congress of the CPC, said:

“Leninism requires that party decisions on all important questions be taken by an appropriate collective, and not individually. The 20th Congress of the CPSU convincingly demonstrated the great importance of unswerving observance of the principle of collective leadership and of the struggle against the personality cult. This has had a tremendous influence not only on the CPSU, but also on Communist parties in all countries of the world.”

In the well-known editorial in the People's Daily newspaper, "Once More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (December 1956), the Chinese comrades wrote:

"The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union displayed tremendous determination and courage in eliminating the Stalin cult, in exposing Stalin's grave errors and in eliminating the consequences of Stalin's errors. Throughout the world Marxists-Leninists and those who sympathize with the cause of communism support the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to correct the errors and wish the Soviet comrades complete success in their efforts."

And that is how things really stood.

Any unbiased person who compares these pronouncements of the Chinese leaders with the CPC Central Committee letter of June 14 will see that they have made a 180-degree turn in their evaluation of the 20th Congress of our party.

But are vacillation and inconsistency permissible on such questions of principle? Of course, they are not. **Either the Chinese leaders had no differences with the CPSU Central Committee on these questions of principle before, or all these statements were false.**

It is well known that practice is the best criterion of truth. And practice has convincingly proved that realization of the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU has produced splendid results in the life of our country. In the ten years since the time when our party made a sharp turn towards restoration of the Leninist principles and norms in party life, Soviet society achieved truly majestic results in economic, scientific and cultural development, in raising prosperity standards, in consolidating its defence potential, in the successful pursuance of its foreign policy.

The atmosphere of fear, suspicion and uncertainty which poisoned the life of the people in the period of the personality cult became a thing of the past. No one can deny that the

Soviet people began to live better and enjoy the benefits of socialism. Ask the worker (and there are millions of them!) who moved into a new apartment, ask the pensioner who is well provided for in his old age, the collective farmer who is now well-to-do, ask the thousands upon thousands of people who suffered unjust repressions in the period of the personality cult and to whom freedom and their good name were restored, and you will know what practical meaning the victory of the Leninist course of the 20th CPSU Congress has had for the Soviet people.

Ask those whose fathers and mothers were victims of repression in the period of the personality cult what it meant to have their fathers, mothers and brothers accepted as honest people, and to know that they themselves are not outcasts of our society, but worthy and full-fledged sons and daughters of the Soviet fatherland.

Industry, agriculture, culture, science, art — no matter where we turn, we witness rapid progress. Our spaceships are furrowing the expanses of the Universe, and this, too, provides brilliant confirmation that the course along which our party leads the Soviet people is a correct one.

Of course, we do not maintain that we have done everything for Soviet man, for improving his life. The Soviet people understand that the achievement of this principle depends not only on our wish. We have to build communist society and create an abundance of material benefits. That is why our people are working with such devotion to accelerate the production of material and cultural values and bring closer the victory of communism. Everyone can see that we are following a correct course, that we clearly see the prospects of our development.

The CPSU Programme maps out a concrete plan of the construction of communism. Its implementation will ensure the Soviet people the highest living standards and will be the start of our gradual transition to the inspiring communist

principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The Soviet people find it strange and fantastic that the Chinese comrades should seek to discredit the Programme of the CPSU, that majestic plan of building communist society.

The CPC leaders hint that, since our party has made its aim a better life for the people, Soviet society is being "bourgeoisified," is "degenerating." According to their logic, if people wear bast sandals and eat thin soup from a common bowl — that is communism, and if a working man lives well and wants to live better still tomorrow — that is very nearly the restoration of capitalism.

And this philosophy they want to present to us as the latest revelation of Marxism-Leninism! This fully exposes the authors of such "theories" as men who have no faith in the strength and capabilities of a working class that has taken power into its own hands and created its own, socialist state.

If we turn to the history of our country, to the CPSU Programme, we will readily see where we began when, under the leadership of Lenin, we took power into our hands, and what summits the Soviet people have reached. Our country has been transformed into a great socialist power. In volume of industrial production the Soviet Union is first in Europe and second in the world. It will soon surpass the United States and advance to first place. The Soviet working class, the Soviet collective-farm peasantry, the Soviet intelligentsia, are the creators of all our victories.

We are convinced that not only the Soviet people, but the peoples of other socialist countries, too, are capable of great achievements on the labour front -- all that is necessary is correct guidance of the working class and peasantry, and that those responsible for such guidance think realistically and take decisions that direct the people's strength and energies along the correct path.

In an attempt to justify the personality cult, the Chinese leaders have overloaded their letter with allegations about a

class struggle in the U.S.S.R., and allege that the CPSU Programme proposition on a state of the entire people and a party of the entire people is wrong. These allegations are far removed from Marxism.

We do not intend to analyze all their arguments in detail in this letter. Anyone who reads the CPC Central Committee letter of June 14 will undoubtedly notice that **its arguments are utterly helpless and betray complete isolation from Soviet life.** We are being taught that hostile classes still remain in Soviet society and the need therefore remains, we are told, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. What classes? From the CPC letter one concludes that they are “bourgeois hangers-on, parasites, blackmarketeers, thieves, idlers, hooligans and embezzlers.”

The Chinese comrades certainly have a unique notion of classes and class struggle. Since when have these parasitic elements been considered a class? And what class? A class of idlers or a class of hooligans, a class of embezzlers, or a class of parasites? In no society do criminals constitute a class. Even schoolboys know that. And, of course, these elements do not constitute a class in socialist society. These are manifestations of the survivals of capitalism.

You do not need proletarian dictatorship to combat such elements. The state of the entire people can fully cope, and is coping, with this task. We know from our own experience that the better the educational work of party, trade union and other public organizations, the higher the role of the public, the better the work of the Soviet militia, the more effective is the struggle against crime.

There is no refuting the fact that Soviet society is now made up of two main classes — the workers and the peasants, also the intelligentsia, that no class of Soviet society occupies a position enabling it to exploit other classes. Dictatorship is a class concept; over whom do the Chinese comrades propose to exercise dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union: over the collective-farm peasantry or the people’s intelligent-

sia? One must reckon with the fact that in socialist society the class of workers and the class of peasants have changed substantially, that the differences and distinctions between them are being steadily obliterated.

After the complete and final victory of socialism, the working class effects its guiding role not through dictatorship of the proletariat. It still remains the front-rank class of society in conditions of full-scale construction of communism. Its front-rank role is determined by its economic position, by the fact that it is directly connected with the highest form of socialist property, and by the fact that it is more steedled by decades of class struggle and revolutionary experience.

The Chinese comrades refer to Marx's proposition that the content of the transition period from capitalism to communism can be only dictatorship of the proletariat. But Marx had in mind communism as a whole, as an integral socio-economic formation (of which socialism is the first stage), the transition to which is impossible without socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. There are a number of pronouncements of V. I. Lenin, emphasizing with absolute clarity that the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed precisely to overcome resistance of the exploiting classes, organize socialist construction, ensure the victory of socialism — the first phase of communism. It is clear from this that the need for dictatorship of the proletariat disappears after the victory of socialism, when only working people, friendly classes, the nature of which has changed radically, remain in society and there is no one to suppress.

If we were to extract the substance of the mass of pseudo-theoretical disquisitions on these questions in the CPC Central Committee letter, it would boil down to the following: the Chinese comrades are opposed to the CPSU policy of developing socialist democracy, so forcefully formulated in the decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Party Congresses and the CPSU Programme. It is no mere accident that their lengthy

letter does not even mention the development of democracy in conditions of socialism, in conditions of building communism.

It is hard fully to ascertain the Chinese comrades' motivation in upholding the personality cult. In effect, this is the first time in the history of the international communist movement that we meet with open extollation of the personality cult. It should be observed that even at the height of the personality cult in our country, Stalin himself was forced, at least in words, to reject this petty-bourgeois theory, saying that it stemmed from the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The attempt to plead the authority of Marx and Lenin in defence of the ideology of the personality cult can only evoke surprise. Are the Chinese comrades really unaware of the fact that in the very early days of our party Lenin conducted a vigorous struggle against the Narodniks' theories of the hero and the mob, that genuine collective methods of leadership in the Central Committee of our party and the Soviet state were implemented under Lenin, that Lenin was an extraordinarily modest person and mercilessly castigated the slightest manifestations of toadyism and servility?

Of course, the struggle against the personality cult has never been regarded by our party or the other Marxist-Leninist parties as negation of the authority of party and government leaders. Time and again, at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and on other occasions, the CPSU has stressed that the party values the authority of its leadership, that, while rejecting the personality cult and combating its consequences, the party has a high regard for leaders who really express the interests of the people and devote all their strength to the struggle for communism, and for this reason enjoy deserved prestige.

IV

The next important issue of difference concerns the ways and methods of the revolutionary struggle of the working class

in capitalist countries, of the struggle for national liberation, and the ways of transition of all mankind to socialism.

This is how the Chinese comrades depict our differences on this issue: one side — they themselves — stands for world revolution; the other side — the CPSU and the Marxist-Leninist parties — has forgotten the revolution, even “fears” it and, instead of revolutionary struggle, is concerned with such things “unworthy” of a genuine revolutionary as peace, economic development of the socialist countries and improvement of their peoples’ living standards, the struggle for the democratic rights and vital interests of the working people in capitalist countries.

In reality, however, the line of division between the views of the CPC and those of the international communist movement lies on an entirely different plane: the CPC leaders speak of world revolution where necessary and where not, and flaunt “revolutionary” phrases on every occasion, often without occasion, whereas the other side — those whom the Chinese comrades criticize — approach the question of revolution seriously and, instead of highfalutin phrases, are perseveringly working to find the most correct paths for the victory of socialism, paths that accord with the conditions of the era, and are devotedly fighting for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Let us examine the principal views of the Chinese comrades on the problems of the present-day revolutionary movement.

Will it help the countries and peoples to pass over to socialism if, in the name of “world revolution,” they abandon the struggle for peace, the policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful economic competition, the struggle for the vital interests of the working people and for democratic reforms in capitalist countries? Is it true that in advocating peace and pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence, the Communists of the socialist countries are concerned only for themselves and are oblivious to their class brothers in the capitalist countries?

Everyone who ponders on the meaning of the present struggle for peace and against thermonuclear war will realize that the Soviet Communists and the fraternal parties in other socialist countries are, by their peace policy, rendering invaluable assistance to the working class and working people generally of the capitalist countries. **Nor is it merely a matter of averting nuclear war in order to save from destruction the working class and the people of whole countries, even continents, though this is in itself ample justification of our policy.**

There is another consideration — this policy is the best way of helping the international revolutionary labour movement achieve its basic class aims. Is it not an immense contribution to the working-class struggle that the lands of socialism, in the conditions of the peace they themselves won, are scoring remarkable achievements in economic development, advancing from victory to victory in the scientific and technical fields, steadily improving the living and working conditions of the people and developing and perfecting socialist democracy?

In face of these successes and victories every worker in every capitalist country will say: “Socialism has proved in practice its superiority over capitalism. It is a system worth fighting for.” Socialism is now winning men’s hearts and minds, not only through books, but primarily by its deeds, by the living example it has set.

The 1960 Statement regards as the chief distinctive feature of our time the fact that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. All the Communist parties represented at the meeting arrived at the conclusion that the international working class and its creation, the socialist world system, is the central factor of our era.

The solution of all the other problems confronting the revolutionary movement depends in very great measure on strengthening the socialist world system. That is why the Communist and Workers’ parties have assumed the obligation *“indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of*

nations, whose international role and influence on the course of world events are growing from year to year.” And it is in the accomplishment of this all-important task that our party sees its supreme international duty.

V. I. Lenin taught us that “we exert our main influence on the international revolution by our economic policy. . . . In this field the struggle is being waged on an international scale. When we solve this task, we shall have won on an international scale, finally and for certain.” (Works, Vol. 32, p. 413.)

That behest of the great Lenin has been firmly assimilated by the Soviet Communists; it is being followed by Communists in other lands of socialism. But, it appears, some comrades have decided that Lenin was wrong.

What is this, disbelief in the ability of the socialist countries to win the economic race with capitalism? Or is it the attitude of men who, confronted with the difficulties of socialist construction, are disappointed and do not see the possibility of exerting our main influence on the international revolutionary movement by our economic achievements, by the example of successful socialist construction in our countries? They want to achieve the revolution quicker, by following paths which, in their opinion, are a short cut. But the victorious revolution can consolidate and extend its achievements and prove socialism’s superiority over capitalism only by labour, only by the labour effort of the people. True, this is not easy, especially in the case of revolutions performed in countries inheriting underdeveloped economies. But the example of the Soviet Union and of many other socialist countries convincingly shows that, even under these conditions, immense progress can be made and the superiority of socialism over capitalism demonstrated to the world, providing there is correct leadership.

Further: what is more favourable for the working-class revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries — an atmosphere of peace and peaceful co-existence, or an atmosphere of unrelaxing international strain and cold war?

There can be no doubt about the answer. For everyone knows that the ruling element in the imperialist powers is exploiting the cold-war atmosphere to instigate chauvinism, war hysteria and rabid anti-communism in order to place in power the most arrant reactionaries and pro-fascists, abolish democracy, make short shrift of the political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations of the working class.

The Communists' fight for peace tremendously strengthens their ties with the masses, their authority and influence and, consequently, helps to create what is known as the political army of the revolution.

Far from hampering and postponing the struggle for the ultimate aims of the international working class, the fight for peace and peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems makes it possible to give that struggle full scope.

It is hard to believe that the Chinese comrades, men of experience who have themselves performed a revolution, fail to appreciate the chief consideration, namely, that today the world revolution develops through the strengthening of the socialist world system, through the revolutionary class struggles of the workers in the capitalist countries, through the national-liberation movement, the strengthening of the political and economic independence of the newly liberated Afro-Asian countries, through the struggle for peace, against aggressive war, and through the anti-monopoly struggle of the masses. It develops along these and many other paths, which should not be counterposed to each other, but united and directed towards the single goal of overthrowing imperialist domination.

The Chinese comrades haughtily and insultingly accuse the Communist parties of France, Italy, the U.S.A., and other countries of nothing less than opportunism and reformism, of "parliamentary-cretinism," even of sliding into "bourgeois socialism." On what grounds? On the grounds that these Communist parties do not advance the slogan of immediate proletarian revolution, though the Chinese leaders, too, should re-

alize that this cannot be done in the absence of a revolutionary situation.

Every knowledgeable Marxist-Leninist knows that it is premature to advance the slogan of armed uprising in the absence of a revolutionary situation, that this would doom the working class to certain defeat. We know with what great care and seriousness V. I. Lenin regarded this problem, and with what political foresight and knowledge of the concrete situation he approached the question of selecting the time for a revolutionary rising. On the very eve of the October Revolution Lenin pointed out that it would be too early to come out on October 24, and too late on October 26 — everything might then be lost. Consequently, the seizure of power had to be undertaken on October 25. Who can determine the degree of tension of class contradictions, the existence of a revolutionary situation, the exact moment for acting? That can only be done by the working class of each country, by its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party.

The history of the international labour movement shows that it is a bad party which, while calling itself a workers' party, devotes itself solely to economic matters, does not educate the working class in a revolutionary spirit, does not prepare it for political struggle, for the seizure of power. Such a party is bound to slide into reformism. But it is a bad party, too, that approaches political struggle out of context with the struggle for improving the economic position of the working class, the peasantry, the working people generally. Such a party is bound to become isolated from the masses. Only correct utilization of all the forms of class struggle in skilful combination enables a party to become a genuinely revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, the leader of the masses, a party capable of directing the working class in the onslaught on capitalism, in the achievement of power.

The mortal sin of many Communist parties in developed capitalist countries, the Chinese comrades think, is that they consider their immediate task to be the struggle for the

economic and social interests of the working people, for democratic reforms that are feasible under capitalism and improve the conditions of the working class, peasantry, the petty bourgeois strata, facilitating the establishment of a broad anti-monopoly front as the basis for further struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution — in other words, that they are doing all the things set out in the Moscow Statement of 1960.

In arguing against all the things the Communist parties in developed capitalist countries are now doing, the Chinese comrades fail to display even an elementary feeling of solidarity with the Communists who are fighting capital on the front-line of the class struggle; they fail to display an understanding of the specific conditions in these countries, of the specific paths followed by the working-class revolutionary movement. In effect, they reject, “in the name of the revolution,” the very paths that lead to revolution, and are endeavouring to impose a policy that would isolate the Communist parties from the masses, deprive the working class of its allies in the fight against monopoly rule and capitalism.

The Chinese comrades differ with the world communist movement also on the question of the forms of transition of various countries to socialism.

It is generally known that the CPSU and the Marxist-Leninist parties — and this is clearly stated in the Moscow conference documents and the CPSU Programme — believe that both peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism is possible. Yet the Chinese comrades obstinately affirm that our and other fraternal parties accept only the peaceful path.

The Central Committee of the CPSU restated its position on this issue in its letter of March 30, 1963:

“The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist parties, endeavour to accomplish the socialist revolution by peaceful means, without civil war. Realization of this possibility would accord with the interests of the working class and the entire people, with the general national interest of the country. But, at the same time, the choice of the revolu-

tion's path of development depends not only on the working class. If the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the working class will be forced to take the non-peaceful path of capturing power. Everything depends on the concrete conditions, on the line-up of class forces within the country and internationally.

"Needless to say, whatever the form of transition from capitalism to socialism, it is possible only through socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship in its various forms. The CPSU highly regards the self-sacrificing struggle of the working class, led by the Communists, in all capitalist countries and considers it its duty to give it every possible assistance and support."

We have time and again explained our point of view, and there is no need to set it out in more detail here.

But what is the position of the Chinese comrades on this question? It is fully apparent in all their pronouncements and in the CPC Central Committee letter of June 14.

The Chinese comrades consider recognition of armed uprising, always, everywhere and in everything, to be the chief criterion of devotion to the revolution. They thereby virtually negate the possibility of utilizing peaceful forms of struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution, whereas Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the Communists must master all forms of revolutionary class struggle, both violent and non-violent.

Still another important issue is the relation between the international working-class struggle and the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples.

The international revolutionary labour movement — which now includes also the socialist world system and the Communist parties of the capitalist countries — and the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples — these are the great forces of our age, and a correct relationship between them is we cardinal condition for victory over imperialism.

How do the Chinese comrades solve this problem? Their solution is evident from their new “theory,” according to which the chief contradiction of our time is not, we are told, between socialism and imperialism, but between the national-liberation movement and imperialism. In the Chinese comrades’ opinion, the decisive force in the battle against imperialism is not the socialist world system, and not the international working-class struggle but, again we are told, the national-liberation movement.

The Chinese comrades evidently want to use this as the easiest way of winning popularity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. But let no one be taken in by that “theory.” Its real purpose, irrespective of the wishes of the Chinese theoreticians, is to isolate the national-liberation movement from the international working class and its creation, the socialist world system. But that would offer an immense danger to the national-liberation movement itself.

For indeed, could many Asian peoples, notwithstanding all their heroism and self-sacrifice, win through to victory if the October Revolution and, later, the emergence of the socialist world system, had not shaken imperialism to its very foundations and had not undermined colonialist strength?

And today, too, when the liberated nations have entered a new stage in their struggle and are concentrating their efforts on consolidating their political gains and economic independence — do they not realize that it would be immeasurably harder, if not altogether impossible, to accomplish these tasks without assistance from the socialist countries?

Marxists-Leninists always emphasize the epochal importance and great future of the national-liberation movement. But they believe that one of the chief conditions for its continued advance is firm alliance and co-operation with the countries of the socialist world system, the main force in the battle against imperialism, and with the labour movement of the capitalist countries. That attitude was formulated in the 1960 Statement. It is based on Lenin’s idea of working-class

leadership (hegemony) as a requisite for victory in the anti-imperialist struggle. Only given such hegemony, can the movement, in the final analysis, acquire a genuine socialist character, culminating in its transition to the path of socialist revolution.

That idea of Lenin, verified by the experience of the October Revolution and of other countries, has never aroused doubt in anyone. **It appears, however, that the Chinese comrades want to “correct” Lenin and prove that hegemony in the world struggle against imperialism should go not to the working class, but to the petty bourgeoisie or the national bourgeoisie, even to “certain patriotically-minded kings, princes and aristocrats.” And after that the CPC leadership sets out to teach the world communist movement that never, under no circumstances, must we abandon our proletarian, class approach!**

The earnest of future victories, both of the international working class and the national-liberation movement, lies in their firm alliance and co-operation, in joint struggle, dictated by their common interests, against imperialism. In this struggle, the working class, by its selfless dedication to the interests of all the peoples, wins acceptance of its leading part and convinces its allies that its leadership is a reliable guarantee of victory for itself and for them.

Our Leninist party regards the national-liberation movement as a component part of the world revolutionary process, as a mighty force combating imperialism. The great slogan “Workers of All Countries, United”, given us by Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, became the battle banner of the international proletariat. In the new conditions of history created by the victory of the Great October Revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who continued the work of Marx and Engels, especially emphasized the unbreakable link between the socialist revolution and the national-liberation movement.

“Workers of All Countries, Unite!” was and remains the chief slogan in the struggle for the victory of the world revolu-

tion. It has acquired wider meaning in the new conditions. We know that Lenin approved the slogan: "Workers of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!" Emphasized in this slogan is the leading role of the proletariat and the enhanced significance of the national-liberation movement. Our party strictly abides by this Marxist-Leninist internationalist principle in all its activities.

It might be asked: what is the explanation for the erroneous propositions of the CPC leadership on the crucial issues of our age? The Chinese comrades are either completely divorced from reality and approach the problems of war, peace and revolution in a dogmatic, bookish way, failing to understand the concrete conditions of our era, or behind their clamour about "world revolution" are other aims, aims that have nothing in common with revolution.

All this shows that the policy the CPC leadership is seeking to impose on the world communist movement is an erroneous and fatal one. For what the Chinese comrades propose under the guise of a "general line" is but an enumeration of the most general tasks of the working class, an enumeration, moreover, that does not take into account the times we are living in, the real inter-relationship of class forces, and the peculiarities of the present stage of history. The Chinese comrades fail to notice, or do not want to notice, how the tasks of our movement are changing in accordance with the conditions of the present era. By reducing the general line to general tasks that apply to every stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism, they deprive it of concreteness, purposefulness and efficacy.

In working out their present policy, the fraternal parties concretely analyzed the line-up of class forces in individual countries and on a world scale, the distinguishing features in the development of the two mutually-opposed systems, and the present stage in the development of the national-liberation movement.

A precise analysis of changes in the world situation enabled the fraternal parties of the whole world to work out a Marxist-Leninist definition of our era: "Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale."

This definition of our era was the basis for a correct approach in working out the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement.

The Marxist-Leninist parties have defined their general line, the basic propositions of which are as follows:

— the nature and content of the world revolutionary process in our time are determined by the merger into a single stream of the struggle against imperialism waged by the peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary working-class movement in capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement of oppressed peoples, and general democratic movements; the decisive role in the alliance of anti-imperialist revolutionary forces belongs to the international working class and its chief creation — the socialist world system, which exerts its main influence on the development of the world socialist revolution by the power of its example, by its economic progress;

— due to the prevailing objective conditions of history (extreme sharpening of imperialist aggressiveness, emergence of weapons of vast destructive power, etc.) central among all the tasks confronting the anti-imperialist forces in the present era is the struggle to prevent thermonuclear war. Uniting all the peace forces to defend peace and save mankind from nuclear disaster is the primary task of the Communist parties;

— the socialist revolution is performed as a result of the internal development of the class struggle in each country, its forms and paths are determined by the concrete conditions of each country. A law common to all countries is the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist power and establishment, in one or another form, of proletarian dictatorship. The task of the working class and the Communist parties is to make maximum use of possibilities now available for a peaceful path of socialist revolution, one not connected with civil war, and, at the same time, be prepared for a non-peaceful path, for armed suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie; the general democratic struggle is a necessary component of the struggle for socialism;

— the aim of the working class and the Communist parties in the national-liberation movement is to carry to completion the tasks of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, develop and consolidate the national front based on alliance with the peasantry and the patriotically-minded national bourgeoisie; prepare the conditions for forming national-democratic states and for transition to the non-capitalist path of development;

— relations of co-operation and mutual assistance between socialist countries, solidarity and unity of the international communist and labour movement, faithful observance of jointly worked out positions and appraisals, fidelity to the Leninist principles of party life and relations between parties — these are necessary requisites for the successful solution of the historic tasks confronting the Communists.

Such, in the present era, are the basic development paths of the world revolutionary process; such are the basic propositions of the general line of the international communist movement in the present stage. The battle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism — that, briefly, is the substance of this general line. Its consistent operation is the world communist movement's guarantee of success.

All these key principles of the international communist movement in present-day conditions, collectively worked out

by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and formulated in the Declaration and Statement, have found expression in the new CPSU Programme, which is based entirely on a Marxist-Leninist generalization of our and international revolutionary experience.

V

The erroneous views of the CPC leaders on the cardinal political and theoretical issues of our time are inseverably linked with their practical activity, which is directed towards undermining the unity of the world socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In words, the Chinese comrades acknowledge that the unity of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China is the mainstay of the entire socialist community, but in deed they are undermining relations with our party, with our country in all fields.

The CPC leadership often speaks of its loyalty to the community of the socialist nations. But the attitude of the Chinese comrades to this community refutes their high-sounding declarations.

The figures show that in the past three years the People's Republic of China has cut the volume of its trade with the other socialist countries by more than 50 per cent. For some socialist countries the results of this policy of the Chinese comrades have been especially painful.

The actions of the Chinese leadership stand in glaring contradiction not only to the principles of mutual relations among socialist countries but, in a number of cases, to the accepted rules and norms all states should abide by.

Violation of existing agreements caused serious damage to the national economy of some socialist states. And, understandably, China's own economy is also suffering no little damage from this curtailment of economic contacts.

In an effort to justify its actions in the eyes of the people, the CPC leadership recently put forward the theory of “relying on one’s own forces.” In general, for each country to build socialism, relying primarily on the efforts of its people and making the best use of its own resources is the correct way of laying the material and technical basis of socialism. The construction of socialism is, in each country, primarily the concern of the people of that country, of its working class and its Communist party.

The Soviet Union, which was the first socialist country, was obliged to build socialism relying only on its own forces and utilizing its internal resources. And although there is now a system of socialist countries, this by no means signifies that the people of any country can sit back with folded arms and rely exclusively on the assistance of other socialist countries. The Communist party of each socialist country regards it as its duty to mobilize all internal reserves for successful economic development. In its direct sense, therefore, the statement of the CPC Central Committee on the construction of socialism mainly by one’s own forces would raise no objections.

However, as the entire text of the CPC Central Committee letter and numerous statements in the Chinese press show, this proposition is in effect given an interpretation that is wholly unacceptable.

The “building of socialism chiefly by one’s own forces” formula cloaks the concept of building up self-sufficient national economies with economic relations with other countries restricted to trade alone. And this approach the Chinese comrades are trying to impose on other socialist countries.

Proclamation of the “relying on one’s own forces” line was apparently needed by the CPC leadership in order to weaken the bonds of close friendship among the socialist countries. This policy, it goes without saying, has nothing in common with the principles of socialist internationalism. It cannot be

regarded otherwise than as an attempt to undermine the unity of the socialist community.

Parallel with the line of curtailing economic ties, the CPC leadership adopted a number of measures calculated to aggravate relations with the Soviet Union.

The Chinese leaders are undermining the unity not only of the socialist camp but of the entire world communist movement, trampling on the principles of proletarian internationalism and grossly violating accepted standards of relations between fraternal parties.

The CPC leadership organizes and supports various anti-party breakaway groups, which oppose the Communist parties of the United States, Brazil, Italy, Belgium, Australia and India. For instance, in Belgium the CPC leadership is supporting the Grippe group, which was expelled from the party at the last congress. In the United States support is given to the subversive activities of the Left opportunist grouping "Hammer and Steel," which has made battle against the Communist Party of the United States its main aim. In Brazil, the Chinese comrades support the factional groups expelled from the Communist Party (as for instance, the Amazonas-Grabois group).

In Australia, the CPC Central Committee tried to organize splitting activities against the Communist party and its leadership with the help of a former member of the leadership, E. Hill. Hill, who visited the P.R.C. at one time, came out publicly against the Communist Party of Australia and tried to line up a group of persons of his mind. When the Communist Party of Australia expelled Hill from its Central Committee he demonstratively removed himself to Peking.

In Italy, Chinese representatives are encouraging the activity of the group formed by former functionaries of the Padua federation of the Communist party, who issued leaflets provocationally calling for a "revolutionary" uprising.

Comrades from the CPC are making particular efforts to conduct subversive activities in the Communist and Workers' parties of the Asian, African, and Latin-American countries.

Lauding the renegades and defectors from the ranks of the communist movement, the Chinese leaders reprint in their newspapers and magazines slanderous articles from the publications of these renegade groups directed against the policy of the CPSU, against the course of the entire world communist movement.

In Ceylon, Chinese representatives maintain close contact with the grouping of E. Samarakkody, which is a tool of the Trotskyist "Fourth International."

The Trotskyists from the "Fourth International" are trying to utilize the position of the Chinese comrades for their own ends; they even addressed an open letter to the CPC Central Committee in which they openly declare: "The Fourth International, which from the day of its foundation has been waging . . . a struggle against the ideas you oppose today, stands on your side. . . . The international secretariat of the Fourth International welcomes this discussion you have started within the entire communist movement. It urges you to develop it."

The Chinese leaders level sharp attacks on the fraternal Communist parties and their leaders, who do not want to depart from the general line of the international communist movement. They have published and circulated in many languages articles discrediting the activity of the Communist Party of the United States, and the French, Italian and Indian Communist parties.. There is no term of abuse their authors fail to hurl at well-known leaders of these fraternal parties. "Double-dealing" and "Right opportunism," "revisionism" and "incompatibility with the standards of communist ethics," "social-democratic degeneration" and "faint-heartedness," "irresponsibility" and "parroting," "supercilious and disdainful attitude towards the revolutionary peoples of the Asian, African and Latin-American countries" — they are all there.

The Chinese leaders accuse the Communist parties of the United States and Western Europe of being “at one with the most adventuristic American imperialists.” The leadership of the Communist Party of India is invariably termed a “clique.” Levelled against the leaders of the Communist parties of France, Italy, India and the United States is the monstrous accusation of being “concerned for the fate of imperialism and all reactionaries.” **And in its letter of June 14 the CPC leadership sinks so low as to insinuate that the CPSU too “acts in the role of an accomplice of imperialism.”** So obvious is the absurdity of this that no one but the Trotskyists has until now ever ventured to make such a slanderous charge against the great party of Lenin.

Is it any wonder that imperialist propaganda rejoices at such actions by the Chinese comrades? It is not by accident that the bourgeois press keeps shouting about a “crisis” in the world communist movement and urges the imperialist governments to exploit in their own interests the differences caused by the stand taken by the CPC Central Committee.

The representatives of the CPC resigned from the editorial board of the *World Marxist Review*, the collective theoretical and information magazine of the Communist and Workers’ parties, and stopped its publication in the Chinese language, seeking in this way to deprive Chinese Communists of an objective source of information about the activities of the world communist movement.

The splitting activities of the Chinese leadership in the ranks of the world Communist movement evoke rightful indignation and opposition of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

The CPC Central Committee letter says that in any one party’s relations with fraternal Communist parties it is “im-permissible for it to place itself above the other fraternal parties, impermissible for it to interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal parties. . . .” This is quite a good statement. But **it is precisely the Chinese comrades who resort to such im-permissible actions. Flouting the interests of the world com-**

munist movement, they ignore the standards and principles set out in the Declaration and Statement, and try to bring other parties under their influence and control.

A graphic example of the CPC leadership's special line within the socialist camp and the world communist movement is its position on the Albanian question. As is known, in the second half of 1960 the Albanian leaders openly came out with a Left opportunist platform on the main questions of our time, and began to pursue a policy hostile to the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. The Albanian leadership started an anti-Soviet campaign in their country that led to a rupture of political, economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union.

The overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' parties emphatically condemned this anti-Leninist activity of the Albanian leaders. The CPC leaders took a totally different position and did everything they could to use the Albanian leaders as their own mouthpiece. It is known now that the Chinese comrades plainly pushed them into open struggle against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and fraternal parties.

In their attacks on the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, the CPC leaders allot a special place to the Yugoslav question. They try to make it appear that the difficulties in the communist movement are caused by the improved relations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with Yugoslavia. Contrary to the facts, they persist in asserting that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country.

As is generally known, in 1955 the CPSU together with other fraternal parties took the initiative in normalizing relations with Yugoslavia so as to put an end to the prolonged conflict, for which the greater part of the blame lies with Stalin. At that time the CPC leaders had no doubts as to the nature of the socialist system in Yugoslavia. The People's Daily wrote then that "Yugoslavia has already achieved important successes in the building of socialism."

Objective analysis of the socio-economic processes in Yugoslavia shows that since then **socialism has grown stronger there**. Whereas in 1958 the socialist sector in industry amounted to 100 per cent, in agriculture to 6 per cent, and in trade to 97 per cent, today the socialist sector in industry amounts to 100 per cent, in agriculture to 15 per cent, and in trade to 100 per cent. In the period since normalization of relations was initiated, **Yugoslavia has drawn closer to the position of the Soviet Union and other socialist states on foreign policy issues**.

Why, then, have the Chinese leaders changed their position on the Yugoslav question so radically? It is hard to find any other explanation than that they viewed it as another good excuse to discredit the policy of the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Soviet Communists know that differences on a number of fundamental ideological questions still remain between the CPSU and the Yugoslav League of Communists. We have told the Yugoslav leaders this openly, and continue to do so. But **it would be wrong to "excommunicate" Yugoslavia from socialism on these grounds, to cut her away from the socialist countries and push her into the camp of imperialism, as the CPC leaders are doing. The imperialists would like nothing better.**

There are now 14 socialist countries in the world. We are deeply convinced that in the near future their number will be much greater. The range of questions confronting the fraternal parties standing at the helm of the ship of state is growing wider, and besides, each of the fraternal parties works in different conditions. It is not surprising that in these circumstances the fraternal parties may find different approaches to the solution of this or that question. How should Marxists-Leninists act in such cases? **Declare that this or that socialist country whose leaders differ with them is no longer socialist? That would be arbitrariness of the first water; such a method has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.**

Were we to follow the example of the Chinese leaders, we should, considering our serious differences with the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour, long since have declared Albania a non-socialist country. But this would be an erroneous, subjective approach to the question. Despite their differences with the Albanian leaders, the Soviet Communists regard Albania as a socialist country and, for their part, are taking steps to avert Albania's detachment from the socialist commonwealth.

It grieves us to see how the leaders of the CPC are undermining traditional Soviet-Chinese friendship and weakening the unity of the socialist countries.

The CPSU stands and will stand for the unity and cohesion of **the socialist commonwealth**, of the entire world communist movement.

VI

Let us recapitulate:

The time since the adoption of the Statement of 1960 has fully confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist programme of the world communist and working-class movement. The Soviet Union's successes in building communism, the successes of socialist construction in other socialist countries exert an ever more revolutionizing influence on the minds of people all over the world. Revolutionary Cuba has lit the beacon of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. Crushing blows have been dealt the colonial system, which is now nearing its end. New victories have been scored by the working class of the imperialist countries. The world revolutionary movement is steadily advancing.

This shows that the general line of the world communist movement was set out correctly in the Statement of 1960. The task now is to work and act in conformity with this general line, to develop and apply it in reference to the specific conditions in which each given Communist party functions. **Any**

attempt to impose some new general line on the world communist and working-class movement, as in the CPC Central Committee letter of June 14, is therefore unsound and harmful. To accept any such “general line” would be to depart from the Statement of 1960, to accept programmatic propositions at variance with this Statement which was adopted by 81 parties. Our party will not take this course.

Throughout its history, our glorious Leninist party waged an implacable struggle against Right and Left opportunism, Trotskyism and revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, nationalism and chauvinism in all their forms both within our country and in the international arena. **Our party steeled itself and grew strong in this struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism; it does not fear any attacks by latter-day splitters and opportunists, whatever quarter they may come from.**

Life shows that, having become a political organization of the entire people, the CPSU strengthened its ties with the masses, and became stronger and more highly disciplined than ever. With the victory of socialism, the ideology of the working class — Marxism-Leninism — became the ideology of the entire people, of its advanced part. The aim of the working class — the building of communism — has become the aim of the entire people. Marxists-Leninists can only rejoice, of course, in this growth of the influence of communist ideology. Never since the death of V. I. Lenin, it may be said, has our party been so strong, so capable of accomplishing the most daring tasks connected with the building of the new world.

Now, when socialism has won fully and conclusively in our country, when we are erecting, stone by stone, the beautiful edifice of communism, our party, the entire Soviet people, are more convinced than ever that the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism will triumph throughout the world.

Our confidence is shared by the peoples of the socialist countries, by the working people of the whole world. They value highly the Soviet Union's big contribution to the com-

mon struggle for peace, democracy, national freedom and independence, and socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always stood and now stands for close friendship with the Communist Party of China. There are serious differences between us and the leaders of the CPC, but we hope that relations between our two parties, between our two peoples, should be based on the fact that we have that same aim, the building of a new communist society, and the same enemy — imperialism. The two great powers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, can, by their joint efforts, do much for the triumph of communism. This both our friends and enemies know well.

At present delegations of the CPSU and the CPC are meeting in Moscow. **Unfortunately the representatives of the CPC continue to aggravate the situation at this meeting. Despite this, the CPSU delegation is exercising the utmost patience and restraint so that the talks may have a successful outcome. The near future will show whether the Chinese comrades are willing to build our relations on the basis of what unites rather than divides us, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.**

Our enemies are banking on aggravation of the differences between the CPC and the CPSU. They are already looking around to see if then cannot make a good thing of it. Only the other day the U.S. Daily News urged setting Red Russia and Red China against each other so that they might tear each other to pieces. We, Communists, must never let ourselves forget these insidious schemes of the imperialists.

Mindful of its responsibility to the world communist movement, to the peoples of the world, our party urges the Chinese comrades to take the course of resolving the differences and strengthening the genuine unite of our parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Together with all fraternal parties, our Leninist party has worked and is working for the unity of the working class, of

all the working people, in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Before the party and the entire Soviet people, the Central Committee of the CPSU declares with all responsibility that we have done and will do everything in our power to strengthen unity with the Communist Party of China, to cement the world communist movement under the banner of Lenin, to cement the countries of the world socialist system, to render effective aid to all peoples fighting colonialism, to strengthen the cause of peace and win victory for the great ideas of communism the world over.

All the working people of the Soviet Union will rally still closer around their Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, will devote all their energies to bringing to completion the majestic programme of the building of communism.

Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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