Volume 3

The DOCUMENTS of the GREAT DEBATE

(Feb.1956 - Jun.1963)

Workers of all countries, Unite!

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(FEBRUARY 1956 – JUNE 1963)

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME-3

ANTARARASHTRIYA
PRAKASHAN

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"...Ever since the birth of the working-class movement, the bourgeoisie has tried its utmost to corrupt the working-class ideologically in order to subordinate the movement to its own fundamental interests, weaken the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and lead the people astray. For this purpose, bourgeois ideological trends assume different forms at different times, now taking a Rightist form and now a "Leftist" form. The history of the growth of Marxism-Leninism is one of struggle against bourgeois ideological trends, whether from the Right or the "Left". The duty of Marxist-Leninists is to act as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin did, not to run away from the challenge presented by any bourgeois ideological trend, but to smash attacks in the field of theory, fundamental line and policy whenever they are made and to chart the correct road to victory for the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations in their struggles."

– More on the Differences between Comrade Togliatti and Us

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Today, China has gone far ahead on the capitalist path. It has turned into a capitalist country and the Communist Party of China has become a bourgeois party. The former Soviet Union stands disintegrated.

Capital has taken an offensive against labour on an international scale. American imperialism is leading an imperialist collective which has unleashed a multi-pronged offensive on all fronts – economic, political, military and cultural – in the guise of globalization i.e. imperialist globalization.

The revolutionary situation, on the other hand, is ripening day by day and new struggles against imperialism and capitalism are arising and taking various forms in different parts of the world. Although subjective forces are still weak and disunited they are strengthening themselves and preparing for future battles. It is not very far in the distant future that revolutions are to burst forth.

After the second World War, the balance of class forces was in favour of proletarian and progressive forces the world over and imperialism, on the whole, was on the defensive. Fascist forces had been defeated under the glorious leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Stalin, in alliance with the peace-loving peoples and progressive forces of the world. During this epic struggle a large part of Central and Eastern Europe was liberated by the Red Army in collaboration with proletarian and anti-fascist forces of the respective countries. Communist China came into existence in 1949, further tilting the balance of forces against imperialism. In the Korean Peninsula forces led by American imperialism were routed though not vanquished by Korean people's forces and the People's Liberation Army of China. The United States had to suffer a humiliating defeat here, in 1971, puncturing the myth of the invincibility of American power. The Dollar was de-linked from gold and for the first time in history the United States was forced to resort to a mercenary army system.

In 1956, Khrushchov, in his infamous and viciously slanderous "secret speech", denounced Stalin and the first cleavage in the International Communist Movement and the socialist camp appeared. Modern Revisionism raised its head in the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in 1956.

The congress put forth the class capitulationist theories of the "three peacefuls", revising the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania opposed this and fought tooth and nail against it. Thus started the Great Debate in the International Communist Movement.

As Khrushchov's revisionism spread its tentacles not only in the Soviet Union but throughout the communist parties of the world and even in China itself, it did immense harm to the cause of the proletarian revolution and national liberation struggles the world over. The Communist Party of China led by Mao Tse-tung fought a relentless battle against Khrushchov's revisionism up to the last. During these struggles numerous documents were produced which are of rare importance to the International Communist Movement. The then leadership of the Communist Party of India suppressed these documents to keep its rank and file in the dark. Most of them were unaware of these documents before 1963. Thus incalculable damage was done to the Indian Communist Movement.

We are publishing these landmark documents beginning with the documents of the 20th Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union which include the infamous "secret speech" of Khrushchov of February 25, 1956. This collection includes all the important documents of the polemic, published after this date till the appearance of "The proposals concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", on June 14, 1963. The "General Line" and the "nine comments" elaborating the proposition of the General Line are not included in these volumes as they have been separately published by 'Sarvahara Prakashan', in English, in the year 1987 and by 'Antararashtriya Prakashan' in Hindi in the year 1997.

The documents compiled in three volumes, have been arranged in chronological order and broadly belong to four categories:

i) The CPSU documents including reports, resolutions and speeches of the 20th congress and few other articles of a latter

date which underline the further consolidation of revisionism in the CPSU.

ii) Documents and articles of the CPC that criticise modern revisionism starting from the 20th congress of the CPSU.

iii) Declarations adopted by the meetings of various communist and workers' parties of the world and

iv) A document of the Party of Labour of Albania repudiating Khrushchov's revisionism.

We request our readers to point out our mistakes so that they can be rectified. Also if our readers inform us about or send copies of, documents, they think should have been a part of this collection, we will include them in our future edition.

ANTARARASHTRIYA PRAKASHAN

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KHRUSHCHOV'S REPORT ON THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

Now that a socialist world system has taken shape and with anti-imperialist, national liberation revolutions in full flood, it is necessary to determine the further course and perspective of world development. This cannot be done without a profound understanding of the essence, content and nature of the decisive tasks of the present epoch.

The question of the character of the epoch is not an abstract, purely theoretical question. Inseparably linked with it are the general strategy and tactics of world communism and of each communist party....

The statement adopted by the meeting defines the epoch in these terms:

> Our times, the basic content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the great October Socialist Revolution, are times of struggle between the two opposed social systems, times of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, times of the transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

This definition of the character of the present epoch can be regarded as an example of a creative, genuinely scientific solution of an important and responsible task...

In defining the essence and character of the present epoch as a whole, it is absolutely essential that we should be clear about the main

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This is the extrarct of Khrushchov's Report on the Moscow Conference presented at a meeting of party organisations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, January 6, 1961 . From text in *World Marxist Review,* No. 1, 1961.

source: Hudson, G.F.,Richard Lowenthal and Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute,* Published by The China Quarterly.

peculiarities and distinguishing features of its present stage. The post-October period, seen from the point of view of its basic motive forces, is clearly divided into two stages. One of these began with the victory of the October Revolution. It was, to use Lenin's phrase, the period of establishing and developing the national dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat within the national bounds of Russia alone.

Although right from its inception the Soviet Union began to exert a very great influence on international affairs, imperialism had largely determined the course and character of international relations. But even in those early days it proved incapable of crushing the Soviet Union, of preventing it from becoming a mighty industrial power, the bulwark of progress and civilization a centre of attraction for all the forces fighting against imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

The second stage in the development of the contemporary epoch dates from the rise of the socialist world system. This was a revolutionary process of historic significance. The October Revolution broke the first link in the imperialist chain. After this the chain was broken in a number of places. In the past we used to speak about the breaking of one or more links in the imperialist chain, but at present an all-embracing chain of imperialism no longer exists. The dictatorship of the working class has emerged beyond the confines of one country and become an international force. Imperialism has lost not only the countries where socialism has triumphed, it is rapidly losing nearly all its colonies. Naturally, as a result of these blows and losses, the general crisis of capitalism has become much more acute, and the balance of force in the world has changed radically in favour of socialism.

The main distinguishing feature of our time is the fact that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. This finds direct expression also in the sphere of international relations. In the conditions of today socialism is in a position to determine, in growing measure, the character, methods and trends of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism is an "insignificant factor" which can be ignored. Not at all. Imperialism is still very strong. It controls a powerful military machine.

Now in peacetime imperialism has created a gigantic war machine and a ramified system of military blocs and has subordinated its economy

to the arms drive. The U.S. imperialists, bent on bringing the whole world under their sway, are threatening mankind with missile-nuclear war. Modern imperialism is increasingly marked by decay and parasitism. In their evaluation of the prospects of international development, Marxist-Leninists do not, and must not, have any illusions with regard to imperialism.

The facts of the barefaced provocations and aggression on the part of the imperialists are countless. There is nothing new in this. What is new is that all the imperialist probings, in addition to being conclusively exposed, are firmly repelled, and the attempts made by the imperialists to start local wars are being thwarted.

The present balance of world forces enables the socialist camp and the other peace forces for the first time in history to set themselves the entirely realistic task of forcing the imperialists to refrain, for fear of seeing their system destroyed, from starting a world war.

In connection with the possibility of preventing a world war, I should like to deal with the prospects of the further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It is common knowledge that both the First and Second World Wars greatly influenced the rise and aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism. Can it be inferred from this that world war is an indispensable condition for the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism? Such an inference would be absolutely wrong, because it distorts the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution and inverts the true cause of revolution. A proletarian revolution is not caused solely by military cataclysms; first and foremost it is the result of the development of the class struggle and of the internal contradictions of capitalism....

Having profoundly analysed the international situation as a whole, the meeting reached a conclusion of very great theoretical and political significance, namely that "*a new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.*" The feature of this new stage is that it originated, not in the conditions of a world war, but in the circumstances of competition and struggle between the two systems, of the evergrowing changes in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, and of pronounced aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism, in the circumstances when the successful struggle of the peace supporters for peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialists from wrecking

world peace by their aggressive actions, in an atmosphere of rising struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism by the masses. All this speaks of the further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism.

Our militant comrades in the communist parties in the capitalist countries take cognisance of this when defining their further tactical line in the struggle for the workingclass cause. And we can confidently say that the immediate future harbours new successes for the combined forces of world socialism, the working class and the national liberation movement....

PROSPECTS FOR THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM

The countries of the socialist world system are drawing closer to each other; their cooperation in all fields of endeavour is growing. This is a natural development. There are no insoluble contradictions between the socialist countries. The more developed and economically stronger are rendering disinterested fraternal aid to those less developed. For instance, some 500 industrial enterprises and installations have been built in the fraternal socialist countries with Soviet help. Our loans and credits to these countries amount to 7,800 million roubles in the new currency. At the same time we are bound to acknowledge that the fraternal socialist countries are aiding in the development of the Soviet economy....

The consolidation of the common economic base of the socialist world system and the creation of the material base for the more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism will be accelerated to the extent that the internal resources of each of the countries and the advantages of the socialist international division of labour are fully utilised; this will result in evening up the various levels of economic development....

The Communist and workers' parties have correctly defined in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the principles governing the relations among the socialist countries and nations. It stands to reason that some shortcomings and rough edges are bound to appear in such a momentous undertaking. But the socialist community is characterised, not by incidental shortcomings, but by the essentially international nature of socialism, by the international policy

of the fraternal parties and countries and the epoch-making successes achieved thanks to this policy. As to the shortcomings, we must remove them, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of international solidarity and fraternal friendship, seeing our main aim in consolidating the socialist camp. The Soviet Union has always sacredly fulfilled its international duty, putting the interests of the unity of the socialist countries and of the international Communist movement first. Our party will steadfastly adhere to this policy....

PREVENTION OF WAR IS THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS

Wars arose with the division of society into classes. This means that the breeding ground of war will be completely abolished only when society will no longer be divided into hostile, antagonistic classes. With the victory of the working class throughout the world, with the triumph of socialism, which will destroy all the social and national causes giving rise to wars, mankind will be able to rid itself of this dreadful scourge.

In the present conditions we must distinguish the following kinds of war: world wars, local wars, and wars of liberation or popular uprisings. This is necessary in order to work out correct tactics in regard to each.

Let us begin with the problem of *world wars.* The Communists are the most resolute opponents of world wars, as they are of wars between countries in general. Only the imperialists need these wars in order to seize foreign territories and to enslave and plunder the peoples. Prior to the rise of the socialist world camp, the working class was unable to exert a decisive influence on the decision of the question whether there would or would not be a world war. In those circumstances the finest representatives of the working class advanced the slogan of turning an imperialist war into a civil war, that is, of the working class and all working people using the situation created by the war to take power. A situation of this kind set in during the First World War, and it was used in classical fashion by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

In our time the conditions are different. The socialist world camp with its powerful economy and armed forces exerts an evergrowing influence on the decision of questions of war and peace. To be sure, acute contradictions and antagonisms between the imperialist countries

and the urge to profit at the expense of the weaker still exist. However, the imperialists are compelled to heed the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, and fear to start a war between themselves. They are trying to tone down their differences. They have formed military *blocs* and have entangled many capitalist countries in them. And although these *blocs* are torn by internal conflicts, their members are united, as they themselves admit, by their hatred of communism and, naturally, by the common nature and aspirations of the imperialists.

In the conditions of today the likelihood is that there will not be wars between the capitalist, imperialist countries, although this eventuality cannot be ruled out. The imperialists are preparing war chiefly against the socialist countries, above all against the Soviet Union, the most powerful of the socialist countries. They would like to sap our might and by so doing restore the one-time rule of monopoly capital.

The task is to raise insurmountable obstacles to the unleashing of war by the imperialists. Our possibilities for putting roadblocks in the way of the warmongers are growing, so much so that we can avert a world war. It stands to reason that we cannot completely exclude the possibility of war, since imperialist countries continue to exist, but it is now much more difficult for the imperialists to start a war than was the case heretofore, prior to the rise of the powerful socialist camp. The imperialists can start a war, but they cannot do so without giving thought to the consequences.

I have had occasion to say that if even Hitler had had an inkling that his reckless gamble would end in the way it did and that he would be forced to commit suicide, then in all probability he would have thought twice before starting the war against the Soviet Union. But at that time there were but two socialist countries – the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. Yet we smashed the aggressors, and in doing so we made use also of the contradictions between the imperialist states.

Today the situation is entirely different. At present the imperialist camp is opposed by the socialist countries, and they are a mighty force. It would be wrong to underestimate the strength of the socialist camp, its influence on world developments and, consequently, on deciding the question whether there is to be war or not. Now that there is a mighty socialist camp with powerful armed forces, the peoples can undoubtedly

prevent war and thus ensure peaceful co-existence provided they rally all their forces for active struggle against the bellicose imperialists.

LOCAL WARS

Now about *local wars.* There is much talk in the imperialist camp today about local wars, and the imperialists are even making small-caliber atomic weapons to be used in such wars. There is even a special theory on local wars. Is this mere chance? Not at all. Some of the imperialist groups fear that a world war might end in complete destruction of capitalism, and for this reason they are banking on local wars.

There have been local wars in the past and they may break out again. But the chances of starting wars even of this kind are dwindling. A small scale imperialist war, no matter which of the imperialists starts it, may develop into a world thermonuclear and missile war. We must, therefore, fight against both world war and against local wars.

An example of a local war started by the imperialists was the aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt. They wanted to strangle Egypt and intimidate the other Arab countries fighting for their independence, to scare the peoples of Asia and Africa. When we were in London, British statesmen, Mr. Eden included, spoke to us quiet frankly about their desire to settle accounts with Egypt. We told them plainly: "If you start a war, you will lose it, we will not be neutral." Eventually, when the war did break out, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not upset the aggressors; they went ahead with their dirty business and thought they would soon reach their goal. The Soviet Union, and the socialist camp as a whole, came to the defence of Egypt. The stern warning which the Soviet government gave to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. A local war, the gamble in Egypt failed ignominiously.

That was in 1956 when the balance of forces between the socialist and imperialist countries was not quite as favourable to us as it is now. At that time we were not as powerful as we are today. Moreover, the rulers of Britain, France and Israel banked on profiting from the difficulties that had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Representatives of the imperialist countries whispered to us, "You have your difficulties in Hungary, we have ours in Egypt, so don't meddle in our affairs." But

we told the whisperers what we thought of them. We refused to shut our eyes to their knavish acts. We intervened, and we frustrated their aggression.

There you have an example of how a local war, started by the imperialists, was nipped in the bud by the intervention of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp.

I have said that local wars may recur. It is our task, therefore, always to be on the alert, to summon to action the forces of the socialist camp, the people of the other countries and all peace-loving forces, in order to prevent wars of aggression. If the people of all countries are united and rallied, if they fight indefatigably and combine their forces both in each country and on an international scale, wars can be prevented.

NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS

Now about *national liberation wars.* Recent examples of wars of this kind are the armed struggle waged by the people of Vietnam or the present war of the Algerian people, which is now in its seventh year.

These wars, which began as uprisings of colonial peoples against their oppressors, developed into guerrilla wars.

There will be liberation wars as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. Wars of this kind are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only justified, they are inevitable, for the colonialists do not freely bestow independence on the peoples. The peoples win freedom and independence only through struggle, including armed struggle.

Why was it that the U.S. imperialists, who were eager to help the French colonialists, did not venture directly to intervene in the war in Vietnam? They did not do so because they knew that if they gave France armed assistance, Vietnam would receive the same kind of assistance from China, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and that the fighting could develop into a world war. The outcome of the war is known – North Vietnam won.

A similar war is being waged today in Algeria. What kind of a war is it? It is an uprising of Arab people against French colonialists. It has assumed the form of a guerrilla war. The imperialists of the U.S.A. and Britain are helping their French allies with arms. Moreover, they

have allowed France, a party to N.A.T.O., to transfer troops from Europe to fight against the Algerian people. The people of Algeria, too, get help from neighbouring countries and others sympathising with their love of freedom. But this is a liberation war, a war of independence waged by the people. It is a sacred war. We recognise such wars; we have helped and shall continue to help peoples fighting for their freedom.

Or take Cuba. A war was fought there too. It began as an uprising against a tyrannical regime, backed by U.S. imperialism. Batista was a puppet of the United States and the United States helped him actively. However, the U.S.A. did not directly intervene with its armed forces in the Cuban war. Led by Fidel Castro, the people of Cuba won.

Is there the likelihood of such wars recurring? Yes, there is. Are uprisings of this kind likely to recur? Yes, they are. But wars of this kind are popular uprisings. Is there the likelihood of conditions in other countries reaching the point where the cup of the popular patience overflows and they take to arms? Yes, there is such a likelihood. What is the attitude of the Marxists to such uprisings? A most favourable attitude. These uprisings cannot be identified with wars between countries, with local wars, because the insurgent people are fighting for the right of self-determination, for their social and independent national development; these uprisings are directed against the corrupt reactionary regimes, against the colonialists. The Communists support just wars of this kind wholeheartedly and without reservations and they march in the van of the peoples fighting for liberation.

Comrades, mankind has arrived at the stage in history when it is in a position to solve problems that were too much for the previous generations. This applies also to the problem of all problems, that of preventing world war.

The working class, which today rules over a vast area of the world and in time will rule over all the world, cannot allow the forces doomed by history to bring down hundreds of millions into the grave with them. For a world war in the conditions of today would be waged with missiles and nuclear weapons, that is, it would be the most destructive war in all history.

Among the H-bombs already tested there are bombs each of which is several times more powerful than all the explosives used in the Second World War and, indeed, ever since man appeared on earth. Scientists

have estimated that the explosion of a single H-bomb in an industrial area would kill up to 1,500,000 outright and bring death to another 400,000 through radiation. Even a medium hydrogen bomb would be enough to wipe out a large city. According to British scientists four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire and Yorkshire, would kill at least 20 million. According to data supplied by U.S. experts to the Senate, the anticipated casualties in the United States in twentyfour hours of nuclear war would range from 50 to 75 million people. The American physicist Linus Pauling says that the areas likely to receive powerful nuclear blows are inhabited by a total of about a thousand million people and that 500 to 750 million people would be likely to perish within sixty days of a nuclear blow. Nor would nuclear war spare the people in the countries not directly subjected to the bombing; in particular, millions would die as a result of radiation.

We know that if the imperialist madmen were to begin a world war, the peoples would wipe out capitalism. But we are resolutely opposed to war, because we are concerned for the destinies of mankind, its present and its future. We know that the first to suffer in the event of war would be the working people and their vanguard – the working class.

We remember how Lenin put the question of the destiny of the working class. Just after the revolution, when the first country of the workers and peasants found itself besieged, he said, "If we can save the working man, save the main productive force of society – the worker – we shall get everything back, but should we fail to save him, we are lost...." (*Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 29, pp. 334-335.)

There exists in the world today, not just one country of workers and peasants, but a whole system of socialist countries. It is our duty to safeguard peace and ensure the peaceful development of this grand creation of the international working class, to protect the peoples of all countries from a new war of annihilation. The victory of socialism on a world scale, inevitable by virtue of the laws of history, is no longer far off. War between countries is not needed for this victory.

A sober consideration of what a nuclear war implies is indispensable if we are to pursue a consistent policy of averting war and of mobilising the masses for the purpose of doing so. For the realisation by the masses of what a nuclear war means strengthens their

resolve to fight against war. It is necessary, therefore, to warn the masses about the deadly consequences of a new world war and arouse their righteous wrath against those who are plotting this crime. The possibility of averting war is not a gift from heaven. Peace cannot be had by request. It can be secured only by an active, purposeful struggle. That is why we have been waging this struggle, and will continue to do so...

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The policy of peaceful co-existence is, then, as far as its social content is concerned, a form of intense economic, political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism in the world arena.

The struggle against imperialism can succeed only if its aggressive actions are firmly resisted. Scolding will not halt the imperialist adventurers. There is only one way in which they can be curbed: steady strengthening of the economic, political and military power of the socialist countries, vigorous consolidation and reinforcement of the world revolutionary movement, mobilisation of the people for the struggle to avert war....

When we call for a world without arms and without wars, we take into account, of course, that in the conditions of today, with two differing world social systems, there are forces in the imperialist camp, and fairly strong forces at that, who not only refuse to support this call, but who are waging a struggle against it.

The question of the struggle for communism is a class question. In the case of the struggle for peace, this is a question the solution of which can unite not only the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but also that part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of a thermo-nuclear war....

Two trends can be observed in the policy of the capitalist camp in relation to the socialist countries – one bellicose and aggressive, the other moderate and sober. Lenin pointed to the need of establishing contacts with those circles of the bourgeoisie which gravitate towards pacifism, "be it even of the palest hue" (*Collected Works,* Russ. Ed., Vol. 33, p. 236). In the struggle for peace, he said, we should not overlook also the saner representatives of the bourgeoisie.

The soundness of these words is confirmed by current events as

well. Fear for the future of capitalism haunts the ruling classes of the imperialist camp. The more reactionary circles are displaying a growing nervousness and tendency towards reckless practices and aggression, by means of which they hope to mend their fences. At the same time, there are also among the ruling circles of these countries those who know the danger of a new war to capitalism. Hence the two trends: one leaning towards war, the other towards accepting, in one way or another, the idea of peaceful co-existence.

The socialist countries take both of these trends into account in their policy. They work for negotiations and agreements with the capitalist countries on the basis of constructive proposals and promote personal contact between statesmen of the socialist and capitalist countries. Every opportunity should be used as before to expose the cold-war men, those who want to keep up the arms drive, and to convince the masses that the socialist countries really mean what they say in working to safeguard world peace....

ABOLITION OF COLONIALISM AND THE NEWLY-INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES

We were glad to welcome at the Moscow meeting representatives from the fraternal Communist parties of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, staunch fighters for the independence and free development of the peoples. Today there are Communist parties in more than fifty countries of those continents. This has extended the sphere of influence of the communist movement, making it truly worldwide....

Lenin saw that task in encouraging the revolutionary urge of the working masses for activity and organisation irrespective of the level they had attained, in using Communist theory in the specific conditions of their countries, in merging with the proletarians of other countries in common struggle (*Collected Works,* Russ. Ed., Vol. 30, pp. 137-138).

This task had not yet been realised anywhere when Lenin first set it, and there was no book to tell how it should be carried out. The Communist parties in the countries which are now fighting for national independence or which have already won it, are in an incomparably more favourable position, for there is now a vast store of experience in applying Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of countries and areas which capitalism had doomed to age-long backwardness.

This experience gained by the world Communist movement is a great treasure-house for all Communists. Obviously, only the Party operating in the country concerned can make proper use of this experience and correctly shape the policy to be pursued.

These parties are concentrating on the main point of how best to approach their own peoples, how to convince the masses that they cannot win a better future unless they fight against imperialism and the forces of internal reaction, and how to strengthen international solidarity with the socialist countries, with the communist vanguard of the working people of the world.

The renovation of the world on the principles of freedom, democracy and socialism, in which we are now participating, is a great historical process in which different revolutionary and democratic movements unite and cooperate, with socialist revolutions exerting the determining influence. The success of the national liberation movement, due in large measure to the victories of socialism, in turn strengthen the international positions of socialism in the struggle against imperialism. It is this truly Leninist concept of the historical processes that forms the basis of the Communist parties and socialist countries, a policy aimed at strengthening the close alliance with those people fighting for independence or who have already won it....

The imperialist powers, above all the United States, are doing their utmost to harness the countries that have cast off the colonial yoke to their system and thereby strengthen the positions of world capitalism, to infuse it, as bourgeois ideologists put it, with fresh blood, to rejuvenate and consolidate it. If we look the facts in the face, we shall have to admit that the imperialists have powerful economic levers with which to exert pressure on the newly-independent countries. They still succeed in enmeshing some of the politically-independent countries in the web of economic dependence. Now that it is no longer possible to establish outright colonial regimes, the imperialists resort to disguised forms and methods of enslaving and plundering the countries that have attained freedom. At the same time, the colonial powers back the internal reactionaries in all these countries; they impose on them puppet dictatorial regimes and involve them in aggressive *blocs*. Although there are sharp contradictions between the imperialist countries, they often take joint action against the national liberation movement.

But if we take account of all the factors shaping the destinies of the peoples that have shaken off colonial rule, we will see that in the final analysis the trends of social progress opposing imperialism are bound to prevail.

But these matters are resolved in bitter struggle within each country. The statement of the meeting contains important propositions on the basic issues of the national liberation movement. It defines the tasks of the Communist parties and their attitude to the various classes and social groups. In expressing the identity of views of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the statement calls for the maximum utilisation of the revolutionary possibilities of the various classes and social strata and for drawing all allies, no matter if inconsistent, shaky and unstable, into the struggle against imperialism.

The Communists are revolutionaries and it would be a bad thing if they failed to discern the new opportunities, to find the best ways and the best means of reaching the goal. Special note should be taken of the idea set forth in the statement about the formation of national democratic states. The statement outlines the main characteristics of these states and their tasks. It should be stressed that in view of the great variety of conditions in those countries where the peoples, having achieved independence, are now moulding their own way of life, a variety of ways of solving the tasks of social progress is bound to emerge.

The correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the newly-independent countries consists precisely in seeking the forms that take cognisance of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples to unite all the sound forces of the nation, to ensure the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle completely to eradicate the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and to clear the way for the ultimate advance towards socialism.

Today, when imperialist reaction is striving to foist the policy of anti-communism on the young independent states, it is most important to give a truthful explanation of the Communist views and ideals. Communists support the general democratic measures of the national governments. At the same time, they explain to the masses that these measures are far from being socialist.

The aspirations of the peoples now smashing the fetters of

colonialism are particularly appreciated and understood best of all by the working people of the socialist countries, by the Communists of the whole world. Our world outlook, the interests of all working people for which we are fighting, impel us to do our best to ensure that the peoples take the right road to progress, to the flowering of their material and spiritual forces. We, by means of our policy, must strengthen the confidence of the peoples in the socialist countries.

The aid extended by the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist states to the countries which have won independence has but one aim – to help strengthen the position of these countries in the struggle against imperialism, to further the development of their national economy and improve the life of their people. Noting that the working class of the advanced countries is vitally interested in "ensuring the independence" of the colonial countries "in the shortest possible period," Engels wrote: "One thing is indisputable: the victorious proletariat cannot impose happiness on another nation without undermining thereby its own victory" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 27, pp. 238, 239).

The international duty of the victorious working class consists in helping the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries to smash the last links in the chains of colonial slavery, in rendering them all-round aid in their struggle against imperialism, for the right to self-determination and independent development. However, it does not follow that socialist aid exerts no influence on the prospects of the further development of newly-independent countries.

The Soviet Union has been and is the sincere friend of the colonial peoples; it has always championed their rights, interests and strivings for independence. We shall continue to strengthen and develop our economic and cultural cooperation with countries which have become independent.

The Soviet Union submitted to the Fifteenth Session of the U.N. General Assembly the declaration for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

As a result of the bitter political struggle which raged round this proposal both within and without the U.N., the General Assembly adopted the declaration. The basic point in the Soviet Declaration – the need for abolishing colonialism in all its forms and manifestations

rapidly and for good – was in the main reflected in the resolution adopted by the United Nations. This was a victory for the progressive forces and all the socialist countries, which are defending the cause of freedom and independent national development of peoples firmly and consistently....

The peoples of the socialist countries, the Communists and progressives all over the world see their duty in abolishing the last remnants of the colonial system of imperialism, in supporting the peoples now liberating themselves from the colonial powers and in helping them to realise their ideals of liberation....

SOME IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

For us Soviet Communists, sons of the October Revolution, recognition of the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society is axiomatic. The road to socialism lies through the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As regards the forms of the transition to socialism, these, as pointed out by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., will become more and more varied. This does not necessarily mean that the transition to socialism will everywhere and in all cases be associated with armed uprising and civil war. Marxism-Leninism starts from the premise that the forms of the transition to socialism may be peaceful and non-peaceful. It is in the interests of the working class, of the masses, that the revolution be carried out in a peaceful way. But in the event of the ruling classes resisting the revolution with violence and refusing to submit to the will of the people, the proletariat will be obliged to crush their resistance and launch a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that with the growth of the might of the socialist world system and the better organisation of the working class in the capitalist countries, increasingly favourable conditions for socialist revolutions will arise. The transition to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions may be effected by utilising parliament and in other countries by utilising institutions conforming to their national traditions. In this case it is a question of using the parliamentary form and not the bourgeois parliament as such in order to place it at the service of the people, and to fill it with new meaning.

Thus, it will not be a matter of electoral combinations or simply skirmishes round the polls. The reformists indulge in this sort of thing. Such combinations are alien to us Communists. For us the rallying and consolidation of the revolutionary forces of the working class and of all working people, and the launching of mass revolutionary action are an absolute condition for winning a stable majority in parliament. 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.

It is quite obvious that in those countries where capitalism is still strong and still commands a huge military and police apparatus, the transition to socialism will inevitably take place in conditions of sharp class struggle. The political leadership of the working class, headed by the Communist vanguard, is the decisive condition no matter what the forms of transition to socialism are...

The struggle against revisionism, against any deviation from Leninism, is as important as ever. It is a struggle aimed at strengthening the socialist camp, at consistently applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism....

The Communist movement faces yet another danger – dogmatism and sectarianism. At present, when all forces must be united to fight imperialism, prevent war and end the omnipotence of the monopolies, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising towards dogmatism. Lenin wrote: "... It is necessary to grasp the indisputable truth that the Marxist should study life as it is, the precise facts of *reality,* and should not cling to the theory of yesterday which, like any theory, at best can but indicate the basic, the general factors, and can but *draw close* to an understanding of the complexities of life" (*Collected Works,* Russ. Ed., vol. 24, p. 26).

Dogmatism nourishes a sectarian bigotry, which hampers the unity of the working class and of all progressive forces with the Communist parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism are irreconcilably at variance with the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application, they lead to the isolation of Communists from the masses of the working people, doom them to passive anticipation or to reckless ultra-leftism in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from utilising

all the opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class and of all the democratic forces.

The statement stresses that the Communist parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts – against revisionism, which is still the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Dogmatism and sectarianism may also become the main danger at one or another stage in the development of the various parties unless a consistent struggle is waged against them....

SOVIET LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST CAMP

It should be noted that at the meeting the delegation of the C.P.S.U. expressed its point of view concerning the formula that the Soviet Union stands at the head of the socialist camp and the C.P.S.U. at the head of the Communist movement. The delegation declared that this formula was regarded above all as high appreciation of the services rendered by our Party, founded by Lenin, and expressed its heartfelt gratitude to all the fraternal parties for it. Our Party, reared by Lenin, has always seen its first duty in fulfilling its international obligations to the working class of the world. The delegation assured the meeting that the C.P.S.U. would continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and would spare no effort in carrying out its international duties.

Nevertheless the C.P.S.U. delegation proposed that that formula be not included in the statement or other documents of the Communist movement.

As to the principles of relations between the fraternal parties, the C.P.S.U. very definitely expressed its views on this matter at its Twenty-First Congress. From the rostrum of the Congress, we declared to the whole world that in the Communist movement, as in the socialist camp, there has always been complete equality and solidarity of all the Communist and workers' parties and socialist countries. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not lead other parties. There are no "superior" and "subordinate" parties in the Communist movement. All the Communist parties are equal and independent, all are responsible for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its setbacks and victories. Every Communist and workers' Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the entire international workingclass and Communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in its leading the other socialist countries, but in its being the first to blaze the trail to socialism, in its being the most powerful country in the socialist world system, in its having accumulated vast positive experience in building socialism, and being the first to embark on the full-scale building of communism. It is stressed in the statement that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and remains the universally recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement, being its most experienced and steeled contingent.

At the present time, when there is a large group of socialist countries each facing its own specific tasks, when there are eighty-seven Communist and Workers' parties each with its own tasks, it is impossible to lead all the socialist countries and Communist parties from any single centre. It is both impossible and unnecessary. Tempered Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their parties, their countries, have grown up in the Communist parties.

And, indeed, it is well known that the C.P.S.U. does not issue directives to other parties. The fact that we will be called "the head," spells no advantages for our Party or the other parties. Just the reverse. It only creates difficulties.

As is seen from the statement, the fraternal parties agreed with the reasons stated by our delegation. The question may arise: will not our international solidarity be weakened by the fact that this proposition is not written down in the statement? No, it will not. At present there are no rules regulating relations between parties, but we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to this ideology is the main condition of our solidarity and unity. It is essential that we guide ourselves consistently by the directions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, that we persistently put into practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The international solidarity of the Communist movement will then constantly increase....

Inasmuch as in the socialist countries conditions differ from country to country, it is only natural that each Communist Party applies Marxist-Leninist theory in keeping with the conditions obtaining in its country. For this reason, we must show understanding for this urge of the fraternal parties, which should know the conditions and features of their countries best....

Naturally, one must not inflate the importance of these distinctive features, exaggerate them and overlook the basic general line of socialist construction charted in the doctrine of Marx and Lenin. We have always firmly championed the purity of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the basic principles for its realisation, and will continue to do so.

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties exchanged opinions on questions of the current international situation and discussed the pressing problems of the Communist and workingclass movement, or, as comrades put it figuratively at the meeting, we set our watches. Indeed, the socialist countries and the Communist parties need to set the time. When someone's watch is fast or slow, it is adjusted, so as to show the right time. The Communist movement, too, needs to set the time, so that our formidable army marches in step and advances with confident stride towards communism. Putting it figuratively Marxism-Leninism, the jointly prepared documents of international Communist meetings, are our timepiece.

Now that all the Communist and Workers' parties have adopted unanimous decisions at the meeting, each Party will strictly and undeviatingly abide by these decisions in everything it does....

The unity of every Communist Party, the unity of all the Communist parties, is what makes up the integral world Communist movement, which is aimed at achieving our common goal, victory for communism throughout the world. The main thing that is required of all the Communist and Workers' parties today, is perseveringly to strengthen to the utmost the unity and cohesion of their ranks....

Our Party will do everything to make the socialist camp and the world Communist front still stronger.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly determined to strengthen unity and friendship with all the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, with the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the world. In this connection I want to emphasise our invariable effort to strengthen bonds of fraternal friendship with the Communist Party of China, with the great Chinese people. In its relations with the Communist Party of China our Party always proceeds from the premise that the friendship of our two great peoples, the unity of our two parties, the biggest parties in the international Communist movement, are of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our party has

always exerted and will continue to exert every effort to strengthen this great friendship. We have one common goal with People's China, with the Chinese Communists, as with the Communists of all countries – safeguarding peace and the building of communism; common interests – the happiness and wellbeing of the working people: and a firm common basis of principle – Marxism-Leninism....

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY RESOLUTION ON THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The ninth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, after hearing a report by Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing on the meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960, expressed satisfaction with the work of the Chinese Communist Party delegation headed by Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i....

The achievements of this meeting have greatly inspired the people of the world, who are striving for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, have dealt heavy blows at the imperialists headed by the United States of America, the reactionaries of all countries and the Yugoslav revisionist clique, and have strengthened the solidarity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement on the new basis. The statement of this meeting reiterated that the 1957 Moscow Declaration and peace manifesto were the fighting banners and guides to action for the whole international communist movement; it enriched the 1957 documents by its correct analysis of the international situation during the past three years and of a series of important problems confronting the international communist movement. The Communist Party of China, always unswervingly upholding Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, will defend the statement of this meeting, just as it has defended the Moscow Declaration of 1957, and will resolutely strive for the realisation of the common tasks set forth by this document.

As the statement says, our time is a time of struggle between two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national

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This is the extract of Chinese Communist Party Resolution adopted on January 18, 1961, from NCNA, January 20, 1961.

Source: Hudson, G.F., Richard Lowenthal and Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute,* Published by The China Quarterly.

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 worldwide scale. The doom of imperialism and the triumph of socialism are inevitable. The course of social development has once again testified to the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism and has thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist "theories" against Marxism-Leninism.

At present, there is a new upsurge in the struggle of the people throughout the world against imperialism, for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. The powerful socialist camp is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The rise of the national democratic revolutions is a great development second only to the formation of the world socialist system. The mass political and economic struggles waged by the peoples in the developed capitalist countries against oppression by domestic and foreign monopoly capital have been gaining momentum. All these forces have merged into a giant torrent battering the world imperialist system. The general crisis of capitalism has reached a new stage of development. The forces of peace have surpassed the forces of war. The progressive forces have surpassed the reactionary forces. The forces of socialism have surpassed the forces of imperialism. A bright prospect for the cause of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism is unfolding before the people of the world.

The present situation imperatively demands that peoples all over the world further unite and wage an unremitting struggle against the policies of aggression and war of the imperialists headed by the United States. The United States, the chief imperialist country of our time, being the biggest international exploiter, the world gendarme, the chief bulwark of world reaction and modern colonialism and the main force of aggression and war of our time, is the main enemy of the peoples of the whole world. U.S. imperialism, together with other imperialist countries and the reactionaries of all countries, has formed all kinds of military and political alliances and is carrying out with increased intensity criminal activities to oppose the socialist camp and to strangle the national liberation movement, the revolutionary movement of the working class and democratic movements in general. As a result of its persistence in this reactionary policy, U.S. imperialism has landed itself

in unprecedented isolation. With the peoples of the world persevering in a resolute struggle against the forces of reaction and aggression headed by the United States, the peace, national liberation, democratic and socialist movements are sure to win ever greater victories. Revolution is the affair of the peoples themselves in the various countries. The communists have always been against the export of revolution. They also resolutely oppose imperialist export of counter-revolution, against imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the people of various countries who have risen in revolution. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will, as in the past, make unremitting efforts in close unity with the fraternal parties and the revolutionary peoples of various countries to further the cause of the peoples of the world against imperialism and for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. They deem it their internationalist obligation to support the struggles of oppressed nations and oppressed peoples against imperialism.

The defence of world peace, the realisation of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition among countries of different social systems and the prevention of the new world war which is now being planned by the imperialists constitute the most pressing tasks for the peoples of the world. The imperialists headed by the United States are stubbornly persisting in a "cold war" policy leading to the catastrophe of nuclear war, intensifying the arming of the militarist forces of West Germany and Japan and fanatically engaging in armaments expansion and war preparations. Facts have proved that the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. The danger is not yet over that imperialism will launch a new and unprecedentedly destructive world war. It is more imperative than ever that the peoples should be especially vigilant. However, owing to the fundamental change in the international balance of class forces, a new world war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the powerful forces of our era – the socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement and all peace-loving countries and peoples. Peace can be effectively safeguarded provided there is reliance on the struggle of the masses of the people and provided a broad united front is established and expanded against the policies of aggression and war of the imperialists headed by the United States.

Marxist-Leninists have never held that the way to socialist revolution necessarily lies through wars between states. The socialist countries have always persisted in the policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition with the capitalist countries, advocated the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, advocated disarmament, the banning of nuclear weapons, the disbandment of military *blocs*, the dismantling of military bases in foreign territory, and the prevention of the revival of the militarist forces in West Germany and Japan. The peace proposals put forward by the socialist countries, and first of all by the Soviet Union, have won warm endorsement and support form people the world over. The Communist Party and the people of China have always regarded the safeguarding of world peace, the realisation of peaceful co-existence and the prevention of another world war as their most urgent tasks in the international struggle. During the past year, our country concluded treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or treaties of peace and friendship with Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea and Cambodia, a boundary treaty with Burma, an agreement on the boundary question with Nepal and an arrangement for the implementation of the treaty concerning the question of dual nationality with Indonesia. The conclusion of these treaties, this agreement and this arrangement has borne out the inexhaustible vitality of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and has made important contributions to the cause of safeguarding world peace. In the future, we shall continue to stand by the other socialist countries and all peace-loving countries and peoples in tenacious struggles to defend world peace and prevent world war.

The solidarity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is the most important guarantee for victory in the struggle of all peoples for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. This great solidarity is forged by common ideals and the common cause and has been developed and consolidated in the common struggle against the common enemy. It is based on Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of China, in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, has consistently striven to safeguard this great solidarity.

The socialist countries carry on political, economic and cultural

cooperation in accordance with the principles of complete equality, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance. The Communist Parties of all countries are independent and equal and at the same time, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, they must adhere to the common stand on the struggle against imperialism and for peace, national- liberation, democracy and socialism as jointly adopted at meetings of the fraternal parties and must unite as one and support each other in their common cause. The statement of this meeting pointed out that the Communist and Workers' Parties should hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and coordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals. This is entirely necessary for the strengthening of solidarity and for victory in the common cause.

The great Marxist-Leninist teachings are the unshakable ideological foundation of the solidarity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international Communist movement. In order to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and its creative application and development, it is necessary firmly to combat revisionism which mirrors bourgeois ideology and departs from and betrays Marxism-Leninism, and especially to combat Yugoslav revisionism. Modern revisionism is still the main danger for the international communist movement. At the same time, the tendencies of dogmatism and sectarianism, which are divorced from reality and from the masses, must also be opposed. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held that it is of particular importance at present to continue to carry out the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice of China's revolution and construction, and to raise the level of Marxism-Leninism of the cadres of the Party and the state.

The unity between China and the Soviet Union and between the Chinese and the Soviet Parties is of particularly great significance. In the international communist movement, the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the vanguard with the longest history and richest experience. The great Soviet Union is the most advanced and most powerful country in the socialist camp. The Communist Party of China

has consistently striven to maintain and strengthen the unity between the Chinese and the Soviet Parties and between the two countries, holding that this is in the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union and also of the peoples of the whole world. The imperialists will never succeed in their hopeless scheme to split the unity between the Chinese and the Soviet Parties and between the two countries....

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE, OPPOSE OUR COMMON ENEMY

"*Renmin Ribao*" (People's Daily) Editorial, December 15, 1962

At the very time when imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries are using every conceivable method to oppose the socialist countries, to disrupt the international communist movement and to suppress the revolutionary struggles of all people, and when the Communists of all countries urgently need to strengthen their unity and oppose the enemy together, it is distressing to find an adverse current appearing in the ranks of the international communist movement, a current which is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, opposed to the Communist Party of China and other Marxist-Leninist parties, and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

In the past month or so, the Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party and the Twelfth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party were held in Europe one after another. Unfortunately, the rostrums of these party congresses were used as platforms for attacking fraternal parties. This adverse current, which is disrupting unity and creating splits, reached a new high at the Italian and Czechoslovak Communist Party Congresses. Comrades of certain fraternal parties not only continued their attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, but also openly attacked the Communist Party of China by name, and they even censured the Korean Workers' Party for disagreeing with the attacks on the Chinese Communist Party. This is an utterly outrageous violation of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, which had been unanimously adopted

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Source: Workers of all countries unite, oppose our common enemy, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1962.

by the communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. It is an event of the utmost gravity in the international communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party Delegation which was invited to attend the Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress solemnly pointed out in its statement of December 8: "A practice of this kind is not in conformity with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, is not in the interest of the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement, is not in the interest of the struggle against imperialism, is not in the interest of the struggle for world peace, and is not in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of the socialist countries.... An erroneous practice of this kind can only deepen differences and create splits; it can only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden the enemy."

The Communist Party of China has consistently held that the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement are fundamental interests of the people of the whole world. It is at all times the sacred duty of all Communists to defend and strengthen this internationalist unity unswervingly. The occurrence of different opinions among fraternal parties is often unavoidable, because the problems of common concern are extremely complicated and the circumstances of various parties very different, and also because the objective situation is constantly changing. And the occurrence of such differences of opinion is not necessarily a bad thing. In order that unity may be securely guaranteed, the important thing is that we must start from the position of defending and strengthening internationalist unity and of standing together against the enemy, we must abide by the guiding principles for relations among fraternal parties and countries, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we must reach unanimity through consultation.

The erroneous practice of using the congress of one party to launch an attack on another fraternal party first emerged a year ago at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Communist Party resolutely opposed this erroneous practice at that time. At that congress and subsequently too, the Chinese Communist Party made many earnest appeals to the fraternal parties having disagreements and differences to reunite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of respect for each other's independence and

equality, and made the special point that the party which launched the first attack ought to take the initiative. However, it is to be regretted that this sincere effort on our part has not succeeded in preventing a continued deterioration in the situation. Instead of giving thought to changing this erroneous practice, the leaders of certain fraternal parties have intensified it and gone further alongwith the road towards a split, and as a result this erroneous practice recently occurred at four successive congresses of fraternal parties in Europe.

Here we wish to say something about what happened at the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

At the congress, some comrades of the Czechoslovak Party and comrades from certain other fraternal parties wantonly vilified and attacked the Communist Party of China for its "adventurism", "sectarianism", "splittism", "nationalism" and "dogmatism". The Chinese Communist Party Delegation in its statement resolutely opposed this practice that creates splits. The statement pointed out that "this erroneous practice has already produced serious consequences, and if continued, it is bound to produce even more serious consequences". However, the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party, an attitude treasuring unity, has not yet succeeded in causing a change of heart in those persons who are persisting in this erroneous practice. Certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party stated that they "cannot agree" with the view of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation, insisted on "going further" in this practice, even went so far as to ask the Chinese Communist Party to "reconsider" its position on major international problems, and they made their slanders and attacks on China public to the whole world. In these circumstances, we have no alternative but to make the necessary reply.

Some comrades of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and comrades from certain fraternal parties attacked the Chinese Communist Party for having committed what they called errors of "adventurism". They charged that on the Cuban question China had opposed a "sensible compromise" and wanted the whole world "plunged into a thermonuclear war". Are matters really as they charged?

Like the peoples of all the socialist countries and all countries in the world, the Chinese people love peace. China has always followed a foreign policy of peace. We have vigorously and unswervingly fought

for the relaxation of international tension and in defence of world peace. China was an initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. We have consistently advocated the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems in accordance with the Five Principles, we have advocated the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, and we have opposed recourse to force.

The Communist Party of China has always maintained that in order to preserve world peace, to realise peaceful co-existence and to relax international tension, it is necessary, above all, to oppose resolutely the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to mobilise the masses of the people to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. We believe, as the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out, that the U.S. imperialist plans for aggression and war can be frustrated and that world war can be prevented by the joint struggle of the forces of socialism, the forces of national liberation, the forces of democracy and all the forces of peace.

On the question of how to deal with imperialism and all reactionaries, the Chinese Communist Party has always maintained that one should despise them strategically but take full account of them tactically. That is to say, in the final analysis, strategically, with regard to the long term and to the whole, imperialism and all reactionaries are sure to fail, and the masses of the people are sure to triumph. Without this kind of understanding, it would not be possible to encourage the masses of the people to wage resolute revolutionary struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries with full confidence; nor would it be possible to lead the revolution to victory. On the other hand, tactically, on each immediate, specific problem, it is necessary to deal seriously with imperialism and the reactionaries, be prudent and carefully study and perfect the art of struggle. Without such understanding, it is impossible to wage successful revolutionary struggles, there is the danger of incurring setbacks and defeats and, again, it is impossible to lead the revolution to victory. This viewpoint of despising the enemy strategically and taking full account of him tactically, which the Chinese Communist Party has adhered to throughout its history, is precisely our oft-stated viewpoint that the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers; it is entirely Marxist-Leninist. We are opposed both to capitulationism and to adventurism. Everyone who wants to make a revolution and win

victory must adopt this attitude, and no other, when dealing with the enemy. The reason is that if one does not dare despise the enemy strategically, one will inevitably commit the error of capitulationism. And if one is heedless and reckless tactically in any specific struggle, one will inevitably commit the error of adventurism. If one dares not despise the enemy strategically and at the same time, one is heedless and reckless tactically, then one will commit both the error of capitulationism in strategy and the error of adventurism in tactics.

As far as the question of how to cope with nuclear weapons is concerned, we Chinese communists have always stood for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, which are enormously destructive, and have always opposed the imperialists' criminal policy of nuclear war. We have always held that in a situation in which the socialist camp enjoys great superiority, it is possible to reach an agreement on banning nuclear weapons through negotiations and through the constant exposure of and struggle against U.S. imperialism. But Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people have never been paralysed with fear by the nuclear weapons in the imperialists' hands and so abandoned their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. We Marxist-Leninists do not believe either in the theory that weapons decide everything, nor do we believe in the theory that nuclear weapons decide everything. We have never believed that nuclear weapons can determine man's fate. We are convinced that it is the masses of the people who are the decisive force in history. It is they alone who can decide the course of history. We are firmly opposed to the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. We also hold that there is no need whatsoever for socialist countries to use nuclear weapons as counters for gambling or as means of intimidation. To do so is really committing the error of adventurism. If one blindly worships nuclear weapons, does not recognise or trust in the strength of the masses of people, and so becomes scared out of one's wits when confronted by the imperialists' nuclear blackmail, then one may jump from one extreme to the other and commit the error of capitulationism.

We maintain that in their struggle against U.S. imperialism the heroic Cuban people have committed neither the error of capitulationism nor the error of adventurism. Like all other peoples in the world, the Cuban people ardently love peace and are working energetically for it. But, as Comrade Fidel Castro has said: "The way to peace is not the

way of sacrifice of or infringement upon the people's rights, because that is precisely the way leading to war." The National Directorate of the Cuban Integrated Revolutionary Organisations and the Cuban Revolutionary Government solemnly declared in their joint statement of November 25: "The best form of settlement is through peaceful channels and discussions between governments. But we reiterate at the same time that we will never defect in the face of the imperialists. We will oppose the imperialist position of strength with our firmness. We will resist the imperialist attempt to humiliate us with our dignity. We will oppose the imperialist aggression with our determination to fight to the last man."

Under the firm leadership of the Cuban Integrated Revolutionary Organisations and the Cuban government headed by Fidel Castro, the Cuban people have waged in unity a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism under the most complex and difficult conditions; far from being terrified by U.S. nuclear blackmail, they have insisted on their five just demands; and, with the righteous support of the people of the whole world, they have won another great victory in the struggle against U.S. aggression.

The Communist Party, the Government and the people of China resolutely support the correct line of the Cuban Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and Government, the five just demands and the heroic struggle of the Cuban people. In so doing, China is fulfilling its bounden duty under proletarian internationalism. If China's support for the Cuban people's just struggle against the U.S. aggressors is "adventurism", we would like to ask: Does this mean that the only way for the Chinese people not to be called "adventurist" is to abstain from doing everything in their power to support Cuba in its struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression? Does this mean that the only way to avoid being called adventurist and capitulationist would have been to force Cuba to surrender its sovereignty and independence and to give up its five just demands? The whole world has seen that we neither requested the transport of nuclear weapons to Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of "offensive weapons" from that country. Therefore, as far as we are concerned, there can be absolutely no question of "adventurism", still less of "plunging (the whole world) into a thermo-nuclear war".

Some people have censured China's correct position on the Sino-

Indian boundary question as if China had precipitated a disaster. But what are the facts?

China has consistently stood for the settlement of boundary questions with its neighbours through peaceful negotiation and, on the basis of the Five Principles, has successfully settled its boundary questions with Burma, Nepal and others through friendly consultation and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. As far as the Sino-Indian boundary question is concerned, it has been clear for a long period who in fact has rejected peaceful negotiations, who has occupied whose territory, who has conducted armed provocations and who has mounted massive attacks. In dealing with the vain attempts of the Indian reactionary group to alter the situation on the Sino-Indian frontier by force and in dealing with their everincreasing encroachment on China's border territories, the Chinese people have for years exercised forbearance, striving time and time again to find a fair and reasonable solution through peaceful negotiation. Nevertheless, the Nehru government has completely rejected negotiations. They have taken China's forbearance as a sign that she is weak and can be bullied. On October 12, Prime Minister Nehru of India brazenly gave orders that an attack should be launched on China and that Chinese territory should be "freed" of Chinese frontier forces. It was at this point that the Chinese frontier forces were compelled to strike back in self-defence. China is a peace-loving socialist country, but we will never allow others to bully us at will. Confronted with the massive attacks of the Indian troops, China launched a counter-attack in self-defence; this was a minimum, legitimate measure that any other sovereign state would have taken. Having repulsed the attack of the Indian forces, China immediately proposed the cessation of fighting, disengagement and the reopening of negotiations, and then, on her own initiative, ceased fire and withdrew her troops. Facts have proved that it was precisely because the Chinese people waged the necessary struggle against the expansionist ambitions of the reactionary Indian nationalists that the situation on the Sino-Indian frontier has begun to ease and a de facto ceasefire has been realised.

China's consistent and sincere efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question are universally acknowledged. But what is truly strange is that some self-styled Marxist-Leninists have

cast Marxism-Leninism to the winds; they never use the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint to analyse the Nehru government's reactionary policy of provoking the Sino-Indian boundary conflict and stubbornly refusing conciliation. These people shut their eyes to the fact that this policy arises from the need of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords to oppose the Indian people and progressive movement; they are likewise blind to the fact that this policy perfectly suits the needs of the imperialists, and especially of the U.S. imperialists, and enjoys their support. As a matter of fact, in recent years the Nehru government has repressed the people at home with increasing brutality and become more and more obsequious towards U.S. imperialism, acting as its accomplice in many important international issues, as in the Congo. The Nehru government's persistent opposition to China is the precise outcome of its domestic and foreign policies, which have become more and more reactionary. Those who accuse China of having pushed the Nehru government to the West are exactly reversing cause and effect. Throughout the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, these people have failed to distinguish right from wrong, have pretended to be "neutral", and have called China "brother" in words, while actually regarding the Indian reactionary group as their kinsmen. Should not these people examine their conscience and ask themselves what has become of their Marxism-Leninism and what has become of their proletarian internationalism?

At the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, some people made many violent attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour again, alleging that its leaders were "anti-Soviet", that they were disrupting unity, and that they were "splittists" and "sectarians". These people also condemned the Chinese Communist Party for its correct stand in opposing attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour and in upholding the guiding principles for relations among fraternal parties, and they charged the Chinese Communist Party too with the crimes of "splittism", "sectarianism" and "nationalism". But slanders and attacks of this kind, calling white black, can be of no avail whatsoever.

The criteria for deciding who upholds unity and who is guilty of splittism and sectarianism consist of the principles for guiding the mutual relations among fraternal parties and among fraternal countries which were set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement unanimously adopted at the Meetings of the Representatives of the

Communist and Workers' Parties. These are the principle of complete equality, the principle of uniting with each other while retaining independence and autonomy, and the principle of reaching unanimity through comradely consultation on the basis of equality. Experience has proved that so long as these correct principles are followed, the unity of the fraternal parties and of the fraternal countries can be consolidated, and that even when this or that kind of difference occurs, a reasonable settlement can be reached. Conversely, if these principles are violated and if, in the mutual relations among fraternal parties and countries, pressure is used to impose one's own views on others, or if the method of slander and attack is substituted for that of reaching unanimity through consultation, then unity will inevitably be impaired and mistakes of splittism and sectarianism will be committed.

A year ago, at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party stated: "We hold that should a dispute or difference unfortunately arise between fraternal parties or fraternal countries, it should be resolved patiently in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and according to the principles of equality and of unanimity through consultation. Public, one-sided censure of any fraternal party does not help unity and is not helpful in resolving problems. To bring a dispute between fraternal parties or fraternal countries into the open in the face of the enemy cannot be regarded as a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude."

It is precisely for the sake of upholding the principles which guide the relations among fraternal parties and fraternal countries and of upholding the unity of these parties and countries that the Chinese Communist Party is firmly opposed to attacks at the congress of one party on another fraternal party. What is wrong with our taking such a stand? Is it possible that it is we, who have done everything in our power to defend unity and to oppose actions that are not in the interest of unity, who are guilty of "splittism" and "sectarianism", and that on the contrary, it is those who launched the first attack and disrupted unity who are not guilty of splittism and sectarianism? At the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Delegation of the Korean Workers' Party was censured for disagreeing with the attacks certain people made on the Chinese Communist Party. Is it possible that the position of the Korean Worker's Party in upholding unity is a crime? Is

it possible that those who uphold the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are in the wrong and that those who violate the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are in the right?

The principles for guiding the relations among fraternal parties and countries set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement did not grant to any party, large or small, any right whatsoever to launch an attack at its own congress on another fraternal party. If such an erroneous practice is accepted, then one party can attack another party – this party today and that party tomorrow. If this continues, what will become of the unity of the international communist movement?

The principles guiding the relations among fraternal parties and countries set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are the very embodiment of the principles of proletarian internationalism concerning relations among fraternal parties and fraternal countries. If these guiding principles are violated, one will inevitably fall into the quagmire of great-nation chauvinism or other forms of bourgeois nationalism. But have those very people who have accused the Chinese communist Party of committing the error of "nationalism" ever given a thought to the question of the position in which they have been placing themselves in their relations with fraternal parties and countries? It is obviously they who have violated the principles guiding relations among fraternal parties and countries, who have launched attacks on another fraternal party and fraternal country and have followed the erroneous practices of nationalism and great-nation chauvinism. Yet they insist that everybody else should do as they do, and those who do not listen and follow the conductors baton are accused of "nationalism". Can it be that this conforms with the principles of proletarian internationalism? Is not such an erroneous practice exactly what splittism and sectarianism are? Is not this erroneous practice the worst manifestation of nationalism and great-nation chauvinism?

Those who accuse the Albanian Party of Labour of being "anti-Soviet" and of disrupting unity should ask themselves who it was who first provoked the dispute; who first attacked the Albanian Party of Labour at their own congress? Why does one give only oneself the right to wanton attacks on another fraternal party, while that party does not even have the right to reply? If the Albanian comrades are said to be "anti-Soviet" because they answered the attacks levelled at them,

what should one call those who first launched the attack on the Albanian Party of Labour and have attacked it time and time again? And what should one call those who have arbitrarily attacked the Communist Party of China?

For a Communist the minimum requirement is that he should make a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves, that he should be ruthless towards the enemy and kind to his own comrades. But there are people who just turn this upside-down. For imperialism it is all "accommodation" and "mutual concessions", for the fraternal parties and fraternal countries it is only implacable hostility. These people are able to adopt an attitude of "sensible compromise" and "moderation" towards the saber-rattling enemy, but are unwilling to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards fraternal parties and fraternal countries. To be so "kind" to the enemy and so "ruthless" towards fraternal parties and countries is certainly not the stand a Marxist-Leninist should take.

The Moscow Statement affirms that revisionism is the main danger in the world communist movement at the present time. It points out: "After betraying Marxism-Leninism... the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (L.C.Y.)...set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole...carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. In addition, the Statement calls on the Communists of all countries actively to combat the influence of the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav modern revisionists. Certain communists, however, praise the renegade Tito to the skies, and they are carrying on so intimately with the Tito group. At the recent Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, some people even opposed the Chinese Communist Party's exposure of the Yugoslav modern revisionists. In a word, these persons want to unite with those one should oppose and they oppose those one should unite with. May we ask, isn't this an open and crass violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement? Where will such a line lead to?

All the facts show that the Chinese Communists, like true Communists everywhere in the world, have consistently abided by Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Those who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party are pressing the label of "dogmatism" on us.

This only proves that the "dogmatism" they oppose is the very bastion of Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, which the Chinese Communists and all other true Communists are steadfastly upholding. These people think that if they just put up the signboard of "anti-dogmatism" and bellow about what they call "creativeness", they can distort Marxism-Leninism and tamper with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as they like. This is absolutely impermissible. We would like to question these people: Are these two historic documents of the international communist movement, unanimously adopted and signed by all the Communist and Workers' Parties, still valid? Do they still have to be observed?

Some people say: "We are the majority and you are the minority. Therefore, we are creative Marxist-Leninists and you are dogmatists; we are right and you are wrong." But anyone with a little common sense knows that the question of who is right and who is wrong, and who represents the truth, cannot be determined by the majority or minority at a given moment. Truth exists objectively. When all is said and done, the majority at a given moment cannot turn falsehood into truth; nor can the minority at a given moment make truth turn into falsehood. History abounds with instances in which, at certain times and on certain occasions, truth was not on the side of the majority, but on the side of the minority. In the period of the Second International, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were in the minority in the international workers' movement, but truth was on the side of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. In December 1914, after the outbreak of World War I, when a vote was taken on the war budget in the German Reichstag, the majority of the deputies of the German Social Democratic Party voted for it, and only Karl Liebknecht voted against it, but truth was on the side of Liebknecht. Those who dare to uphold truth are never afraid of being in the minority for the time being. Conversely, those who persist in error cannot avoid ultimate bankruptcy even though they are temporarily in the majority.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the one and only majority that is reliable in this world is the people, who decide the course of history and who constitute more than 90 per cent of the world's population. Those who go against the interests of more than 90 per cent of the

world's population may raise a hue and cry at a certain place or meeting for a while, but they definitely do not represent a genuine majority. Their "majority" is only a fictitious, superficial phenomenon, and in essence they are in the minority, while the "minority" they are attacking is, in essence, the majority. Marxist-Leninists always penetrate phenomena in order to see a problem in its essence. We submit only to truth and to the fundamental interests of the people of the world; we will never obey the baton of an anti-Marxist-Leninist. However much the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists curse and oppose us, we will never be shaken in our stand of upholding Marxism-Leninism and truth.

We would like to remind those attacking the Chinese Communist Party that unjustified abuse serves no useful purpose. Abuse, however scurrilous or violent, cannot detract from the glory of a Marxist-Leninist Party. From the very first day that a Communist Party came into existence, no one has ever heard of a genuine Communist Party which was not subjected to abuse, nor has anyone ever heard of a genuine Communist Party which was toppled by abuse. The Chinese Communist Party has grown, tempered itself and won victory after victory amid the curses of the imperialists, the reactionaries, the revisionists and all kinds of opportunists. Their curses have never hurt us in the least. On the contrary, this abuse merely shows that we are doing the right thing, that we are upholding Marxist-Leninist principles, and that we are defending the fundamental interests of the people of the world.

We also wish to remind those persons who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party that U.S. imperialism is now conducting an anti-China chorus, and Kennedy has come out in person to declare that a major problem now facing the Western world is how to cope with "the regime of Communist China". At a time like this, don't you think you should draw a line of demarcation between yourselves and U.S. imperialism and its lackeys?

The erroneous practice of creating splits which has appeared in the international communist movement can be beneficial only to the imperialists and the reactionaries. Don't you see that the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia are applauding, gloating over misfortunes and looking forward to a split in the international communist movement? Recently

Dean Rusk said publicly that the disagreements between the Communists "are very serious and very far-reaching ...the confusion that has been thrown into Communist Parties all over the world...has been helpful to the free world." Those persons who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties should think this over: the enemy is hailing this practice as a great help to the "free world"; is this something to be proud of ?

It is not at all surprising that there should be twists and turns of one kind or another in the road along which the international communist movement is advancing. From the beginning Marxism-Leninism has continuously developed through struggles to overcome opportunism of every type. From the beginning the international communist movement has constantly advanced by surmounting all sorts of difficulties. All imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists are destined to become the debris of history amid the torrent of the international communist movement and the torrent of great revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the whole world.

Communists of all countries share the same great ideal and the same noble cause and face a common enemy; we have a thousand and one reasons to unite, but not a single reason to create splits. Those comrades who are creating splits should come to their senses! The Communist Party of China sincerely hopes that the Communist Parties of all countries, who should value highly the interests of the international communist movement and of the common struggles of the international proletariat and the peoples of the world against the enemy, and who should value highly our glorious historic tasks and the ardent expectations of the revolutionary peoples of the world, will abide by the principles guiding the relations among fraternal parties and countries, set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and will adopt the correct method for eliminating differences and safeguarding unity.

If only we all have the desire to settle problems, it is not difficult to find the correct method for doing so. The Statement of the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party at the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party said:

> With the object of settling the differences in the international communist movement on certain important questions of principle, the

Communist Party of China and a number of other fraternal parties have proposed the convening of a Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries of the world in order to clarify what is right from what is wrong, to strengthen unity and to stand together against the enemy. We consider that this is the only correct method of settling problems.

The Communist Party of China desires to do its utmost – together with the fraternal parties of other countries and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism – to strengthen unity and to oppose splits, and to strive for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. Let us unite and spare no effort to fight unremittingly in defence of the great unity of the international communist movement, the great unity of the socialist camp, and the great unity of the revolutionary peoples of the world and of all peace-loving peoples! Let us raise once again the great slogan of Marx and Engels:

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

At the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held in Prague, December 4-8, 1962.

Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, delivered a report to the congress on December 4 summing up the work of the Central Committee. In his report he attacked the Albanian Party of Labour.

L.I. Brezhnev, Head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Member of the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, addressed the congress on the same day. He also attacked the Albanian Party of Labour and censured those "self-styled Marxist-Leninists".

Some comrades of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and comrades from some other fraternal parties in their speeches at the congress attacked the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour. Some also censured the Korean Workers' Party which disagrees with the attacks on the Communist Party of China.

Wu Hsiu-chuan, Head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China, addressed the congress on December 5. Before Novotny made his concluding speech on December 8, Wu Hsiu-chuan handed over a "Statement of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China" to the presidium of the congress. The statement was read out by Novotny at the congress.

In his concluding speech Novotny renewed his attacks on the Communist Party of China.

Source : Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1962.

Following is the text of the statement of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China. – Editor of the source.

Sincerely desirous of strengthening friendship among fraternal parties and the unity of the international communist movement, a delegation of the Communist Party of China has on your invitation attended the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and has extended greetings to you. It has, however, been most unfortunate and contrary to our expectations that at your congress some comrades of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the comrades from some other fraternal parties have made use of the platform of this congress to continue attacking the Albanian Party of Labour and to deliver unbridled attacks on the Communist Party of China. A practice of this kind is not in conformity with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, is not in the interest of the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international Communist movement, is not in the interest of the struggle against imperialism, is not in the interest of the struggle for world peace and is not in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of the socialist countries. We cannot but express the deepest regret at such actions which are contrary to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Party of China has always upheld Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We are firmly opposed to all views and actions that are contrary to Marxism-Leninism and contrary to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In regard to the settlement of differences among fraternal parties, the consistent stand of the Communist Party of China starts from the interest of safeguarding the unity of the international communist movement, safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and standing together against the enemy and it adheres to the fundamental principles for guiding the relations among fraternal parties and fraternal countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Indeed, more than one year ago we firmly opposed the using of one party congress for the purpose of launching attacks on another fraternal party. An erroneous practice of this kind can only deepen differences and create splits; it can only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden the enemy. But instead of thinking about changing this erroneous practice, some parties and some

persons are even redoubling their efforts in that direction and going further and further along the road towards a split. We cannot but point out that this erroneous practice has already produced serious consequences and that if continued, it is bound to produce even more serious consequences.

Some people have glibly said that the Albanian Party of Labour made charges against some comrades of a certain fraternal party, and that the Albanian comrades are to blame for the distressing situation which exists today in the international communist movement. Going farther, they distort the facts and accuse the Albanian comrades of being "anti-Soviet". Why don't these people give a little thought to the question of who should be held responsible for such a situation? After all, who was the first to launch an attack on the Albanian comrades? How can it be correct and permissible for one party arbitrarily to launch an attack at its own party congress against another fraternal party, while the party attacked does not have even the right to reply? Is it possible that the launching of an attack on a fraternal party is to be called "Marxist-Leninist" and conforming to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, but that the reply by the attacked party is to be branded as "sectarianism", "splittism", "dogmatism" and a violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement? If the replies of the Albanian comrades are to be called "anti-Soviet", then, may we ask, what name should be given to those who first attacked the Albanian comrades and arbitrarily levelled a whole series of charges against them? On important questions like these, Marxist-Leninists should distinguish between right and wrong and not distort the truth. We hold that differences among fraternal parties can only be settled in accordance with the principles of independence, of equality and of unanimity through consultation, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and by the party which made the first attack taking the initiative. Once again, we sincerely make this appeal.

At this congress, some comrades have attacked the Communist Party of China, which consistently upholds the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, but this cannot do us any harm at all. For several decades, while in the very centre of the curses and attacks of the imperialists, the reactionaries, and the revisionists and opportunists, the Communist Party of China has grown strong and has won one victory

after another. In this period, on the international scene, there certainly exists an anti-China chorus, coming from the side of imperialism, reaction and revisionism. This only proves that the Communist Party of China has firmly persisted in the truth and in the struggle for justice, and that our struggle is in the interest of the cause of the peoples of the world for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and that it is against the interest of the imperialists, against the interest of the reactionaries and against the interest of the revisionists. The Communist Party of China will always uphold the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the position of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and will never barter principles in order to make a deal. We hold that the employment of a congress of one party to attack another party or parties and the recourse to such unusual manners as shouting and hissing can hardly prove that one is right and furthermore cannot be helpful in settling any problems.

With the object of settling the differences in the international communist movement on certain important questions of principle, the Communist Party of China and a number of other fraternal parties have proposed the convening of a Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries of the world in order to clarify what is right from what is wrong, to strengthen unity and to stand together against the enemy. We consider that this is the only correct method of settling problems. The Communists of the whole world have a common enemy, a common cause and a common objective; there is no reason whatsoever why we should not unite. The Communist Party of China desires, together with the fraternal parties of other countries and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to strengthen unity and oppose splits, and to strive for new victories of the peoples of all countries for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMRADE TOGLIATTI AND US

***"Renmin Ribao"* (People's Daily) Editorial, December 31, 1962**

The Communist Party of Italy (C.P.I.) is a party with a glorious history of struggle in the ranks of the international communist movement. In their valiant struggles both during the dark years of Mussolini's rule and during the difficult years of World War II and after, the Italian Communists and the Italian proletariat have had admirable achievements to their credit. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people have always held the comrades of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian people in high esteem.

In accordance with its consistent stand of strengthening friendship with fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of China sent its representative to attend the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, which was held in early December, at the latter's invitation. We had hoped that this congress would help to strengthen not only the common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace, but also the unity of the international communist movement.

But, at this congress, to our regret and against our hopes, Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. rudely attacked the Communist Party of China and other fraternal Parties on a series of important questions of principle. They did so in violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and in disregard of the interests of the united struggle of the international communist movement against the enemy.

The representative of the Communist Party of China at the congress was thus compelled to declare solemnly in his address that we disagreed with the attacks and slanders levelled at the Communist Party

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of China by Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. Nevertheless, Togliatti and certain other leaders of the C.P.I. "very firmly rejected" the views put forward by the representative of the C.P.C., continued their attacks upon the C.P.C. and other fraternal Parties, and persisted in conducting the "debate in public".

Thus, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy became a salient part of the recently emerged adverse current which runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, and which is disrupting the unity of the International communist movement.

In such circumstances, we cannot remain silent but must publicly answer the attacks on us by Comrade Togliatti and other comrades. Nor can we remain silent about the views they expressed in contravention of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, but we must publicly comment on these views. We wish to say frankly that on a number of fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism there exist differences of principle between Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. leaders on the one hand and ourselves on the other.

After reading Togliatti's general report and his concluding speech at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy and the theses of the congress, one cannot help feeling that he and certain other C.P.I. leaders are departing further and further from Marxism-Leninism. Although Comrade Togliatti and certain others have, as usual, covered up their real views by using obscure, ambiguous and scarcely intelligible language, the essence of their views becomes clear once this flimsy veil is removed.

They cherish the greatest illusions about imperialism, then deny the fundamental antagonism between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism and the fundamental antagonism between the oppressed nations and oppressor nations, and, in place of international class struggle and anti-imperialist struggle, they advocate international class collaboration and the establishment of a "new world order". They have profound illusions about the monopoly capitalists at home, they confuse the two vastly different kinds of class dictatorship, bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship, and preach bourgeois reformism, or what they call "structural reform" as a substitute for proletarian revolution.

They allege that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become "outmoded", and they tamper with the Marxist-Leninist theories of imperialism, of war and peace, of the state and revolution, and of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. They discard the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, they repudiate the common laws of proletarian revolution or, in other words, the universal significance of the road of the October Revolution, and they describe the "Italian road", which is the abandonment of revolution, as a "line common to the whole international communist movement".

In the final analysis, the stand taken by Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. leaders boils down to this – the people of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not wage struggles to win liberation, and the people of the world should not fight against imperialism. Actually, all this exactly suits the needs of imperialists and the reactionaries.

In this article we do not propose to discuss all our differences with Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades. Here we shall set forth our views on only a few of the important questions at issue.

I

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades differ with us, first of all, on the question of war and peace. In his general report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, Togliatti declared: "This problem was widely discussed at the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in the autumn of 1960. The Chinese comrades put forward some views, which were rejected by the meeting." He spoke in deliberately vague terms and did not mention what were the views put forward by the Chinese comrades, but went on to speak of the inevitability of war as the source of the disputes, which made it apparent that he was accusing the Chinese Communists of having no faith in the possibility of averting a new world war, and accusing China of being "warlike".

This accusation levelled against the Communist Party of China by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades is completely groundless and trumped up.

The Communist Party of China has consistently taken the stand

of opposing the imperialist policies of aggression and war, of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war, and of defending world peace. We have always held that as long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. The danger of imperialism starting a world war still exists. However, because of the new changes that have taken place in the international balance of class forces, it is possible for the peace forces of the world to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war, provided that they stand together, form a united front against the policies of aggression and war pursued by the imperialists headed by the United States, and wage resolute struggles. Should imperialism dare to take the risk of imposing a new world war on the peoples of the world, such a war would inevitably end in the destruction of imperialism and the victory of socialism. We stated these views at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings. The two Moscow meetings included these views of ours in the joint documents, which were adopted, and did not reject them as Togliatti alleged.

Since Togliatti and certain other comrades know perfectly well where the Communist Party of China stands on the problem of war and peace, why do they keep on distorting and attacking this stand? What are the real differences between them and us?

They are manifested mainly on the following three questions:

Firstly, the Communist Party of China holds that the source of modern war is imperialism. The chief force for aggression and war is U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of all the peoples of the world. In order to defend world peace, it is necessary to expose the imperialist policies of aggression and war unceasingly and thoroughly, so as to make the people of the world to maintain a high degree of vigilance. The fact that the forces of socialism, of national liberation, of people's revolution and of world peace have surpassed the forces of imperialism and war has not changed the aggressive nature of imperialism and cannot possibly change it. The imperialist bloc headed by the United States is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations and is menacing world peace.

Those who slanderously attack the C.P.C. allege that our unremitting exposures of imperialism, and especially of the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism, show our disbelief in the possibility of averting a world war; actually what these people oppose

is the exposure of imperialism. On many occasions they have publicly opposed the exposure of imperialism. Although they admit in words that the nature of imperialism has not changed, in fact, they prettify imperialism in a hundred and one ways and spread among the masses of the people illusions about imperialism, and especially about U.S. imperialism.

It will be recalled that three years ago, following the "Camp David talks", some persons in the international communist movement talked a great deal about Eisenhower's sincere desire for peace, saying that this ringleader of U.S. imperialism was just as concerned about peace as we were. It will also be recalled that when Eisenhower arrived in Italy on his European tour in December 1959, certain comrades of the C.P.I. went so far as to put up posters, distribute leaflets and organise a gala welcome, urging all Italian political parties and people from all walks of life to "salute" him. One of the welcoming slogans ran as follows: "We Communists of Rome salute Dwight Eisenhower and, in the name of 250,000 electors in the capital of the Italian Republic, express our confidence and our determination that the great hopes for peace which were aroused in the hearts of all peoples, hopes created by the meeting between the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, shall not end in disappointment." (*l'Unita,* Organ of the Communist Party of Italy, December 4, 1959.)

Now we again hear some people saying that Kennedy is even more concerned about world peace than Eisenhower was and that Kennedy showed his concern for the maintenance of peace during the Caribbean crisis.

One would like to ask: Is this way of embellishing U.S. imperialism the correct policy for defending world peace? The intrusion into the Soviet Union of spy planes sent by the Eisenhower Administration, the aggression against Cuba by the Kennedy Administration, the hundred and one other acts of aggression around the world by U.S. imperialism, and its threats to world peace – have these not repeatedly confirmed the truth that the ringleaders of U.S. imperialism are no angels of peace but monsters of war? And are not those people who try time and again to prettify imperialism deliberately deceiving the people of the world?

It is crystal-clear that if one went by what these people say, U.S.

imperialism would have ceased to be the enemy of world peace, and therefore, there would be no need to fight against its policies of aggression and war. This erroneous view, which openly runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, can only make the peace-loving people of the world lose their bearing, damage the fight for world peace and assist U.S. imperialism in carrying out its policies of aggression and war.

Secondly, the Communist Party of China holds that world peace can only be securely safeguarded in the resolute struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, by constantly strengthening the socialist camp, by constantly strengthening the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and by constantly strengthening the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries and the movement to defend world peace. In order to achieve world peace it is necessary to rely mainly on the strength of the masses of the people of the world and on their struggles. In the course of the struggle to defend world peace, it is necessary to enter into negotiations on one issue or another with the governments of the imperialist countries, including the government of the United States, for the purpose of easing international tension, reaching some kind of compromise and arriving at certain agreements, subject to the principle that such compromises and agreements must not damage the fundamental interests of the people. However, world peace can never be achieved by negotiations alone, and in no circumstances must we pin our hopes on imperialism and divorce ourselves from the struggles of the masses.

Those who attack the Communist Party of China misrepresent this correct viewpoint of ours as showing lack of faith in the possibility of averting a world war. As a matter of fact, they themselves have no faith in the possibility of preventing a world war by reliance on the strength of the masses and their struggles, and they are opposed to relying on the masses and their struggles. They want the people of the world to believe in the "sensibleness", the "assurances" and the "good intentions" of imperialism, and to place their hopes for world peace on "mutual conciliation", "mutual concessions", "mutual accommodation" and "sensible compromises" with imperialism. To beg imperialism for peace, these persons do not scruple to impair the fundamental interests of the people of various countries, throw overboard the revolutionary principles

and even demand that others also should sacrifice the revolutionary principles.

Innumerable historical facts prove that genuine peace can never be attained by begging imperialism for peace at the expense of the fundamental interests of the people and at the expense of revolutionary principles. On the contrary, this can only help to inflate the arrogance of the imperialist aggressors. Comrade Fidel Castro has rightly said that "the way to peace is not the way of sacrifice of, or infringement upon, the people's rights, because that is precisely the way leading to war".

Thirdly, the Communist Party of China holds that the struggle for the defence of world peace supports, is supported by, and indeed is inseparable from, the national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles in various countries. The national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles are a powerful force weakening the imperialist forces of war and defending world peace. The more the national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles develop, the better for the defence of world peace. The socialist countries, the Communists of all countries and all the peace-loving people of the world must resolutely support the national liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in various countries, and must resolutely support wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars.

In branding this correct view of ours as "warlike", those who attack the Communist Party of China are, in fact, placing the struggle in defence of world peace in opposition to the movements of national liberation and to the peoples' revolutionary struggles, and in opposition to wars of national liberation and peoples' revolutionary wars. According to them, all that the oppressed nations and the oppressed peoples can do is to receive what is "bestowed" by imperialism and the reactionaries, and they should not wage struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries, or they would be disturbing world peace. These persons assert that if oppressed nations and oppressed peoples were to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war when confronting armed suppression by imperialism and the reactionaries, this would have "irreparable consequences". This erroneous view of theirs can only mean that they are opposed to revolution by oppressed nations

and peoples, and demand that these nations and peoples abandon their revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars and for ever submit to the dark rule and enslavement of imperialism and reaction.

Facts have shown that every victory for the national liberation movement and for the revolutionary struggle of the people hits and weakens the imperialist forces of war and strengthens and augments the peace forces of the world. To take the stand of fearing revolution, of opposing revolution, results in setbacks and defeats for the national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary cause, and this will only damage the peace forces and heighten the danger of imperialists starting a world war.

To sum up, on the question of how to avert world war and safeguard world peace, the Communist Party of China has consistently stood for the resolute exposure of imperialism, for strengthening the socialist camp, for firm support of the national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles, for the broadest alliance of all the peace-loving countries and people of the world, and at the same time, for taking full advantage of the contradictions among our enemies, and for utilising the method of negotiation as well as other forms of struggle. The aim of this stand is precisely the effective prevention of world war and preservation of world peace. This stand fully conforms with Marxism-Leninism and with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It is the correct policy for preventing world war and defending world peace. We persist in this correct policy precisely because we are deeply convinced that it is possible to prevent world war by relying on the combined struggle of all the forces mentioned above. How then can this stand be described as lacking faith in the possibility of averting world war? How can it be called "warlike"? It would simply result in a phoney peace or bring about an actual war for the people of the whole world if you prettify imperialism, pin your hopes of peace on imperialism, take an attitude of passivity or opposition towards the national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles and bow down and surrender to imperialism, as advocated by those who attack the Communist Party of China. This policy is wrong and all Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionary people, all peace-loving people must resolutely oppose it.

II

On the question of war and peace, the differences which Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us find striking expression in our respective attitudes to nuclear weapons and nuclear war.

The Communist Party of China has consistently held that nuclear weapons have unprecedented destructive power and that it would be an unprecedented calamity for mankind if nuclear war should break out. It is precisely for this reason that we have always called for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, that is, a total ban on the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons. Time and again the Chinese Government has proposed the establishment of an area free from atomic weapons embracing all the countries of the Asian and Pacific region, the United States included. Besides, we have always actively supported all the just struggles waged by the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world for the outlawing of nuclear weapons and the prevention of a nuclear war. The allegations that the Communist Party of China underestimates the destructiveness of nuclear weapons and wants to drag the world into a nuclear war are absurd slanders.

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the first difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether or not the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace have become "out of date" since the emergence of nuclear weapons.

Togliatti and certain others believe that the emergence of nuclear weapons "has changed the nature of war" and that "one should add other considerations to the definition of the just character of a war". Actually, they hold that war is no longer the continuation of politics, and that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars. Thus they completely deny the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace. We hold that the emergence of nuclear weapons has not changed and cannot change the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles with regard to war and peace. In reality, the numerous wars that have broken out since the appearance of nuclear weapons have all been the continuation of politics, and there still are just and unjust wars. In practice, those who hold there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars either oppose waging just wars or refuse to give

them support, and they have lapsed into the position of bourgeois pacifism which is opposed to all wars.

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war the second difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China is whether one should view the future of mankind with pessimism or with revolutionary optimism.

Togliatti and certain others talk volubly about "the suicide of mankind" and the "total destruction" of mankind. They believe that "it is idle even to discuss what might be the outlook for such remnants of the human race with regard to the social order". We are firmly opposed to such pessimistic and despairing tunes. We believe that it is possible to attain a complete ban on nuclear weapons in the following circumstances: the socialist camp has a great nuclear superiority, the peoples' struggles in various countries against nuclear weapons and nuclear war become broader and deeper; having further forfeited their nuclear superiority, the imperialists are compelled to realise that their policy of nuclear blackmail is no longer effective and that their launching of a nuclear war would only accelerate their own extinction. There are precedents for the outlawing of highly destructive weapons. One such precedent is the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, concluded by various nations in 1925 in Geneva.

If, after we have done everything possible to prevent a nuclear war, imperialism should nevertheless unleash nuclear war, without regard to any of the consequences, it would only result in the extinction of imperialism and definitely not in the extinction of mankind. The Moscow Statement points out that "should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it". All Marxist-Leninists firmly believe that the course of history necessarily leads to the destruction of nuclear weapons by mankind, and will definitely not lead to the destruction of mankind by nuclear weapons. The advocates of the "total destruction" of mankind contradict the theses contained in the joint documents of the international communist movement, and this only serves to show that they have lost all faith in the future of mankind and in the great ideal of communism and have fallen into the quagmire of defeatism.

On the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war, the third

difference between us and those who attack the Communist Party of China concerns the policy to be adopted in order successfully to reach the goal of outlawing nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

Togliatti and certain others zealously advertise the dreadful nature of nuclear weapons and blatantly declare that "it is justified" to "shudder" with fear in the face of the nuclear blackmail when U.S. imperialism parades it. Togliatti has also said that "war must be avoided at any cost". According to what he and certain others say, should not the only way of dealing with the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear threats and blackmail be unconditional surrender and the complete abandonment of all revolutionary ideals and all revolutionary principles? Can this be the kind of stand a Communist should take? Can a nuclear war really be prevented in this way?

It is unthinkable that "shudders of fear" will move U.S. imperialism to become so benevolent that it will abandon its policies of aggression and war and its policy of nuclear blackmail. Facts prove the opposite. The more one "shudders" with fear, the more unbridled and the greedier U.S. imperialism becomes, and the more it persists in using threats of nuclear warfare and raising ever greater demands. Have there not been enough object-lessons of this kind?

We hold that in order to mobilise the masses of the people against nuclear war and nuclear weapons it is necessary to inform them of the enormous destructiveness of these weapons. It would be patently wrong to underestimate this destructiveness. However, U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to disseminate dread of nuclear weapons in pursuit of its policy of nuclear blackmail. In these circumstances, while Communists should point out the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, they should counter the U.S. imperialist propaganda of nuclear terror by stressing the possibility of outlawing them and preventing nuclear war; they should try and transmute the people's desire for peace into righteous indignation at the imperialist policy of nuclear threats and lead the people to struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. In no circumstances must Communists act as a voluntary propagandist for the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. We hold that the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail must be thoroughly exposed and that all peace-loving countries and people must be mobilised on the most extensive scale to wage an

unrelenting fight against every move made by the U.S. imperialists in their plans for aggression and war. We are deeply convinced that, by relying on the united struggle of all forces defending peace, it is possible to frustrate the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail. This is the correct and effective policy for achieving a ban on nuclear weapons and preventing a nuclear war.

We would like to advise those who attack the Communist Party of China to discard their fallacious pessimistic arguments, to have confidence in the truth of Marxism-Leninism, to pull themselves together and take an active part in the great struggle of the masses against the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and for the defence of world peace.

III

Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have strongly opposed the Marxist-Leninist proposition of the Chinese Communist Party that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers". In his report to the recent congress of the Italian Communist Party Comrade Togliatti said that it "was wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder". Then there are other persons who assert that today imperialism has nuclear teeth, so how can it be called a paper tiger?

Prejudice is further from the truth than ignorance. In the case of Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades, if they are not ignorant, then they are deliberately distorting this proposition of the Chinese Communist Party.

In comparing imperialism and all reactionaries to paper tigers, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communists are looking at the problem as a whole and from a long-term point of view and are looking at the essence of the problem. What is meant is that, in the final analysis, it is the masses of the people who are really powerful, not imperialism and the reactionaries.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward this proposition in August 1946, in his talk with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. That was a difficult time for the Chinese people. The Kuomintang reactionaries, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism and

enjoying immense superiority in men and equipment, had unleashed a nation-wide civil war. In the face of the frenzied enemy attacks and the myth of the invincibility of U.S. imperialism, the most important question for the Chinese revolution and the fate of the Chinese people was whether we would dare to struggle, dare to make a revolution, and dare to seize victory. It was at this crucial moment that Comrade Mao Tse-tung armed the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people ideologically with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers". With great lucidity he said:

> All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.
>
> Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is terrifically strong. Chinese reactionaries are using the "strength" of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But it will be proved that the U.S. reactionaries, like all the reactionaries in history, do not have much strength.

In his speech at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries in Moscow, November 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung expounded the same proposition. He said:

> All the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers.... For struggle against the enemy, we formed over a long period the concept that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but that tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that in regard to the whole we should despise the enemy but that in regard to each and every concrete question we must take them seriously. If with regard to the whole we do not despise the enemy we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two persons. Yet in those early days they declared that capitalism would be overthrown all over the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism if we do not take them seriously.

This scientific proposition of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's was confirmed long ago by the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution; and it has inspired all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples engaged in revolutionary struggles. Let us ask Comrade Togliatti and those who have attacked this proposition: On what

particular point is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proposition wrong?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's analysis of imperialism and all reactionaries is completely in accord with Lenin's analysis. In 1919 Lenin compared the "all-powerful" Anglo-French imperialism to a "colossus with feet of clay". He said:

> It seemed at that time that world imperialism was such a tremendous and invincible force that it was stupid of the workers of a backward country to attempt an uprising against it. Now... we see that imperialism, which seemed such an insuperable colossus, has proved before the whole world to be a colossus with feet of clay, ...
>
> ...that all these seemingly huge and invincible forces of international imperialism are unreliable, and hold no terrors for us, that at the core they are rotten,... (*Lenin on War and Peace*, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1960, pp. 22-23.)

Isn't the reasoning of Lenin in his description of the "colossus with feet of clay" the same as that of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his reference to the "paper tiger"? We ask, what is wrong with Lenin's proposition? Is this proposition of Lenin's "outmoded"?

In history there have been countless instances proving that imperialism and reactionaries are all paper tigers. In 1917, before the February and October Revolutions the opportunists said that because the tsar and the bourgeois government were so formidable it would be sheer madness for the people to take up arms. But Lenin and the other Bolsheviks resolutely combated this opportunist view and firmly led the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers to overthrow the tsar and the bourgeois government. History proved that the tsar and the bourgeois government were nothing but paper tigers. On the eve of and during World War II, the adherents of the policy of appeasement and capitulation said that Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists were invincible. But the people of various countries resolutely combated appeasement and capitulation and in the end they won the war against fascism. Again, history proved that Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists were nothing but paper tigers.

We hold that the question of whether one treats imperialism and all reactionaries strategically as the paper tigers they really are, is of great importance for the question of how the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction are to be appraised, is of great importance for the question of whether the revolutionary people will dare to wage struggle,

dare to make revolution, dare to seize victory, and is of great importance for the question of the future outcome of the world-wide struggles of the people and for the question of the future course of history. Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries should never be afraid of imperialism and the reactionaries. The days are now gone for ever when imperialism could ride roughshod over the world, and it is imperialism and the reactionaries who should be afraid of the forces of revolution and not the other way round. Every oppressed nation and every oppressed people should above all have the revolutionary confidence, the revolutionary courage and the revolutionary spirit to defeat imperialism and the reactionaries, otherwise there will be no hope for any revolution. The only way to win victory in revolution is for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries resolutely to combat every trace of weakness and capitulation, and to educate the masses of the people in the concept that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers", thereby destroying the arrogance of the enemy and enhancing the spirit of the great masses of the people so that they will have revolutionary determination and confidence, revolutionary vision and staunchness.

The possession of nuclear weapons by imperialism has not changed by one iota the nature of imperialism, which is rotten to the core and declining, inwardly weak though outwardly strong; nor has it changed by one iota the basic Marxist-Leninist principle that the masses of the people are the decisive factor in the development of history. When in his talk with Anna Louise Strong Comrade Mao Tse-tung first put forward the proposition that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, the imperialists already had atomic weapons. In this talk Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

> The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapon.

History has proved that even when imperialism is armed with nuclear weapons it cannot frighten into submission a revolutionary people who dare to fight. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the great victories of the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria and other countries in their revolutionary struggles, were all won at a time when U.S.imperialism possessed nuclear weapons. Imperialism has

always been armed to the teeth and has always been out for the blood of the people. No matter what kind of teeth imperialism may have, whether guns, tanks, rocket teeth, nuclear teeth or any other kind of teeth that modern science and technology may provide, its rotten, decadent and papertiger nature cannot change. In the final analysis, neither nuclear teeth nor any other kind of teeth can save imperialism from its fate of inevitable extinction. In the end the nuclear teeth of imperialism, and whatever other teeth it may have, will be consigned by the people of the world to the museum of history, together with imperialism itself.

Those who attack the proposition that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers" have obviously lost every quality a revolutionary ought to have and instead have become as short-sighted and timid as mice. Our advice to these people is, better not tie your fate to that of the imperialists!

IV

The differences Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have with us are also manifest on the question of peaceful co-existence.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government have always stood for peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. China was an initiator of the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. On the basis of those Five Principles, China has established friendly relations with many countries, concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana, and achieved a satisfactory settlement of boundary questions with Burma, Nepal and other countries. No one can deny these facts.

Yet there are persons in the international communist movement who vilify and attack China as being opposed to peaceful co-existence. The reason they do this is to cover up their own erroneous and anti-Marxist-Leninist views on this question.

On the question of peaceful co-existence, our differences with those who attack us are the following. We believe that socialist countries should strive to establish normal international relations with countries with different social systems on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-

interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. So far as the socialist countries are concerned, this presents no difficulties whatsoever. The obstacles come from imperialism and from the reactionaries of various countries. It is inconceivable that peaceful co-existence can be achieved without struggle. It is still less conceivable that the establishment of peaceful co-existence can eliminate class struggles in the world arena and can abolish the antagonism between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, and the antagonism between oppressed nations and oppressor nations. The Moscow Statement of 1960 points out: "Peaceful co-existence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The co-existence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism." But Comrade Togliatti and those who attack China hold that through "peaceful co-existence" it is possible to "renovate the structure of the whole world" and to establish "a new world order", to construct throughout the world "an economic and social order capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men and peoples towards freedom, well-being, independence and the full development of and respect for the human personality, and towards peaceful co-operation of all states" and "a world without war". This means that it is possible through "peaceful co-existence" to change a "world structure" in which there exists antagonism between the systems of socialism and capitalism and between oppressed and oppressor nations, and that it is possible to eliminate all wars and to realise "a world without war" while imperialism and reactionaries still exist.

In taking this stand, Comrade Togliatti and other comrades have completely revised Lenin's principles for peaceful co-existence and discarded the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of class struggle; in reality they are substituting class collaboration for class struggle on a world scale, advocating a fusion of the socialist and capitalist systems. U.S. imperialism is now making a lot of noise about establishing a "world community of free nations", and vainly hopes to absorb the socialist countries into the "free world" through "peaceful evolution". The Tito group is helping U.S. imperialism by beating the drums for "economic integration" and "political integration" of the world. Shouldn't those who advocate "renovating the structure of the whole world" in peaceful

co-existence draw a line of demarcation between themselves and U.S. imperialism? Shouldn't they draw a line of demarcation between themselves and the Tito group?

Even more absurd is the allegation that "a world without war" can be achieved through peaceful co-existence. In the present situation, it is possible to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war if all the peace-loving forces of the world unite into a broad international anti-imperialist united front and fight together. But it is one thing to prevent a world war and another to eliminate all wars. Imperialism and the reactionaries are the source of war. In conditions where imperialism and reactionaries still exist, it is possible that wars of one kind or another may occur. The history of the 17 postwar years shows that local wars of one kind or another have never ceased. Oppressed nations and oppressed people are bound to rise in revolution. When imperialism and the reactionaries employ armed force to suppress revolution, it is inevitable that civil wars and national liberation wars will occur. Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that only after the imperialist system has been overthrown and only after all systems of oppression of man by man and of exploitation of man by man have been abolished, and not before, will it be possible to eliminate all wars and to reach "a world without war".

On peaceful co-existence we have another difference with those who are attacking us. We hold that the question of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems and the question of revolution by oppressed nations and oppressed classes are two different kinds of questions, and not questions of the same kind. The principle of peaceful co-existence can apply only to relations between countries with different social systems, not to relations between oppressed and oppressor nations nor to relations between oppressed and oppressing classes. For an oppressed nation or people the question is one of waging a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the reactionaries; it is not, and cannot be, a question of peaceful co-existence with imperialism and the reactionaries.

But Togliatti and those attacking China extend their idea of "peaceful co-existence" to cover relations between the colonial and semi-colonial people on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other. They say, "the problem of starvation which

still afflicts a billion people", and "the problem of developing the productive forces and democracy in the underdeveloped areas" "must be solved through negotiations, seeking reasonable solutions and avoiding actions which might worsen the situation and cause irreparable consequences". They do not like sparks of revolution among the oppressed nations and peoples. They say that a tiny spark may lead to a world war.

Such a way of speaking is really asking the oppressed nations to "co-exist peacefully" with their colonial rulers, and asking them to tolerate colonial rule rather than to resist or wage struggles for independence, much less to fight wars of national liberation. Doesn't this kind of talk mean that the Chinese people, the Korean people, the Vietnamese people, the Cuban people, the Algerian people and the people of other countries who rose in revolution have all violated the principle of "peaceful co-existence" and done wrong? It is very difficult for us to see any real difference between such talk and the preachings of the imperialists and colonialists.

Even more astounding is the fact that Togliatti and certain other persons extend their idea of class collaboration in the international arena to cover "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas. They have said that "states of diverse social structure" can through mutual cooperation "jointly intervene" to bring about progress in the underdeveloped areas. To talk like this is obviously to spread illusions in the interest of neo-colonialism. The policy of imperialism towards the underdeveloped areas, whatever its form or pattern, is bound to be a policy which is of colonialist plunder, and can never be a policy concerned for the progress of the underdeveloped areas. The socialist countries should of course support the people of the underdeveloped areas; first of all, they should support their struggles for national independence, and when independence has been won, they should support them in developing their national economies. But the socialist countries should never second the colonialist policy of the imperialists towards the underdeveloped countries, much less "jointly intervene" with them in the underdeveloped areas. For anyone to do so would be to betray proletarian internationalism and to serve the interests of imperialism and colonialism.

Is it really possible to have "peaceful co-existence" between the

oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other? What does "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas really mean? The Congo incident is the best answer. When the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted its resolution for international intervention in the Congo, there were some people in the international communist movement who believed this to be a shining example of international cooperation. They believed that colonialism could be wiped out through the intervention of the U.N., which would enable the Congolese people to obtain their freedom and independence. But what was the outcome? Lumumba, the national hero of the Congo, was murdered; Gizenga, his successor, was imprisoned; many Congolese patriots were murdered or thrown into jail; and the vigorous Congolese struggle for national independence was seriously set back. The Congo not only continues to be enslaved by the old colonialists, but has also become a colony of U.S. imperialism, sinking into ever deeper suffering. We ask those who are clamouring for "peaceful co-existence" between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and colonialists on the other, and for "joint intervention" in the underdeveloped areas: Have you forgotten the tragic lesson of the Congo incident?

Those who slander China as being against peaceful co-existence attack her with the charge that she has committed mistakes in her relations with India. Disregarding the true facts and failing to discriminate between right and wrong, they invariably blame China for having clashed with India. On this question, Togliatti said, "We know all that is reasonable and right in the claims of the People's Republic of China. We also know that the military actions began with an attack from the Indian side." This was a little fairer than the attitude of some self-styled Marxist-Leninists who invariably make the false charge that China started the clashes on the border. Nevertheless, Togliatti, making no distinction between black and white, still asserts that the Sino-Indian armed clashes were "unreasonable and absurd". We ask Comrade Togliatti, confronted with the preposterous territorial claims and the large-scale armed attacks of the reactionary clique in India, what should China have done in order to be called "reasonable" and not "absurd"? Is it possible that the only way that China could prove herself "reasonable" and not "absurd" was to submit to the unreasonable

demands and the armed attacks of the Indian reactionary clique? Is it possible that the only way socialist China could prove herself "reasonable" and not "absurd" was to hand over with a bow large tracts of her own territory?

The position taken by Comrade Togliatti and certain Other comrades on the Sino-Indian boundary question reflects their point of view on peaceful co-existence, which is that in carrying out this policy the socialist countries should make one concession after another to the capitalist countries, should not fight even in self-defence when subjected to armed attacks, but should surrender their territorial sovereignty. May we ask, is there anything in common between this point of view and the principle of Peaceful co-existence which a socialist country ought to follow?

Those who accuse China of opposing peaceful co-existence also attack the Chinese people for supporting the just stand of the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. When the heroic Cuban people and their revolutionary leader, Premier Fidel Castro, resolutely rejected international inspection as an infringement on Cuba's sovereignty and advanced their five just demands, the Chinese people held gigantic mass demonstrations and parades throughout the country in accordance with their consistent stand for proletarian internationalism, and firmly supported the Cuban people's struggle in defence of their independence, sovereignty and dignity. Was there anything wrong in that? Yet some people have repeatedly charged China with creating difficulties in the Caribbean situation and with wanting to plunge the world into a thermo-nuclear war. This slander against China is most malicious and most despicable.

How can one possibly interpret the resolute support which the Chinese people gave to the Cuban people in their struggle against international inspection and in defence of their sovereignty as meaning that China was opposed to peaceful co-existence or wanted to plunge others into a thermo-nuclear war? Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force her to accept international inspection, and that only by so doing would China have conformed to this so-called "peaceful co-existence"? If there are people who give verbal support to Cuba's five demands but are actually opposed to the Chinese people's support for Cuba, are they not merely exposing the

hypocrisy of their own support for Cuba's five demands?

The C.P.C. and the Chinese people have always maintained that the course of history is decided by the great strength of the masses of the people and not by any weapons. On more than one occasion we have made it clear that we neither called for the establishment of missile bases in Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of the so-called "offensive weapons" from Cuba. We have never considered that it was a Marxist-Leninist attitude to brandish nuclear weapons as a way of settling international disputes. Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean crisis was a "Munich". What we did strongly oppose, still strongly oppose and will strongly oppose in the future is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as one hundred per cent appeasement, a "Munich" pure and simple. A compromise of this sort has nothing in common with the socialist countries' policy of peaceful co-existence.

V

In fact, not only do Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades call for class collaboration in place of class struggle in the international arena, they also extend their concept of "peaceful co-existence" to relations between the oppressed and the oppressing classes within the capitalist countries. Togliatti has said: "All our actions within the sphere of the internal situation of our country are none other than the translation into Italian terms of the great struggle for renovating the structure of the whole world." Here the phrase "all our actions" means what they call the "advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace", or the road to socialism through "structural reform", as they describe it.

Although the present line of the Italian Communist Party on the question of socialist revolution is incorrect in our opinion, we have never attempted to interfere because, after all, this is a matter for the Italian comrades alone to decide. But now since Comrade Togliatti claims that his theory of "structural reform" is a "line common to the whole international communist movement" and unilaterally declares that peaceful transition has "become a principle of world strategy of

the workers' movement and the communist movement", and since this issue involves not only the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, but also the fundamental problem of the emancipation of the proletariat and the people in all the capitalist countries, as members of the international communist movement and as Marxist-Leninists, we cannot but express our opinions on the subject.

The fundamental problem in every revolution is that of state power. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels declared: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class." This idea runs through the entire works of Lenin. In *The State and Revolution,* Lenin laid stress on the need to break up and smash the bourgeois state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said, "The working class must break up, smash the 'ready-made state machinery', and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it"; and that "only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat". He further said, "All is illusion, except power."

In elucidating the common laws of socialist revolution the 1957 Moscow Declaration first states that to embark on the road to socialism it is necessary for the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, to guide the working masses in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is not the slightest doubt that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the common laws of socialist revolution enunciated in the Moscow Declaration, are universally applicable and, of course, applicable also to Italy.

However, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades of the Italian Communist Party maintain that Lenin's analysis in *The State and Revolution is* "no longer sufficient", and that the content of proletarian dictatorship is now different. According to their theory of "structural reform", there is no need for present-day Italy to have a proletarian revolution, there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine, and there is no need to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; they can arrive at socialism "progressively" and "peacefully" merely through a "succession of reforms", through the nationalisation

of the big enterprises, through economic planning and through the extension of democracy within the framework of the Italian Constitution. In fact, they take the state to be an instrument above class and believe that the bourgeois state, too, can carry out socialist policies; they take bourgeois democracy to be democracy above class and believe that the proletariat can rise to be the "leading class" in the state by relying on such democracy. This theory of "structural reform" is a complete betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist theories of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

Present-day Italy is a capitalist country ruled by the monopoly capitalist class. Although the Italian Constitution incorporates some of the gains achieved by the Italian working class and the Italian people through their valiant struggles over the years, it is still a bourgeois constitution with the protection of capitalist ownership as its core. Like the democracy practiced in all other capitalist countries, democracy as practiced in Italy is bourgeois democracy, i.e., bourgeois dictatorship. Nationalisation as practiced in Italy is not state capitalism under the socialist system, but a state capitalism which serves the interests of the monopoly capitalist class. In order to maintain its exploitation and its rule, the monopoly capitalist class may at times adopt certain measures of reform. It is entirely necessary for the working class in capitalist countries to wage day-to-day economic struggles and struggles for democracy. However, the purpose of waging these struggles is to achieve partial improvements in the living conditions of the working class and working people and, what is more important, to educate the masses and organise them, enhance their political consciousness and accumulate revolutionary strength for the seizure of state power when the time is ripe. Marxist-Leninists, while favouring struggle for reforms, resolutely oppose reformism.

Facts have proved that whenever the political and economic demands of the working class and working people have exceeded the limits permitted by the monopoly capitalists, the Italian government, which represents the interests of monopoly capital, has resorted to repression. Have not innumerable historical facts proved this to be an unalterable law of class struggle? How is it conceivable that the monopoly capitalist class will abandon its interests and its rule and step down from the stage of history of its own accord?

Togliatti himself is not completely unaware of this. Although he has energetically advocated the possibility of "breaking the power of the big monopoly groups" within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, his answer to the question, "How can this be done?" is, "We don't know." It can thus be seen that the theory of "structural reform" held by Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Italian Communist Party stems not from historical materialism and the scientific study of objective reality, but from idealism and illusion. Yet they have been energetically propagating views which they themselves know are unreliable and describing them as a "line common to the whole international communist movement". Such a practice on their part serves only to vitiate and attenuate the proletarian revolutionary struggle, preserve capitalist rule and completely negate the socialist revolution. Isn't this a new kind of social-democratic trend?

Recently in capitalist countries, some Communists who have degenerated politically and some Right-wing social-democrats have successively advertised the theory of "structural reform", using it to attack Communist Parties. This fact in itself is sufficient to show how closely the theory of "structural reform" resembles social democracy and how remote it is from Marxism-Leninism!

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out that socialist revolution may be realised through peaceful or non-peaceful means. Some people have tried in vain to use this thesis to justify the theory of "structural reform". It is also erroneous to quote peaceful transition one-sidedly as "a principle of world strategy of the communist movement".

From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, it would naturally be in the interests of the proletariat and the entire people if peaceful transition could be realised. Whenever the possibility for peaceful transition appears in a given country, the Communists should strive for its realisation. But, possibility and reality, the wish and its fulfillment, are two different things. Hitherto, history has not witnessed a single example of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. Communists should not pin all their hopes for the victory of the revolution on peaceful transition. The bourgeoisie will never step down from the stage of history of its own accord. This is a universal law of class struggle. Communists must not in the slightest degree relax their preparedness for revolution.

They must be prepared to repel the assaults of counter-revolution and to overthrow the bourgeoisie by armed force at the critical juncture of the revolution when the proletariat is seizing state power and the bourgeoisie resorts to armed force to suppress the revolution.

That is to say, Communists should be prepared to employ dual tactics, namely, while preparing for the peaceful development of the revolution, they should be fully prepared for its non-peaceful development. Only in this way can they avoid being caught unawares when a situation favourable to the revolution emerges, and when the bourgeoisie resorts to violence in order to suppress the revolution. Even when it is possible to secure state power through peaceful means, one must be prepared to deal immediately with armed intervention by foreign imperialists and with counter-revolutionary armed rebellions supported by the imperialists. Communists should concentrate their attention on the accumulation of revolutionary strength through painstaking efforts and must be ready to fight back against armed attacks by the bourgeoisie whenever necessary. They should not lay one-sided stress on peaceful transition and concentrate their attention on this possibility; otherwise they are bound to benumb the revolutionary will of the proletariat, disarm themselves ideologically, be utterly passive and unprepared politically and organisationally, and end up by burying the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The thesis of Comrade Togliatti and certain other leaders of the Italian Communist Party concerning "the advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace" is reminiscent of some of the statements of the old revisionist K. Kautsky. Kautsky said more than forty years ago, "I anticipate . . . that it will be possible to carry it [the social revolution of the proletariat] out by peaceful, economic, legal and moral means, instead of by physical force, in all places where democracy has been established."(*The Dictorship of the Proletariat* by K. Kautsky, published in 1918.) Should Communists not draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and such social-democrats as Kautsky?

VI

The extent to which Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades have departed from Marxism-Leninism and from the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement is more clearly revealed by

their recent ardent flirtation with the Yugoslav revisionist group.

A representative of the Tito group, who are renegades from Marxism-Leninism, was invited to the recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party and was given a platform from which to denounce China. At the same congress, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades publicly defended the Tito group and lavishly praised them for "the value of what they have done and are doing".

We wish to ask Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades: Do you still recognise the Moscow Statement as binding on you? The 1960 Moscow Statement states unequivocally:

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

Can it be that this condemnation of the Tito group is a mistake? Is the resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Communist Parties of all countries to be thrown overboard at the whim or will of any individual or individuals?

After all, facts are facts and renegades to communism remain renegades to communism. The judgement arrived at in the Moscow Statement cannot be overturned by anyone, whoever he may be.

Far from giving up their thoroughly revisionist programme, the Titoites have stuck to it in the draft Yugoslav Constitution which they published not long ago.

The Tito group have not changed their "unique road" of building "socialism" through selling themselves to imperialism. On the contrary, they are working harder and harder in the service of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Recently U.S. imperialism has tipped the Tito group with extra "aid" amounting to more than 100 million dollars. Under the same old camouflage of "being outside blocs" and of "positive co-existence", the Tito group are doing everything they can to sabotage the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving countries.

With the development of the Tito group's revisionist line and their increasing dependence upon U.S. imperialism, Yugoslavia has long ceased to be a socialist country, and the gradual restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia began long ago.

The restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia has occurred not through any counter-revolutionary coup d'etat by the bourgeoisie, nor through any invasion by imperialism, but gradually, through the degeneration of the Tito group. In this connection, as Lenin pointed out long ago, "the main question of every revolution is, undoubtedly, the question of state power. In the hands of which class power is – this decides everything." (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Book 1, International Publishers, New York, 1932, p. 164.) The character of a state depends on what class wields state power and on what policy it carries out. In Yugoslavia today state power is in the hands of the Tito group, a group who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism, betrayed the fundamental interests of the Yugoslav working class and the Yugoslav people, and who are enforcing a whole set of out-and-out revisionist policies. In the Yugoslav countryside, the rich peasant and other capitalist forces are rapidly growing, and class differentiation is being accelerated. The capitalist laws of free competition and of profit are playing the dominant role in all spheres of Yugoslav economic life, and capitalist anarchy is rampant.

It may not be unprofitable to listen to what the imperialists have to say in their appraisal of the Tito group. The U.S. imperialists have likened the Tito group to a "bellwether", that is to say, they aim at inducing certain socialist countries to leave the socialist camp and enter Kennedy's "world community of free nations" through the influence of the Yugoslav revisionists. The Yugoslav example makes it clear that the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads is still going on and the danger of the restoration of capitalism continues to exist even in a country which has embarked on the road of socialism.

The phenomena of political degeneration and of the emergence of new bourgeois elements after the victory of a proletarian revolution are not difficult to understand. Lenin once said that historically various kinds of degeneration had occurred and that in given conditions it was possible for a handful of new bourgeois elements to emerge from among Soviet functionaries. It is precisely the new bourgeois elements such as

Lenin referred to who have occupied the ruling positions in Yugoslavia.

In his concluding speech Comrade Togliatti said:

> When you say that capitalism has been restored in Yugoslavia– and everybody knows that this is not true – nobody believes the rest of what you say, and everyone thinks that it is all simply an exaggeration.

He seemed to think this a complete refutation of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Chinese Communist Party. But sophistry does not alter the truth. The only reason advanced in support of the arbitrary assertion that Yugoslavia is a socialist country was that one could not find a single capitalist there. It is always hard for people to see the truth when they wear coloured spectacles. Since there are many points of similarity between Togliatti *et al* and the Tito group in their understanding of proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship and socialism, it is small wonder that they fail to see the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, and that they fail to see the new bourgeois elements in Yugoslavia.

It is particularly surprising that certain people, while loudly boasting of their intimate relations with the renegade Tito group, vigorously attack the Chinese Communist Party, asserting that our unity with the Albanian Party of Labour, which is based on Marxism-Leninism, is "impermissible". These people stop at nothing in their attempt to eject the Albanian Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, from the international communist movement, and at the same time, they are seeking ways to inject the renegade Tito group, which the Moscow Statement unequivocally condemns, into the international communist movement. What are they really after? As the old Chinese saying has it, "Things of one kind come together; different kinds of people fall into different groups." Should not those who treat the Tito group like brothers and who cherish such bitter hatred for a fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party stop and think for a moment where they now stand?

VII

In the final analysis our differences on a whole series of problems with Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades who hold similar views involve the fundamental question of whether the basic principles

of Marxism-Leninism are outmoded, and whether the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are out of date.

Using the pretext that the epoch has changed and that nations have special characteristics, Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades hold that Marxism-Leninism is "outmoded" and that the common laws governing socialist revolution, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration, do not apply to Italy. Gian Carlo Pajetta, one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, has gone even further. He has said, "How different is Marxism from Leninism, and how different is the Marxism of Marx from the Leninism of Lenin." It is on such pretexts that they have revised and discarded the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and have put forward and are peddling what they call the "Italian road", which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

Scientific socialism founded by Marx and Engels is a summing-up of the laws governing the development of human society and it is a truth that is universally applicable. The development of history, far from "out-moding" Marxism, has further proved its boundless vitality. Marxism has continuously developed in the course of the struggle of the international proletariat to know and to change the objective world. On the basis of the characteristics of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin creatively developed Marxism in the new historical conditions. In the years since his death, the proletarian Parties of various countries have enriched the treasury of Marxism-Leninism by their own revolutionary struggles. Nevertheless, all these new developments proceeded from the basic principles of Marxism, and definitely did not depart from these basic principles.

The path of the October Revolution charted by Lenin, and the common laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction as set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, are the common path along which the peoples of the world are advancing towards the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. In spite of the great changes in the world since the October Revolution, the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, which are illustrated by the path of the October Revolution, shine forth today with ever greater brilliance.

In defending his erroneous point of view Togliatti said that the line pursued by the Chinese Communist Party "actually did not correspond to the strategical and tactical line pursued, for example,

by the Bolsheviks in the course of the revolution from March to October 1917". This definitely does not conform with the historical reality of the Chinese revolution. In its long revolutionary struggle, in its struggle against dogmatism and empiricism as well as against "Left" and Right opportunism, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution. Despite the fact that the Chinese revolution, like the revolutions of other countries, has many special characteristics, the Chinese Communists have always regarded the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the Great October Revolution. It was by following the path of the October Revolution that the Chinese revolution was won. Togliatti's distortions about the Chinese revolution only show that he is trying to find pretexts for his own peculiar line, which runs counter to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the common laws governing the socialist revolution.

It is necessary for a Marxist-Leninist Party to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country and for it to apply the common laws of socialist revolution creatively in the light of the specific conditions in its own country. Marxism-Leninism develops continuously with practice. Certain propositions advanced by a Marxist-Leninist Party during a certain period and under certain conditions have to be replaced by new propositions, because of changed circumstances and times. Failure to do so will result in the error of dogmatism and losses to the cause of communism. But under no circumstances is a Marxist-Leninist Party allowed to use the pretext of certain new social phenomena to negate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, to substitute revisionism for Marxism-Leninism and to betray communism.

At a certain stage in the development of a Communist Party, dogmatism and sectarianism may become the main danger. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are fully correct in pointing out the necessity of opposing dogmatism and sectarianism. Nevertheless, under present conditions modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement as a whole, just as the Moscow

Declaration and the Moscow Statement point out. Modern revisionism "which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, emasculates its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms. and demobilises the workers, the masses of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism". At present, the modern revisionists are opposing Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of opposing dogmatism, are renouncing revolution under the pretext of opposing "Left" adventurism, and are advocating unprincipled compromise and capitulationism under the pretext of flexibility in tactics. If a resolute struggle is not waged against modern revisionism, the international communist movement will be seriously harmed.

The recent appearance of an adverse current which is contrary to Marxism-Leninism and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement furnishes additional proof of the correctness of the theses in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Concerning the major features of revisionism, Lenin once said, "To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist evolution as a whole; to sacrifice these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment – such is the policy of revisionism." (V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Vol. 1, Part 1, Foreign Langauges Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, p. 94.)

The revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary people are sure to march along the correct road charted by Marxism-Leninism. Difficult and tortuous though it may be, it is the only road to victory. The historical development of society will follow neither the "theories" of imperialism nor the "theories" of revisionism. However much they may have done for the workers' movement in the past, no person, no political party and no group can avoid becoming the servant of the bourgeoisie and being cast aside by the proletariat, once they depart from the road of Marxism-Leninism, step onto and slide down the road of revisionism.

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We have been forced into a public discussion of the major differences between ourselves and Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades in the Italian Communist Party. It has occurred against our wishes and would not have occurred if they had not publicly challenged us first and insisted on a public debate. But even though we are obliged to enter into public debate, we still sincerely hope it will be possible to eliminate our differences through comradely discussion. Although, to our regret, we find that Togliatti and the comrades who share his views are increasingly departing from Marxism-Leninism, we still earnestly hope they will not plunge further, but will recover their bearings and return to the stand of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We desire to look ahead. On several occasions, we have suggested the holding of a representative conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to settle the current differences in the international communist movement. We hold that Communists of all countries should take to heart the common interests of the struggle against the enemy and the cause of proletarian revolution, should abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and should eliminate their differences and strengthen their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is the hope of the working class and of people throughout the world.

The history of the working-class movement in all countries during the past century and more is replete with sharp struggles between Marxism and all kinds of opportunism. From the very beginning, the international communist movement has steadily advanced by struggling against and overcoming reformism, social democracy and revisionism. Today, the revisionists of various brands may bluster for a time, but this indicates not strength but weakness on their part. The revisionist and new social-democratic trends, which have now appeared in the international communist movement and which suit the needs of monopoly capitalism and U.S. imperialism, are substantially the product of the policies of monopoly capital and U.S. imperialism. But the various kinds of revisionism can neither block the victorious advance of the

revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples, nor save imperialism from its final doom.

In 1913, in the course of his struggle against opportunism, Lenin pointed out, in expounding the historical destiny of the doctrines of Karl Marx, that although Marxism had been subjected to distortions by the opportunists, the development of the revolutionary struggles of the people in all countries had continuously brought it new confirmation and new triumphs. Lenin correctly predicted, "...a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now ensuing."(V.I.Lenin, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Vol.1, Part 1, p. 86.) Now we feel that Marxism-Leninism is at a new and important historical juncture. The struggle between the Marxist-Leninist trend and the anti-Marxist-Leninist revisionist trend is once again being placed on the Communist agenda in all countries in an acute form. We are profoundly convinced that however complicated the course of the struggle, the Marxist-Leninist trend will eventually triumph.

More than a century ago, in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels made the courageous and gallant call to the whole world: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." This great call inspires all revolutionaries dedicated to the cause of communism and the proletariat the world over, and imbues them with full confidence about the future, so that they will resolutely break through all obstacles and boldly advance. At the present time, the ranks of the international proletariat are growing stronger and stronger, the political consciousness of the people of all countries is constantly rising, the struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism are gaining victory after victory, and the great ideas of socialism and communism are attracting ever greater numbers among the oppressed nations and peoples who find themselves in a difficult and bitter plight. Let imperialism and the reactionaries tremble before the great revolutionary tide of the working class and of all oppressed nations and peoples of the world! Marxism-Leninism will finally triumph! The revolutionary cause of the working class and of the people the world over will finally triumph!

SPEECH OF GREETINGS DELIVERED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

by WU HSIU-CHUAN, Head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China
January 18, 1963

Dear Comrades,

Our delegation has been entrusted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to extend the warm fraternal greetings of our Party and of the Chinese people to the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and, through your Congress, to your whole Party and to the people of the German Democratic Republic.

Under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the people of the German Democratic Republic have scored great achievements in the cause of socialist construction. There has been a noteworthy rise both in the level of industrial and agricultural production and in the material and cultural standards of the people. Your achievements in construction are important contributions to our common cause of socialism and communism. We Chinese people rejoice in them and heartily wish you new and greater successes in your socialist construction.

The Chinese people very well understand that the people of the fraternal German Democratic Republic are on the western front of the socialist camp and are waging an arduous struggle against the reactionary forces of West German militarism which are fostered by the United States. U.S. imperialism, pursuing its own aggressive objectives on the German question, has been turning West Germany into a new hotbed of

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Source : Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1963.

war. It obstructs the signing of a German peace treaty, continues to insist on keeping the occupation status of West Berlin and constantly carries out all sorts of provocations and subversive activities against the socialist camp from West Germany and West Berlin. The reactionary forces of West German militarism, which have ganged up with U.S. imperialism and become a pillar of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, are engaged in criminal activities threatening the security of the German Democratic Republic and the entire socialist camp and thereby threatening the peace of Europe and the whole world. The struggle of the people of the German Democratic Republic against West German militarism, which is being groomed by the United States, their struggle against the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism and West German reactionary forces and their struggle to conclude a German peace treaty and solve the problem of West Berlin, are all struggles which conform not only with the interests of the German people but also with the interests of peace in Europe and the world. The Chinese people will always stand by you in these struggles.

The present international situation is continuing to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism. The socialist camp is growing stronger every day. The national and democratic revolutionary movements are engulfing Asia, Africa and Latin America; many of the oppressed nations have won brilliant victories in the fight against imperialism and colonialism. The working people of the capitalist world are becoming more and more united in the class struggle and are intensifying the struggle against monopoly capitalist oppression and enslavement, the struggle for democracy and social progress. The movement of the peoples of all countries against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace is growing broader and deeper. The people of the world have full confidence in the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Imperialism is a decadent force historically destined to die. Its days are becoming more difficult. The contradictions inherent in imperialism are daily becoming sharper. The imperialist camp is further disintegrating because of the struggle for markets, for spheres of influence and for control of nuclear weapons. The process of the capitalist world's decline and collapse is accelerating. However,

imperialism will never withdraw of its own accord from the arena of history and its nature will never change. The more unfavourable the circumstances in which imperialism finds itself, the more it will intensify its attacks on the peoples of all countries. Therefore, the people of the world must always maintain the highest vigilance against imperialism and never relax in the struggle for a single moment.

Kennedy talks profusely about peace but is actually pursuing a more cunning and more adventurous global strategy of counter-revolution. One must not entertain any unrealistic illusions about this chieftain of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class. The Kennedy Administration is employing the dual tactics of counter-revolution: under the cloak of peace it is actively carrying out the policies of aggression and war. It is pursuing the policy of strength and the policy of nuclear blackmail ever more frantically and stepping up arms expansion and war preparations; while preparing for nuclear war, it is also preparing for conventional war and is actually engaged in so-called special warfare. It is craftily carrying out all sorts of intrigues in the vain hope of stamping out the national and democratic movements, suppressing the revolutionary movements of the peoples, and breaking up the socialist camp. More and more people have come to realise the U.S. imperialism is the centre of world reaction, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the world and the most vicious enemy of world peace.

Recently, the situation in Cuba has provided the revolutionary people of the world with extraordinarily rich and vivid lessons. This situation proves that man is the decisive factor in the struggle against imperialism. It was the heroic Cuban people who mobilised themselves and rallied around their revolutionary leader, Comrade Fidel Castro, persevered in the five just demands for the safeguarding of Cuba's independence and sovereignty, waged an unswerving struggle against U.S. imperialism and, with the sympathy and support of the people of Latin America and the world, won a great victory in defence of Cuba's impendence, sovereignty and the fruits of her revolution, thus making a great contribution to the cause of world peace.

U.S. imperialism bullies the faint-hearted but fears the stout-hearted; what it fears most is the strength of a united revolutionary people. Undoubtedly imperialism can be prevented from launching a world war and world peace can be safeguarded, so long as we firmly

believe in the strength of the masses of the people and resolutely rely on their struggles; so long as the great forces of our time – the forces of socialism, the forces of national and democratic revolutions, the forces of the working class and all peace-loving forces – are united and form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and its lackeys; and so long as we adopt correct policies and wage unremitting struggles against the enemy. This is only correct way to defend world peace.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese government have consistently stood for peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. China was an initiator of the well known five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. On the basis of the Five Principles, China has established friendly relations with many countries, concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression with Yemen, Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Cambodia, Indonesia and Ghana, and achieved a satisfactory settlement of boundary questions with Burma, Nepal and other countries. These facts are clear to all. As far as the Sino-Indian boundary question is concerned, China has consistently sought a fair and reasonable solution through peaceful negotiation. Nevertheless, the Nehru government of India has completely rejected negotiations, made every attempt to alter the situation on the Sino-Indian frontier by force and made everincreasing encroachments on China's border territories. And finally it brazenly ordered an attack to be launched on China and Chinese territory to be "freed" of Chinese frontier forces. Confronted with the massive attacks of the Indian troops, China struck back in self-defence; this was a minimum, legitimate measure that any other sovereign sate would have taken. Having repulsed the attacks of the Indian forces, China immediately proposed the cessation of fighting, disengagement and the reopening of negotiations, then, on her own initiative, ceased fire and withdrew her troops. It is precisely because of this that the situation on the Sino-Indian border has eased. We have repeatedly explained that the Nehru government's persistent opposition to China is the outcome of its domestic and foreign policies, which have become more and more reactionary, and is the outcome of its becoming more and more obsequious towards imperialism and of its repressing the people at home with increasing brutality. The Nehru government is supported and encouraged by the imperialists,

and especially by the U.S. imperialists, in its opposition to China and in its increasingly reactionary domestic and foreign policies. It is regrettable that it is also supported and encouraged by some self-styled Marxist-Leninists, who have disregarded the facts and turned right and wrong upside down throughout the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. They have shut their eyes to the large number of relevant documents published by socialist China over the past three years and more, and have turned a deaf ear to all the information and explanations which the Chinese side has repeatedly made to them. In fact, they have joined Nehru in the anti-Chinese chorus. This shocking stand has absolutely nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The modern revisionists represented by the renegades to the working class, the Tito clique of Yugoslavia, have surrendered to imperialist pressure, are willingly serving imperialism and are playing a role which the Social-Democratic parties are unable to play, that of undermining the international unity of the working class. Usurping the title of a party of communism, waving the banner of a socialist country and garbed as Marxist-Leninists, the Tito clique is trying to deceive the revolutionary peoples of various countries, to destroy their fighting sprit and to disrupt the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. It is trying to disintegrate the socialist countries by exporting the so-called Yugoslav road, which means degeneration to capitalism. Under the mask of "non-alignment", it is striving to undermine the unity between the socialist countries and those countries which pursue a policy of peace and neutrality. Today the Tito clique is a task force of U.S. imperialism for carrying out the latter's counter-revolutionary global strategy. As the Moscow Statement points out, the Tito clique "...betraying Marxism-Leninism,...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. 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".

Comrades, now more than at any other time, we Communists need to be concerned about safeguarding and strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, and of the international communist movement.

Uniting against the enemy is in the supreme interest of the Communists and the peoples of all countries, and is the primary task of all Communists. The relations among socialist countries and among Marxist-Leninist Parties are built on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are the common programme of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world on which they unite together against the enemy. These documents lay down a common line for struggles against imperialism and struggles for world peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, and also lay down the principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal countries and fraternal Parties. As the Moscow Statement points out, "every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence"; "all the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other"; all the Marxist-Leninist Parties should "work out common views through consultations and coordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals".

The experience of the entire international communist movement proves that differences of one kind or another among fraternal countries and fraternal Parties can hardly be avoided; the question is how to handle the relations among fraternal countries and Parties correctly. If the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries and Parties, i.e., the principles of independence, equality and the attainment of unanimity through consultations, are violated, the result can only be the harming of unity, the widening of differences, and even the danger of bringing about a split.

The Communist Party of China is consistent in safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, and consistent in defending the principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal countries and fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. That was why a year or more ago the delegation of the Communist Party of China expressed its firm opposition when public attack by name was made for the first time on another fraternal Party, the Albanian Party of Labour, at the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Already

at that time we pointed out that such a practice "does not help unity and is not helpful to resolving problems. To bring a dispute between fraternal Parties or fraternal countries into the open in the face of the enemy cannot be regarded as a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude. Such an attitude will only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden our enemies. The Communist Party of China sincerely hopes that fraternal Parties which have disputes or differences between them will unite afresh on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of mutual respect for independence and equality". However, it is to be regretted that this sincere advice on our part has not succeeded in preventing a deterioration in the situation. Actuated by its desire to uphold the principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal countries and Parties and to strengthen unity, in April 1962 the Communist Party of China energetically supported the suggestions put forward by a number of fraternal Parties for easing relations and improving the atmosphere, and formally proposed to the fraternal Party concerned that a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties should be convened to iron out differences and strengthen unity through comradely discussions and consultations. We also pointed out that pending the convening of such a conference, all Parties should stop attacking each other over the radio and in the press, so as to create conditions favourable to the convening of the conference.

We cannot but point out that to our distress such efforts on the part of the Communist Party of China and some other fraternal Parties have not evoked a response from the fraternal Party concerned. On the contrary, the practice which violates the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries and Parties has been steadily intensified, so much so that the recent series of Congresses of a number of fraternal Parties have been used as platforms for further attacks on other fraternal Parties. At these Congresses, comrades of some fraternal Parties continued their attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour and attacked the Communist Party of China and another fraternal Party by name. In addition, they have extensively mobilised their newspapers and other propaganda media to make large-scale attacks and slanders against the Communist Party of China. It is completely justified that many fraternal Parties have expressed deep anxiety and worry at this grave adverse current which is disrupting unity and creating a split.

The Communist Party of China has always welcomed any and all words and deeds which are conducive to the unity of the international communist movement. At the current Congress of your Party, we have heard a certain degree of response to the consistent proposal of the Communist Party of China for the cessation of open attacks among the fraternal Parties, the relaxation of strained relations among them and the improvement of the atmosphere. We will be very happy if such expressions are translated into action. We maintain that the deeds of Communists should accord with their words. One should not preach the need to call a halt to attacks while at the same time continuing to make attacks. Such a practice is not conducive to ironing out differences and strengthening unity.

Here we wish once again to make a sincere appeal: let all of us treasure the interests of the cause of the proletarian revolution and of the struggle against the enemy, iron out differences and strengthen unity through proper channels and strictly in accordance with the principles set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In order to iron out differences and strengthen unity, it is imperative to return to the path of adherence to the principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to the path of inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality. In this respect, it will be helpful in resolving problems for the comrades who first attacked fraternal Parties to take the initiative. The Communist Party of China maintains that the only correct way to iron out differences and strengthen unity is for everyone to adhere to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries and fraternal Parties, and to conduct comradely discussions and consultations. It is in pursuance of this stand that the Communist Party of China has more than once proposed the convening of a meeting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties and has supported the suggestions made by a number of fraternal Parties for the convening of such an international conference. Now we still maintain that it is essential to call such an international conference of fraternal Parties. To make the conference a success, the fraternal Parties of various countries must make joint efforts to overcome numerous difficulties and obstacles and do a lot of necessary preparatory

work, including cessation of attacks against fraternal Parties.

In the interest of the international communist movement and of the common struggle against the enemy, the Communist Party of China is ready to continue to work unremittingly together with all other Marxist-Leninist Parties for the ironing out of differences and the strengthening of unity. We firmly believe that the international communist movement will eventually surmount all difficulties and obstacles, enhance the unity of its ranks and score great victories in the struggle to oppose imperialism, to safeguard world peace and to promote the cause of human progress.

Comrades, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people, holding high the three red banners – the general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's commune – have waged struggles in the cause of socialist construction and have achieved great successes. Warmly responding to the call of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party and continuing to hold high the three red banners, the people of our country, united as one, are now single-mindedly and courageously advancing and striving for a new upsurge of the national economy and for new victories in the cause of socialist construction.

In international affairs, the general line of our country's foreign policy is: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the their fraternal socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism; to strive for peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war; and to support the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and the oppressed nations against imperialism and colonialism. Our people will persevere in this general line and fight, together with all the revolutionary and peace-loving people of the world, for the victory of the cause of world peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Comrades, the peoples of China and the German Democratic Republic have supported each other and formed a deep friendship in the course of their socialist construction and their common struggle to oppose imperialism and safeguard world peace. We firmly believe that

the friendship between our two Parties and peoples will be further developed and consolidated on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in the interest of the common struggle against the enemy.

May the fraternal friendship between the peoples of our two countries grow with each passing day!

Now, please allow me to read the message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA TO THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Dear Comrades:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, extends warm, fraternal greetings to the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and through it, to your whole Party and to the people of the German Democratic Republic.

The Chinese people rejoice in every success scored by the people of the fraternal German Democratic Republic in socialist construction and in the struggle for the unification of the motherland and believe that you will gain new successes in your future construction and struggles.

U.S. imperialism is increasing its efforts to carry out its policies of aggression and war throughout the world. With the energetic support of U.S. imperialism, West German militarism is exacerbating its provocations against the German Democratic Republic, thus gravely threatening the peace of Europe and the world. As in he past, the Chinese people will resolutely support he just struggle of the people of the German Democratic Republic against the U.S. policies of aggression and war against West German militarism and in defense of peace in Europe and the world.

Source : Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1963.

In the struggle to oppose imperialism and safeguard world peace and in the cause of socialist construction, the peoples of China and the German Democratic Republic hae supported each other the formed a deep fraternal friendship. The Chinese people and the Communist Party of China will continue to make efforts to strengthen the unity between the peoples of our two countries and to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of China and the German Democratic Republic!

Long Live the unbreakable friendship between the peoples of China and the German Democratic Republic!

Long live the great unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China
January 12, 1963

LET US UNITE ON THE BASIS OF THE MOSCOW DECLARATION AND THE MOSCOW STATEMENT

"*Renmin Ribao*" (People's Daily) Editorial
January 27, 1963

The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was held from January 15 to January 21.

In their attempts to stop the successful development of the people's struggles for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionists are at the present time using every means to disrupt the unity of the peoples of the world, and especially the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. The Communists of all countries and all progressive mankind are deeply worried and disturbed over the everincreasing harm that is being done to the unity of the international communist ranks, and they are eagerly demanding the ironing out of differences and the strengthening of unity in the common struggle against the enemy on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

It was our hope that, meeting in these circumstances, the Congress of Socialist Unity Party of Germany would contribute to the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement by adhering to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. The German Democratic Republic stands in the western front of the socialist camp, and is facing the menace of the West German militarism backed by U.S. imperialism. The spearhead of the struggle should naturally have been directed against our common enemies; there was not the slightest reason for this Congress to repeat practices which grieve those

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Source : Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1963.

near and dear to us all and gladden the enemy.

Unfortunately, events at the Congress ran counter to our hope.

The outstanding features of the Congress were that while much was said about stopping attacks and strengthening unity among the fraternal Parties, extremely crude attacks were continued against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, attacks which further widen differences and damage unity, and that while much was said about supporting the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, brazen attempts, which were in open violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, were made to reverse the verdict passed on the Tito clique of renegades to Marxism-Leninism.

When in the course of his speech the head of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation, which attended the Congress by invitation, quoted and discussed the criticisms of Yugoslav revisionism made in the Moscow Statement, the executive chairman of the Congress repeatedly stopped him. Prompted by this cue, there was an uproar of booing, whistling and foot-stamping in the congress hall. It is indeed strange and almost incredible for such a phenomenon to occur in the international communist movement. When the delegate of the Chinese Communist Party ended his speech, the executive chairman of the Congress went so far as to protest. He stated that he "most decidedly rejected" the criticism of Yugoslav revisionism made by the delegate of the Communist Party of China and described it as "contradicting all the norms prevailing among Communist and revolutionary Workers' Parties". Following this, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* attacked the delegate of the Communist Party of China for his criticism of Yugoslav revisionism, stating that it was "utterly impermissible".

This Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has posed the following vitally important questions to the Communists of the whole world: Are the ranks of the international communist movement to be united or not? Is there to be genuine unity or sham unity? On what basis is there to be unity – is there to be unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, or "unity" on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis? In other words, are differences to be ironed out and unity strengthened, or are differences to be widened and a split created?

The Chinese Communists, all Marxist-Leninists and all

progressive mankind unanimously desire to uphold unity and oppose a split, to secure genuine unity and oppose a sham unity, to defend the common foundation of the unity of the international communist movement and oppose the undermining of this foundation, and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Chinese Communist Party has always held that the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is the reliable guarantee of victory for the revolution of the people in all countries, for the struggle against imperialism and its running dogs, for the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and for the communist cause through out the world. The basis for such unity is Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960. These two documents of vital and historic importance were unanimously agreed upon by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries and constitute the common programme of the international communist movement. Only by strict adherence to them is it possible to strengthen unity and is it possible to have genuine unity. Violation of these two documents can only result in the undermining of unity or in a sham unity. It is the sacred duty of Communists in all countries resolutely to uphold both the revolutionary principles and the common principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to wage an uncompromising struggle against all words and deeds violating the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Communist Party of China has consistently worked to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. In 1956, the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionists organised a worldwide anti-Soviet and anti-Communist onslaught and engineered a counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary. Together with other fraternal Parties the Communist Party of China waged a resolute struggle, thus safeguarding Marxism-Leninism and defending the socialist camp. Through their joint efforts and full consultations at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, the other fraternal Parties and the Chinese

Communist Party formulated a common line for the international communist movement and established common principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal Parties and countries. At these two meetings, we conducted a necessary struggle against certain wrong tendencies detrimental to unity and also made necessary compromises on certain matters, thus contributing to the unanimous agreement reached at the meetings.

At the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1961, when there occurred the first serious incident in which one Party at its own congress made an open attack by name on another fraternal Party, that is, on the Albanian Party of Labour, the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party voiced firm opposition and proffered sincere advice. There and then we pointed out that a practice of this kind "does not help unity and is not helpful to resolving problems. To bring a dispute between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries into the open in the face of the enemy cannot be regarded as a serious Marxist-Leninist attitude. Such an attitude will only grieve those near and dear to us and gladden our enemies. The Communist Party of China sincerely hopes that fraternal Parties which have disputes or differences between them will unite afresh on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of mutual respect for independence and equality". It is regrettable that our efforts failed to prevent a further deterioration in Soviet-Albanian relations. Our good intentions were even subjected to repeated censure by certain people.

In its desire to uphold the principles guiding the mutual relations of fraternal Parties and countries and to strengthen unity, the Chinese Communist Party in April 1962 gave its active support to the proposals made by some fraternal Parties for easing relations and improving the atmosphere, and, in a letter to the fraternal Party concerned, formally expressed its opinion that a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries should be convened to iron out differences and strengthen unity through comradely discussion and consultation. We also pointed out that, prior to such a meeting, all fraternal Parties should made extensive preparations, including the cessation of radio and press attacks on another fraternal Party, in order to create favourable conditions for the meeting and ensure its success.

To our great distress, these positive proposals of the Communist

Party of China and some other fraternal Parties have not evoked a corresponding response from the fraternal Party concerned. On the contrary, the practice of violating the principles guiding relations among fraternal parties and countries, and especially the vicious practice of openly attacking other fraternal Parties by name at a Party congress, has gone from bad to worse. At every one of the recent congresses of fraternal Parties the attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour were continued and attacks were made against the Communist Party of China, while at one congress the Korean Workers' Party, too, was attacked.

This adverse current, which runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and which is disrupting the unity of the international communist movement, reached a new climax at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. There the Yugoslav revisionist clique was shielded in many ways, while the fraternal Party delegate who criticised Yugoslav revisionism in accordance with the Moscow Statement was treated in an utterly uncomradely and rude manner. Such behaviour is extremely vulgar as well as completely futile. In the view of certain comrades, adherence to the principles of the Moscow Statement, which had been unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, was utterly impermissible and illegitimate while the Yugoslav revisionism condemned by the Moscow Statement was to be welcomed and was legitimate. On the one hand, they wantonly attacked comrades who adhere to Marxism-Leninism, and on the other, they talked volubly of uniting with out-and-out revisionists. On the one hand, they used every conceivable method to deprive delegates of fraternal Parties opposing Yugoslav revisionism of the opportunity to speak, and on the other, they applauded the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism. This outrageous practice was all the more serious because it was carefully planned.

Here we must state in all seriousness that the international communist movement is at a critical juncture. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement – the common basis of the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries – are in great danger of being publicly torn up. The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is under a grave threat.

In the international communist movement of today, one's attitude towards Yugoslav revisionism is not a minor but a major question; it is

a question that concerns not just one detail or another but the whole. It is a question of whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to wallow in the mire with the Yugoslav revisionists, whether to take the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as the foundation of unity or to take the Yugoslav revisionist programme or something else as the foundation of "unity", and whether genuinely to strengthen unity or merely to pay lip service to unity while in fact creating a split. In the final analysis, it is a question of whether to adhere strictly to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement or to tear them up.

The Moscow Statement of 1960 unequivocally declares:

> The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. 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 L.C.Y. 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, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. 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. 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 stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party vis-a-vis Yugoslav revisionism is exactly that prescribed in the Moscow Statement, a stand which should be taken and must be taken by all Marxist-Leninist Parties. It is the exact antithesis of the stand of the Yugoslav revisionists, who are fundamentally opposed both to the Moscow Declaration and to the Moscow Statement and who set their revisionist programme against the common programme of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. In the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Tito clique deny the basic antagonism between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp and

advocate that they call the "extra-bloc" stand; they deny the theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and maintain that the capitalist countries can "peacefully grow into" socialism; they describe ownership by the whole people in the socialist countries as "state capitalism" and regard Marxism-Leninism as obsolete. All this is as incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement as fire with water.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia declared in the communiqué of the Ninth Plenum of its Central Committee, issued in December 1957 after the Moscow meeting of the same year:

> The plenum considers that the delegation, pursuing the political line of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, acted correctly by not taking part in the meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the twelve socialist countries and by not signing the declaration of that meeting, which contains some attitudes and appraisals contrary to the attitude of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which considers them incorrect.

As for the Moscow Statement, the Tito clique has made wilder attacks on it. The same Vlahovic, who was given a delirious ovation by some people at the recent Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as the representative of the Tito clique, declared in February 1961 at the enlarged meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia:

> The Moscow Conference followed the line of seeking a compromise between different standpoints and tendencies, the line of "setting patterns and mechanical levelling, and of establishing uniform tactical rules for the struggle". Thus within the framework of a single statement there are to be found standpoints and tendencies reflecting contemporary objective social developments in the world mixed together with bureaucratic-dogmatic conceptions, the most obvious example of which is the position taken towards socialist Yugoslavia.

The resolution on the Moscow Statement adopted at the same meeting said that "the Moscow Statement...can have only harmful consequences not merely for the cause of socialism but also for the efforts to consolidate peace throughout the world".

Is it or is it not right to criticise Yugoslav revisionism? There should have been no doubt about this in the international communist ranks. The principled stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party in

firmly opposing Yugoslav revisionism was approved by the other fraternal Parties. We may all recall that, at the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in June 1958, Comrade Khrushchov said that "the Chinese comrades and also the other fraternal Parties are rightly and profoundly criticising the revisionist propositions of the draft programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia".

We also remember that at the previous Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, that is, at its fifth congress held in July 1958, there was no difference of opinion among Communist and Workers' Parties on whether Yugoslav revisionism should be criticised. Comrade Khrushchov then said:

> The anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist views of the Yugoslav leaders were subjected to thoroughgoing principled criticism by the Communist Party of China, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and all the other fraternal Parties. In decisions taken by their leading bodies and in articles in the Party press, all the parties took a clear-cut position and condemned those views, paying considerable attention to a critical analysis of them. And this was correct.

He also said:

> ...When the Yugoslav leaders declare they are Marxist-Leninists and use Marxism-Leninism only as a cover to mislead gullible people and divert them from the path of revolutionary class struggle charted by Marx and Lenin, they want to wrest from the hands of the working class its sharpest class weapon. Whether they wish to or not, they are helping the class enemy of the working people, and in return for this they are given loans; in return for this the imperialists praise their "independent" policy of "no blocs", which the reactionary forces make use of in an attempt to undermine our socialist camp.

He added:

> In their speeches and official documents the Yugoslav leaders have outlined openly revisionist views that are contrary to the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism. They have taken a clearly schismatic, revisionist line and by so doing are helping the enemies of the working class in the fight against communism, in the imperialists' fight against the Communist Parties and against the unity of the international revolutionary working-class movement.

He went on to say:

> In essence, the programme of the Yugoslav leadership is a worse version of a whole series of revisionist platforms held by Right-wing

> Social-Democrats. Consequently the Yugoslav leaders have not been drawn to the path of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teachings; they have followed the path laid down by revisionists and opportunists of the Second International – Bernstein, Kautsky and other renegades. In actual fact they have now joined forces with Karl Kautsky's offspring – his son Banedict,...

We cannot understand why some comrades, who formerly took the correct stand of criticising Yugoslav revisionism, should have now made an about-turn of 180 degrees.

It has been claimed that this was because "the Yugoslav leaders have removed very much of what was considered erroneous". Unfortunately, the Tito clique themselves have never admitted to having made any mistakes, let alone removed them. It is indeed subjectivism pure and simple to assert that the Tito clique have "removed" their mistakes. We would ask the apologists for the Tito clique to listen to the Titoists' own statements.

As early as April 1958, Tito declared at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, "It would just be a waste of time for any quarters to expect us to retreat from our principled position on international and internal questions."

In 1959, Kardelj, another leader of the Tito clique, stated even more bluntly in a pamphlet, "...and now the critics insistently urge on us what they themselves have begun to renounce, and criticize us for what they themselves have begun to accept."

Only recently, in December 1962, the moment he alighted from the train on his return from the Soviet Union, Tito said in Belgrade, "Discussions...about how Yugoslavia will now change her policy are simply superfluous and ridiculous. We have no need to change our policy." He added a few days later, "I said there [in the Soviet Union] that there is no possibility of Yugoslavia's changing her foreign policy."

These statements by Tito and Kardelj demonstrate the Tito clique's firm denial of any change in their revisionist line and policies. In fact, they have not changed at all. What were the apologists for the Tito clique doing if not lying when they said that the Tito clique "have removed very much of what was considered erroneous"?

Certain people have lately been talking a lot about how their views on many problems are coming closer to or agreeing with those of

the Tito clique. We would ask, since there has not been any change in the revisionist line and policies of the Tito clique, does it not follow that the makers of these statements are themselves moving closer to the revisionist line and policies of the Tito clique?

What is particularly astonishing is that certain people have publicly declared the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement to be a "stereotyped formula". They do not allow any fraternal Party to expose and condemn Yugoslav revisionism. Whoever insists on condemning Yugoslav revisionism, they say, "follows the jungle laws of capitalism" and "adopts this same jungle morality". One might ask, what is the object of describing the Moscow Statement, which was unanimously agreed upon by eighty-one fraternal Parties, as "a stereotyped formula" or "the jungle laws of capitalism"? Is is not the object to tear up the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement? If it is "jungle morality" to condemn Yugoslav revisionism in accordance with the Moscow Statement, what kind of morality is the violation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and the eagerness to "strangle" a fraternal Party and fraternal country?

We also note that Comrade Togliatti has gone so far as to say: "...This amply justifies the stand which we and others have taken towards the Yugoslav comrades, hence correcting the resolution of 1960 [the Moscow Statement unanimously agreed upon by the eighty-one fraternal Parties – "*Renmin Ribao" Ed.*] which is wrong on this point." We want to ask, what right has Comrade Togliatti to declare one part or another of the Moscow Statement, which was unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, to be wrong? What right has he to "correct" or tear up a solemn international agreement at will? If one or several Parties may do as they please in "correcting" agreements unanimously reached by all the Communist and Workers' Parties, will it be possible to speak of any principle that all must abide by?

Certain people are contemptuous of solemn documents adopted unanimously by the international communist movement; they not only refuse to abide by documents which bear their own signatures, but abuse others for abiding by them. Clearly, this is perfidy.

Here we should like to emphasise that those who are zealously engaged in reversing the verdict on the Tito clique are trying to make a breach in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement on the

Yugoslav issue and then to tear them up completely. Were their scheme to succeed, it would be tantamount to declaring that the criticisms of Yugoslav revisionism made by all Communist and Workers' Parties over these years are wrong and the traitorous Tito clique is right, that the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are wrong and the Yugoslav revisionist programme is right, that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism have become obsolete and modern revisionism can no longer be opposed, still less be treated as the main danger in the international communist movement, and that we should all follow at the heels of the Tito clique and "join forces with Karl Kautsky's offspring – his son Benedict".

Were this to happen, the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement would have to be completely changed and the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism would have to be replaced by the capitulationist line of revisionism. Were this to happen, what possible common basis would there be for unity among the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries? Is this not a deliberate attempt to create a split in the international communist movement?

The urgent task now facing the Communist and Workers' Parties is to defend the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We resolutely uphold unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we resolutely oppose "unity" on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis. Together with all fraternal Parties, the Chinese Communist Party will work indefatigably to this end.

The proletarian cause has always been international. To be victorious in this common cause, Communists of all countries must unite and wage a common struggle. Without the unity and solidarity of proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary cause cannot be victorious and consolidate its victory in any country.

The only correct way to uphold and strengthen this kind of unity is to abide by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and

countries, as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, are as follows: the principle of unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance; the principle of independence and equality; and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation.

The primary test of a Communist's sincerity in upholding the unity of the international communist movement is whether he conscientiously abides by the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries.

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, the two international documents unanimously agreed upon by the Communist and Workers' Parties, are binding on all the fraternal Parties. These Parties have the obligation to abide by them and have absolutely no right to wreck them. No single Party or group of Parties have the right to change them or to declare them null and void. In the international communist movement, the resolutions of any one fraternal Party, whether right or wrong and however important the place and the role of that Party, can be binding on that Party alone. According to the principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, it is impermissible to impose the programme, resolutions, line or policies of any one Party on other fraternal Parties, or to require other fraternal Parties to obey the irresponsible self-contradictory statements made by the leader of a Party who talks one way today and another tomorrow, as if those statements were imperial decrees; and it is more impermissible for one or more Parties wantonly to kick out one or another fraternal Party from the international communist movement or pull in renegades to Marxism-Leninism.

Since the international situation is complicated and is changing rapidly and since each fraternal Party finds itself in different circumstances, the emergence of different views among fraternal Parties on one question or another can hardly be avoided. The important thing is that, once differences have emerged among fraternal Parties, they should iron out their differences and achieve unanimity through inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality, basing themselves on the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In no circumstances should they make the differences among the fraternal Parties public in

the face of the enemy, nor should they make use of the press and other propaganda media for open attacks on other fraternal Parties, and still less should they make use of congresses of one Party for this purpose. Clearly, if open attacks are directed against one fraternal Party today and another tomorrow, will there be any unity of the international communist movement to speak of?

We hold that continuing to make attacks while talking about one's desire to halt them is not the attitude an honest Communist should take. As the leader of the Korean Workers' Party delegation at the recent Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany pointed out:

> At this Congress, which is not an international meeting of fraternal Parties, there has been some talk of ending open disputes over differences of view and strengthening unity, and yet differences of view among the fraternal Parties have again been brought up, and in particular there has been unilateral criticism of the Chinese Communist Party. We maintain that this cannot be regarded as a friendly and comradely attitude and that such an attitude is not conducive to the unity and unanimity which we are all calling for.

Better a single good deed contributing to unity than a thousand empty words about unity. It is time to rein in on the brink of the precipice! To do so late in the day is better than not to do it at all. We sincerely hope that the fraternal Party which launched the first attack will suit its action to its words, take the initiative, and return to the path of inter-Party consultation on the basis of equality, to the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The Communist Party of China is profoundly conscious of the duty incumbent on it to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. As always, we shall spare no effort in making our contribution in this connection. The Communist Party of China has advocated on more than one occasion, and still advocates, the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries at which all can sit down calmly, and through adequate and comradely discussion, harmonise their viewpoints, iron out their differences and strengthen their unity on a new basis. Together with all other fraternal Parties, we desire to take every possible step towards easing relations and

strengthening unity, in order to improve the atmosphere and create the conditions necessary for convening the meeting of fraternal Parties.

Today, the imperialists headed by the United States and all the reactionaries are frantically and vainly struggling to halt and turn back the tide of our epoch, to prevent the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people and to disrupt the socialist camp. In the face of our arch-enemy, we Communists should, more than ever, unite closely and wage the common battle unswervingly. No words or deeds detrimental to the struggles against imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world, or to the unity of all Communists and the revolutionary people of the world, will be countenanced by Communists anywhere, by the proletariat and working people of all countries, by all the oppressed nations and oppressed people and by all those engaged in the struggle to safeguard world peace.

The unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is the source of our strength and the hope of the oppressed nations and the oppressed people of the world. The more closely we are united, the more the people of the world are heartened and inspired. The more closely we are united, the greater is our ability to strengthen the revolutionary people's confidence in victory and to deal telling blows at the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries.

We should not disappoint the expectations of the people of the world. We must firmly uphold unity and oppose a split. We must have genuine unity and oppose sham unity. Let us unite on the bass of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement!

CPSU LETTER TO CPC

February 21, 1963

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by the supreme interests of our common cause, has decided to write this letter to you in order to express our considerations concerning the need to make a common effort to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings....

All who treasure the great cause of peace and socialism cannot but feel serious concern over the situation which has arisen of late in the communist movement. The open, ever aggravating polemics are shaking the unity of fraternal Parties, seriously damaging our common interests. The disputes which have arisen within the ranks of the international communist movement obstruct the successful struggle against imperialism, weaken the efforts of the socialist countries in the international arena, adversely affect the activities of fraternal Parties, especially of those in capitalist countries where a complicated internal political situation has arisen....

Evaluating the present situation from the viewpoint of the historical prospects of the development of world socialism, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the common, the main things that unite the C.P.S.U., the C.P.C., all the Marxist-Leninist Parties, are immeasurably higher and more significant than the existing differences....

An objective analysis of the discussion going on in the communist movement shows that in many instances in the course of the polemics

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Source : This is the extract from the letter, translated in Peking Review, No. 12, 1963.

the differences that arise are artificially inflated and exacerbated, an overdue accent is made on disputed issues....

The Marxist-Leninist Parties jointly worked out programmatic documents – the Declaration and the Statement of the Moscow meetings – the loyalty to which they invariably stress. Steadfastly carrying out the common line agreed upon by the world communist movement, the C.P.S.U. is waging active struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of the great ideals of socialism and communism all over the globe....

Of course, it is not excluded that different approaches to the understanding of certain problems of current world development can and do emerge in the communist movement. This can be explained by the different conditions in which this or that detachment of the world communist movement is working. But such differences in opinion, if not exaggerated artificially, should in no way resolve into a deep conflict; they can well be overcome through joint comradely consultations....

By writing this letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. wants to make a new step towards overcoming the difficulties that have arisen. In the interests of strengthening our friendship and better mutual understanding we propose to the Central Committee of the C.P.C. to hold a bilateral meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. Considering the importance of this meeting, and to be more sure of achieving its aims, we would rather have the aforementioned meeting held at a high level. During the talks it would be possible to take up point-by-point all the major questions of interest to both Parties, especially those relating to the common tasks of our struggle. As to the problems on which different viewpoints actually prove to exist, agreement should be reached on measures that would help make our positions closer to each other....

As we see it, the attention of the conference should be centered on the common tasks of the struggle against imperialism and its aggressive plans, for the further advancement of the liberation movement of the peoples, for the rallying and all-round development of the world socialist community and increasing its influence throughout the world, for strengthening the unity of the communist movement.

We have already set forth our view concerning the need to convene a conference in our letter to you of May 31, 1962, and confirm it now again....

All Marxist-Leninist Parties are aware that a highly important moment has arrived in the development of the world communist movement. Upon us, upon our Parties, upon the correctness of our policy depends whether we shall continue marching further together in the same ranks, or shall allow ourselves to get involved in a hard and needless struggle which could only lead to mutual estrangement, to the weakening of the forces of socialism, and to undermining the unity of the world communist movement. On our Parties rests the historical responsibility for enabling the Soviet and Chinese peoples to live like brothers....

WHENCE THE DIFFERENCES?

A REPLY TO THOREZ AND OTHER COMRADES

***"Renmin Ribao"* (People's Daily) Editorial**
February 27, 1963

Comrade Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, and certain other members of the C.P.F. have a prominent place in the present adverse current of attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, a current which is undermining the unity of the international communist movement.

Since the latter part of November 1962, they have made numerous statements in quick succession attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and published many related inner-Party documents. The following are among the main ones:

Thorez' speech at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on December 14, 1962;

The report on problems relating to the international situation and to the unity of the international communist and working-class movement, made by R. Guyot, member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.F., at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F. on December 14, 1962;

The resolution on problems relating to the international situation and to the unity of the international communist and workingclass movement adopted by the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F. on December 14, 1962;

The editorial written by R. Guyot in *l' Humanite*, organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.F., on January 9, 1963;

The article entitled "War, Peace and Dogmatism", which appeared on the same day in *France Nouvelle*, a weekly published by the Central Committee of the C.P.F.;

Ten successive articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name in *l'Humanite* from January 5 to January 16, 1963;

Source : Whence the Differences, Foreign Langauge Press, Peking, 1963.

The article entitled "In What Epoch Do We Live?" in *France Nouvelle* on January 16, 1963;

The pamphlet entitled *Problems of the International Communist Movement,* published by the Central Committee of the C.P.F. in January 1963, containing fifteen documents attacking the Chinese Communist Party written by C.P.F. leaders over the last three years, including Thorez' speech at the Moscow Meeting of the fraternal Parties in November 1960 and his subsequent report on the Moscow Meeting to a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F.;

The article by R. Guyot in *l'Humanite* on February 15, 1963.

The main content of these statements has already been published in the *Renmin Ribao* of February 24. It is evident from these statements that in the recent anti-Chinese chorus and in the emulation campaign against the Chinese Communist Party, Thorez and other comrades have been particularly energetic and have outdone many other comrades in assailing the Chinese Communist Party.

Besides their assaults on us, Thorez and other comrades have leveled malevolent attacks at the Albanian Party of Labour, censured the fraternal Parties of Korea, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam and Japan and even gone so far as to assail the national liberation movement, which is heroically fighting imperialism and colonialism. They have slanderously alleged that the "sectarian and adventurist" positions taken by the Chinese Communist Party "have found some echoes in certain Communist Parties, particularly in Asia, and within nationalist movements", and that they "feed the 'Leftism' which exists at times in these Parties and movements". The attitude of certain French comrades towards the revolutionary cause of the oppressed nations is indeed shocking. They have truly gone too far in disrupting the unity of the international communist movement.

The Chinese Communist Party has long held, and still holds, that differences between fraternal Parties should and must be settled within our own ranks, and through full and comradely discussion and consultation on an equal footing in accordance with the principles set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In no instance have we been the first to launch public criticism of any fraternal Party or to provoke public debate. Nevertheless, it would be a miscalculation for anyone to suppose that he can take advantage of our correct stand of giving first place to the interests of unity against the

enemy and that he can launch public attacks on the Chinese Communist Party at will without evoking a deserved rebuff.

We should like to tell those comrades who have wantonly attacked the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties: The fraternal Parties are equal. Since you have publicly lashed out at the Chinese Communist Party, you have no right to demand that we should refrain from publicly answering you. Similarly, since you have made public and vicious attacks on the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian comrades have the full and equal right to answer you publicly. At present, certain comrades of fraternal Parties, while talking about a halt to the public polemics, are themselves continuing to attack the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties. This double-faced attitude actually implies that only you are permitted to attack others and that it is impermissible for others to reply. This will never work. In the words of an old Chinese saying, "Courtesy demands reciprocity. It is discourteous not to give after receiving." In all seriousness we feel it necessary to bring this point to the attention of those who have been assailing the Chinese Communist Party.

In attacking the Chinese Communist Party, Thorez and other comrades have touched on the nature of our epoch, the appraisal of imperialism, war and peace, peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition, and other questions. But a close look reveals that they have merely repeated other people's stale arguments. Since we have already answered their erroneous arguments on these questions in our editorials entitled "Workers of All Countries, Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy!", "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us" and "Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement", and also in the editorial entitled "Leninism and Modern Revisionism" in the periodical *Hongqi*, there is no need to go over the same ground again.

It is worth pointing out that in their speeches, reports and articles Thorez and the other comrades use a great many words to distort the facts, confound right and wrong and mislead the people, thus seeking to make the Chinese Communist Party shoulder the responsibility for undermining the unity of the international communist movement and creating a split. They endlessly repeat that the differences in the international communist movement "were in particular the act of the

Chinese comrades", and that the differences arose because the Chinese comrades "have not yet fundamentally accepted the theses of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". They also allege that the greater the lapse of time since the first and second Moscow Meetings of the fraternal Parties, the more does the position of the Chinese comrades "diverge from these which they had nevertheless approved and voted for".

Since Thorez and other comrades have brought up the question of who is responsible for the emergence of differences in the international communist movement, let us discuss it.

Whence the differences in the international communist movement?

Thorez and other comrades state that these differences arose because the Chinese Communist Party did not accept the theses of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. This very statement is a violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties as set forth in the Moscow Declaration and Statement. According to these two documents which were jointly agreed upon, the fraternal Parties are equal and independent in their relations. No one has the right to demand that all fraternal Parties should accept the theses of any one Party. No resolution of any congress of any one Party can be taken as the common line of the international communist movement or be binding on other fraternal Parties. If Thorez and other comrades are willing to accept the view points and resolutions of another Party, that is their business. As for the Chinese Communist Party, we have always held that the only common principles of action which can have binding force on us and on all other fraternal Parties are Marxism-Leninism and the common documents unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties, and not the resolutions of the congress of any one fraternal Party, or anything else.

As for the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., it had both its positive and negative aspects. We have expressed our support for its positive aspects. As for its negative aspects, namely, the wrong viewpoints it put forward on certain important questions of principle relating to the international communist movement, we have held different views all along. In talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties and at meetings of fraternal Parties, we have made no secret of our views and have clearly set forth our opinions on many occasions. But in the interests of

the international communist movement, we have never publicly discussed this matter, nor do we intend to do so in the present article.

The facts are clear. The differences in the international communist movement in recent years arose entirely because certain comrades of a fraternal Party had violated the Moscow Declaration which was unanimously agreed upon by all the Communist and Workers' Parties.

As is well known, the 1957 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism, eliminated certain differences among the fraternal Parties, reached agreement on the current major issues in the international communist movement, and produced the Moscow Declaration as a result of comradely consultation and collective effort. The Declaration is the common programme of the international communist movement. Every fraternal Party has proclaimed its acceptance of this programme.

If the Declaration had been strictly adhered to by all the fraternal Parties in their practice and had not been violated, the unity of the international communist movement would have been strengthened and our common struggle advanced.

For some time after the Moscow Meeting of 1957, the Communist and Workers' Parties were fairly successful and effective in their united struggle against the common enemy, and above all against U.S. imperialism, and in their struggle against Yugoslav revisionist, who had betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

But, because certain comrades of a fraternal Party repeatedly attempted to place the resolutions of the congress of one Party above the Moscow Declaration, above the common programme of all the fraternal Parties, differences within the international communist movement inevitably ensued. Particularly around the time of the Camp David talks in September 1959, certain comrades of a fraternal Party put forward a series of erroneous views on many important issues relating to the international situation and the international communist movement, views which departed from Marxism-Leninism and violated the Moscow Declaration.

They contravened the Moscow Declaration's scientific thesis that imperialism is the source of modern wars, and that "so long as imperialism exists, there will always be soil for aggressive wars". They incessantly proclaimed that even while the imperialist system and the

system of exploitation and oppression of man by man continue to exist in the greater part of the world, "already in our time, the practical possibility is being created of banishing war from the life of society finally and for ever", and "a world without weapons, without armies and without wars" can be brought into being. They also predicted that 1960 "would go down in history as a year in which the long-cherished hope of mankind for a world without weapons and armies and a world without wars begins to come true".

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that in order to prevent another world war we should rely on the joint struggle of the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, the international working class and the mass movement of the peoples for peace. They pinned their hopes for defending world peace on the "wisdom", and that summit meetings of the major powers can determine and change the course of history. They made such statements as: "We have already said more than once that it is only the heads of governments who are invested with great powers, who are able to settle the most complicated international questions." They portrayed the Camp David talks as a "new stage", a "new era" in international relations, and even "a turning point in the history of mankind".

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that the U.S. imperialists "are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people". They were especially ardent in lauding Dwight Eisenhower, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism, as one who had "a sincere desire for peace", who "sincerely hopes to eliminate the state of 'cold war' ", and who "also worries about ensuring peace just as we do".

They violated the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence between the two different social systems as set forth in the Moscow Declaration, and interpreted peaceful co-existence as nothing but ideological struggle and economic competition, saying: "The inevitable struggle between the two systems must be made to take the form exclusively of a struggle of ideas and peaceful emulation, as we say, or competition, to use a word more common in the capitalist lexicon." They even extended peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems to the relations between oppressor and oppressed classes and between oppressor and oppressed nations, maintaining that for various countries peaceful co-existence is the road leading to

socialism. All this represents a complete departure from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of class struggle. They thus actually used the pretext of peaceful co-existence to negate the political struggle against imperialism and for the liberation cause of the people of all countries, and to negate the international class struggle.

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that U.S. imperialism vigorously seeks "to enmesh the liberated peoples in new forms of colonialism", and proclaimed far and wide that imperialism could help the underdeveloped countries to develop their economies on an unprecedented scale, thus virtually denying that it is the nature of imperialism to plunder the underdeveloped countries. They made such statements as: "General and complete disarmament would also create entirely new opportunities for aid to the countries whose economies are still underdeveloped and need assistance on the part of more developed countries. Even if only a small part of the money released by the termination of the military expenditures of the great powers were devoted to such aid, it could open up literally a new epoch in the economic development of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that in our day the liberation movement of the colonial and semicolonial peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the working class of various countries are powerful forces for the defence of world peace, and counterposed the national liberation movement and the people's revolutionary struggle in various countries to the struggle for the defence of world peace. Although they occasionally spoke of the necessity of supporting national liberation wars and people's revolutionary wars, they repeatedly stressed that "a war under contemporary conditions would inevitably become a world war", that "even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration" and that it was necessary to "oppose all kinds of wars". This amounts to making no distinction between just and unjust wars and to opposing wars of national liberation, people's revolutionary wars and just wars of all kinds on the pretext of preventing a world war.

They contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration that there are two possibilities, peaceful and non-peaceful, with regard to the transition from capitalism to socialism, and that "the ruling classes will never relinquish power voluntarily", and laid a one-sided stress on the "growing immediate possibility" of peaceful transition, alleging that

peaceful transition "is already a realistic perspective in a number of countries".

From this series of erroneous views, one can only draw the conclusions that the nature of imperialism has changed, that all its insuperable inherent contradictions no longer exist, that Marxism-Leninism is outmoded and that the Moscow Declaration should be cast aside.

But no matter what pretexts they may resort to, whether "diplomatic language" or "flexibility", the comrades of a fraternal Party who spread these erroneous views cannot cover up their deviations from Marxism-Leninism and from the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration or absolve themselves from their responsibility for the creation of differences in the international communist movement.

Such is the origin of the differences in the international communist movement which have arisen in recent years.

How did these differences come to be exposed before the enemy?

Thorez and other comrades allege that the differences were brought into the open with "the Chinese Communist Party's publication of the pamphlet *Long Live Leninism!* in all languages in the summer of 1960". But what are the actual facts?

The truth is that the internal differences among the fraternal Parties were first brought into the open, not in the summer of 1960, but on the eve of the Camp David talks in September 1959 – on September 9, 1959, to be exact. On that day a socialist country, turning a deaf ear to China's repeated explanations of the true situation and to China's advice, hastily issued a statement on a Sino-Indian border incident through its official news agency. Making no distinction between right and wrong, the statement expressed "regret" over the border clash and in reality condemned China's correct stand. They even said that it was "tragic" and "deplorable". Here is the first instance in history in which a socialist country, instead of condemning the armed provocations of the reactionaries of a capitalist country, condemned another fraternal socialist country when it was confronted with such armed provocation. The imperialists and reactionaries immediately sensed that there were differences among the socialist countries, and they made venomous use of this erroneous statement to sow dissension. The bourgeois propaganda machines at the time made a great deal of it, saying that the

statement was like a "diplomatic rocket launched at China" and that "the language of the statement was to some extent like that of a stern father coldly rebuking a child and telling him to behave himself".

After the Camp David talks, the heads of certain comrades were turned and they became more and more intemperate in their public attacks on the foreign and domestic policies of the Chinese Communist Party. They publicly abused the Chinese Communist Party as attempting "to test by force the stability of the capitalist system", and as "craving for war like a cock for a fight". They also attacked the Chinese Communist Party for its general line of socialist construction, its big leap forward and its people's communes, and they spread the slander that the Chinese Party was carrying out an "adventurist" policy in its direction of the state.

For a long time these comrades have eagerly propagated their erroneous views and attacked the Chinese Communist Party, banishing the Moscow Declaration from their minds. They have thus created confusion within the international communist movement and placed the peoples of the world in danger of losing their bearings in the struggle against imperialism. Comrade Thorez can no doubt recall what was vigorously propagated at the time in the organ of the French Communist Party, *l'Humanite*, "Between Washington and Moscow a common language has been found, that of peaceful co-existence. America has taken the turning."

It was in those circumstances and for the sake of upholding the Moscow Declaration, defending Marxism-Leninism and enabling the people of the world to understand our point of view on the current international situation that the Chinese Communist Party published, on the ninetieth anniversary of Lenin's birth, the three articles, "Long Live Leninism!", "Forward Along the Path of the Great Lenin!", and "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!". Although we had already been under attack for more than half a year, we set store by unity and made imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism the targets of the struggle in our discussion of the erroneous views which contravened the Moscow Declaration.

Thorez and other comrades turned the truth upside down when they alleged that the publication of the three articles was the point at which the differences in the international communist movement were

brought into the open.

In May 1960, the American U-2 spy plane intruded into the Soviet Union, and the four-power summit meeting in Paris was aborted. We then hoped that the comrades who had so loudly sung the praises of the so-called spirit of Camp David would draw a lesson from these events, and would strengthen the unity of the fraternal Parties and countries in the common struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. But, contrary to our hopes, at the Peking Session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions held early in June of the same year, certain comrades of fraternal Parties still refused to denounce Eisenhower, spread many erroneous views and opposed the correct views put forward by the Chinese comrades. It was a fact of particular gravity that late in June 1960 someone went so far as to wave his baton and launch an all-out and converging surprise attack on the Chinese Communist Party at the meeting of the fraternal Parties in Bucharest. This action was a crude violation of the principle that questions of common interest should be solved through consultation among fraternal Parties. It set an extremely bad precedent for the international communist movement.

Thorez and other comrades have alleged that the delegate of the Albanian Party of Labour "attacked the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" at the meeting in Bucharest. But all the comrades who attended the meeting are very well aware that the Albanian comrade did not attack anyone during the meeting. All he did was to adhere to his own views, disobey the baton and take exception to the attack on China. In the eyes of those who regard the relations between fraternal Parties as those between patriarchal father and son, it was indeed an appalling act of impudent insubordination for tiny Albania to dare to disobey the baton. From that time on they harboured a grudge against the Albanian Comrades, employed all kinds of base devices against them and would not be satisfied until they had destroyed them.

After the Bucharest meeting, some comrades who had attacked the Chinese Communist Party lost no time in taking a series of grave steps to apply economic and political pressure, even to the extent of perfidiously and unilaterally tearing up agreements and contracts they had concluded with a fraternal country, in disregard of international practice. These agreements and contracts are to be counted, not in twos

or threes or in scores, but in hundreds. These malicious acts, which extended ideological differences to state relations, were out-and-out violations of proletarian internationalism and of the principles guiding relations among fraternal socialist countries as set forth in the Moscow Declaration. Instead of criticising their own errors of great-nation chauvinism, these comrades charges the Chinese Communist Party with the errors of "going it alone", sectarianism, splitting, national communism, etc. Does this accord with communist ethics? Thorez and other comrades were aware of the facts, yet they dared not criticise those who actually committed the error of extending political and ideological disputes to the damage of state relations, but on the contrary charged the Chinese comrades with "mixing problems of state with ideological and political questions". This attitude which confuses right and wrong and makes black white and white black is indeed deplorable.

It is clear from the foregoing facts that the aggravation of differences in the international communist movement after the Moscow Meeting of 1957 was due entirely to the fact that with respect to a series of important issues certain comrades of fraternal Parties committed increasingly serious violations of the common line unanimously agreed upon by the fraternal Parties and of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries.

The fact that Comrade Thorez disregards the facts and perverts the truth is also strikingly manifested in his distortion of what actually happened at the 1960 Moscow Meeting. He has charged that the Chinese Communist Party "did not approve the line of the international working-class movement...and thus created a difficult situation" for the meeting.

For the good of the international communist movement we prefer not to go into detail here about what went on at this internal meeting of the fraternal Parties; we intend to give the true picture and clarify right and wrong at the proper time and place. It must be pointed out here, however, that the Chinese Communist Party was an initiator of the 1960 Meeting of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world. We made great efforts to bring about its convocation. During the meeting, we upheld Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and opposed the erroneous views put forward by certain comrades of fraternal Parties; at the same time, we made necessary compromises on certain questions. Together with other fraternal Parties, we made

concerted efforts to overcome a variety of difficulties and enabled the meeting to achieve positive results, reach unanimous agreement and issue the Moscow Statement. These facts alone give the lie to Thorez and certain other comrades.

After the Moscow Meeting of 1960, the fraternal Parties should have strengthened the unity of the international communist movement and concentrated their forces for the common struggle against the enemy in accordance with the Statement to which they had unanimously agreed. In the Resolution on the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties adopted at the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in January 1961, we pointed out:

> The Communist Party of China, always unswervingly upholding Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism, will uphold the Statement of this Meeting, just as it has upheld the Moscow Declaration of 1957, and will resolutely strive for the realisation of the common tasks set forth by this document.

In the two years and more that have passed, the Chinese Communist Party has faithfully carried out the common agreements of the international communist movement and devoted sustained efforts to upholding the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement.

Yet Thorez and other comrades have charged that after the Moscow Meeting of 1960 the Chinese Communist Party "continued to express divergences on essential aspects of the policy worked out in common by all the Parties", and that "the positions taken by the Chinese comrades are prejudicial to the interests of the whole movement".

Since the Moscow Meeting of 1960, who is it that has committed increasingly serious violations of the Moscow Declaration and Statement with respect to a number of issues?

Shortly after the Moscow Meeting there was a further deterioration in the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania. Comrade Thorez has tried to shift the responsibility for this deterioration onto the Chinese Communist Party. He has accused China of failing "to use its influence to bring the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labour to a more correct understanding of their duty".

In fact, the Chinese Communist Party has always maintained that

the relations between fraternal Parties and fraternal countries should be guided by the principles of independence, equality and the attainment of unanimity through consultation as laid down in the Moscow Declaration and Statement. We have consistently upheld this view in regard to Soviet-Albanian relations. It has been our earnest hope that the relations between the two countries would improve and we have done our internationalist duty to this end. We have offered our advice to the Soviet comrades many times, stating that the larger Party and the larger country should take the initiative in improving Soviet-Albanian relations and settle the differences through inter-Party consultation on an equal footing, and that even if it were not possible to settle some differences for the time being, they should exercise patience instead of taking any steps that might worsen relations. Accordingly, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party wrote to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, expressing the hope that the question of Soviet-Albanian relations would be resolved through consultation.

But no consideration was given to our sincere efforts. A number of incidents occurred – the withdrawal of the fleet from the naval base of Vlore, the recall of experts from Albania, the cessation of aid to Albania, interference in her internal affairs, etc.

The Chinese Communist Party was pained by these crude violations of the principles guiding relations among fraternal countries. On the eve of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party once against gave the Soviet comrades comradely advice concerning the improvement of Soviet-Albanian relations. But to our surprise, at the 22nd Congress there occurred the grave incident in which the Albanian Party of Labour was publicly named and attacked and the odious precedent was thus created of one Party using its own congress to make a public attack on another fraternal Party. In defence of the principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement guiding relations among fraternal Parties and in the interest of unity against the enemy, the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party attending the Congress explicitly stated our objection to a course of behaviour which can only grieve those near and dear to us all and gladden the enemy.

It is a matter for regret that this serious and just attitude of ours should have been censured. One comrade even said, "If the Chinese

comrades wish to contribute to normalising relations between the Albanian Party of Labour and fraternal Parties, there is hardly anyone who could do more than the Communist Party of China to help solve this problem." What did this remark mean? If it meant to hold the Chinese comrades responsible for the deterioration of Soviet-Albanian relations, that was shirking one's own responsibility and trying to impute it to others. If it meant that the Chinese comrades should help to bring about an improvement in Soviet-Albanian relations, we would point out that some comrades actually deprived other fraternal Parties of the possibility of effectively contributing to the improvement of those relations by completely ignoring our repeated advice and by obdurately exacerbating Soviet-Albanian relations even to the length of openly calling for change in the leadership of the Albanian Party and state. After the C.P.S.U. Congress these comrades broke off the Soviet Union's diplomatic relations with the fraternal socialist country of Albanian without any scruples. Did this not convincingly demonstrate that they had not the slightest desire to improve relations between the Soviet Union and Albania?

Thorez and other comrades have blamed the Chinese press for "spreading the erroneous propositions of the Albanian leaders". We must point out that the Chinese Communist Party has always opposed bringing inter-Party differences into the open and that it was certain comrades of a fraternal Party who insisted on doing this and maintained, moreover, that not to do so was inconsistent with the Marxist-Leninist stand. In these circumstances, when the differences between the Soviet Union and Albania came into the open, we simultaneously published some of the material on both sides of the controversy in order to let the Chinese people understand how matters actually stood. Can it possibly be considered right that certain comrades of a fraternal Party may repeatedly and fr[illegible]y condemn another fraternal Party, may say that its leaders are anti-Leninist, that those leaders want to earn the privilege of receiving an imperialist hand-out of thirty pieces of silver, that they are executioners with blood on their hands, and so on and so forth, while this fraternal Party is not allowed to defend itself, and other fraternal Parties are not allowed to publish material on both sides of the controversy simultaneously? Those who claim to be "completely correct" have published one article after another attacking Albania, but

they are mortally afraid of the Albanian comrades' replies, they dare not publish them and are afraid of others doing so. It simply shows that justice is not on their side and that they have a guilty conscience.

Further more, Comrade Thorez and other comrades accuse the Chinese Communist Party of having "transferred into the mass movements the differences which may exist or arise among communists", referring especially to the Stockholm Conference of the World Peace Council in December 1961, where, they say, the Chinese Communist Party "counterposed the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for disarmament and peace".

But this is the diametrical opposite of the facts. It is not the Chinese comrades but certain comrades of a fraternal Party who have injected the differences between fraternal Parties into the international democratic organisations. They have repeatedly tried to impose on these international democratic organisations their own wrong line, which runs counter to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. They have counterposed the struggle for national liberation to the struggle for world peace. In disregard of the widespread desire of the masses represented by these organisations to oppose imperialism and colonialism, to win or safeguard national independence, these comrades insist on making "every effort for disarmament" the overriding task and they energetically peddle the wrong idea that "a world without weapons, without armies, without wars" can be realised while imperialism and the system of exploitation still exist. It is this that has given rise to continual sharp controversies in these organisations. Similar controversies broke out at the Stockholm Conference of the World Peace Council in December 1961. The demand made by certain persons at this conference was that colonial and semicolonial people living under the bayonets of imperialism and colonialism should wait until the imperialists and colonialists accept general and complete disarmament, renounce their armed suppression of the national independence movement and help the underdeveloped countries with the money saved from disarmament. In fact, what these persons want is that, while waiting for all this, the oppressed nations should not fight imperialism and colonialism or resists the armed suppression by their colonial rulers, for otherwise, they say, a world war would be touched off, causing the death of millions upon millions of people. Proceeding from precisely

this absurd "theory", these persons have vilified the national independence movement as a "movement for piling up corpses". It is these persons, and not the Chinese comrades, who violated the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

The two most recent major issues in the international situation were the Caribbean crisis and the Sino-Indian border conflict. The stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party on these issues conforms entirely with Marxism-Leninism and with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Yet in this connection Thorez and other comrades have made vicious attacks on the Chinese Communist Party.

With regard to the Caribbean crisis, Thorez and the other comrades have accused China of wanting to "bring on a war between the Soviet Union and the United States and so plunge the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe". Do the facts bear out this charge? What did the Chinese people do during the Caribbean crisis? They firmly condemned the acts of aggression perpetrated by U.S. imperialism, they firmly supported the five demands of the Cuban people in defence of their independence and sovereignty, and they firmly opposed the attempt to impose "international inspection" on Cuba which was made for the sake of an unprincipled compromise. In all this, what exactly did we do that was wrong? Did not the French Communist Party's statement of October 23, 1962 also call for "vigorously protesting U.S. imperialism's warlike and provocative actions"? Did not *l' Humanite* of the same date condemn the U.S. aggression as "pure and simple aggression prepared a long time ago against Cuba" and did it not appeal to the people of all countries as "a matter of urgency that the peoples reinforce their solidarity with Cuba and intensify their struggle"? May we ask Comrade Thorez: In thus supporting the Cuban people and opposing U.S. aggression, did you, too, want to plunge the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe? Why was it all right for you to do this at one time, and why has it become a crime for China consistently to do the same thing? Plainly the reason is that, following the baton, you suddenly changed your stand and began to hold forth about the need for "reasonable concessions" and "sensible compromise" in the face of the U.S. acts of aggression. That is why you turned your artillery from the Yankee pirates to those fraternal Parties which have consistently maintained a correct stand.

Worse still, certain comrades in the C.P.F. have vilified all who stand firm against the U.S. aggressors, calling them such insulting names as "heroes of the revolutionary phrase" and accusing them of "using fine words" and "speculating on the admiration which the Cuban people's courage has legitimately inspired". These comrades said that "against hydrogen bombs courage alone is not sufficient" and "let us beware of sacrificing Cuban breasts on the altar of revolutionary phrases". What kind of talk is this? Whom are you accusing? If you are accusing the heroic Cuban people, that is disgraceful. If you are accusing the Chinese people and the people of other countries who oppose the U.S. pirates and support the Cuban people, does this not expose your support of the Cuban people as an utter fraud? As Thorez and certain other French comrades see it, if those who do not possess hydrogen bombs support the Cuban people, they are simply using "fine words" and indulging in "speculation", while the Cuban people who do not possess hydrogen bombs must submit to the countries which have them, sell out their state sovereignty, accept "international inspection" and allow themselves to be sacrificed on the altar of U.S. imperialist aggression. This is naked power politics. It makes an unqualified fetish of nuclear weapons. It is no way for Communists to talk.

We should like to say to Thorez and the other comrades that the eyes of the people of the world are clear; it is not we but you who have committed mistakes in connection with the Caribbean crisis. For you have tried to help out the Kennedy Administration, which provoked the crisis in the Caribbean, by insisting that people should believe the U.S. promise not to attack Cuba, although the Kennedy Administration has itself denied having made any such promise. You have defended those comrades who committed both the error of adventurism and the error of capitulationism. You have defended infringements upon the sovereignty of a fraternal country. And you are making the fight against the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist Parties, rather than the fight against U.S. imperialism, your prime concern.

On the Sino-Indian boundary question, Thorez and other comrades have accused China of lacking the "minimum of goodwill" for a settlement of the dispute. This charge if ludicrous.

We have already had occasion to deal at length with the Chinese government's consistent stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-

Indian border issue and with the efforts it has exerted in this connection over a number of years. At the moment, the situation on the border has begun to relax, as a result of the serious defeat which the Indian forces sustained in their massive attacks and of these cease-fire and withdrawal which the Chinese forces effected on China's initiative after having fought back successfully in self-defence. The three years and more of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute have furnished conclusive proof that the Chinese government has been absolutely right in waging a necessary struggle against the reactionary policy of the Nehru government of India.

The surprising thing is that when a fraternal socialist country was facing the Nehru government's provocations and attacks, certain self-styled Marxist-Leninists should abandon the principle of proletarian internationalism and assume a "neutral" stand. In practice, they have not only been giving political support to the anti-China policy of the Nehru government, but have been supplying that government with war *materiel*. Instead of condemning these wrong actions, Thorez and other comrades have described them as a "sensible policy". What has happened to your Marxism-Leninism and your proletarian internationalism?

Time and again, Comrade Thorez has denounced China's policy towards India as benefiting imperialism. As early as 1960, he said that the Chinese Communist Party "gives Eisenhower the opportunity to obtain a welcome in India which he would not have received in other circumstances". To this day, some French comrades are repeating this charge.

To anybody with political judgment, it is hardly necessary to dwell on the fact that one of the objects of the Nehru government in stirring up conflict on the Sino-Indian border was to serve the needs of U.S. imperialism and secure more U.S. aid. We would only like to ask Comrade Thorez and certain other members of the C.P.F.: Is it possible you have forgotten that Eisenhower was accorded not only a welcome in India but a rousing welcome in France too. Comrade Thorez sharply criticised a number of elected Communist municipal and general councillors of the Paris region at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for not attending the reception to welcome Eisenhower when the latter was visiting Paris in September 1959. To quote Comrade Thorez, "It is necessary to say that

we considered it a mistake that in spite of the decision of the Political Bureau, which wanted the elected municipal and general councillors of the Paris region to be present, they were not all present at the reception for Eisenhower at the Town Hall. That was an erroneous position. I have also criticised it since my return. (Comrade Thorez had just returned from a trip abroad – Ed.of *Renmin Ribao*) I wish to repeat that the Political Bureau had taken a correct decision but that it did not know how to secure its application." (*l' Humanite,* November 11, 1959.) If the Chinese Communist Party is to blame for the welcome Nehru gave to Eisenhower, who is to blame, we would like to ask Comrade Thorez, for his endeavours to get all the elected Communist municipal and general councillors of the Paris region to attend the reception welcoming Eisenhower? From the class viewpoint of Marxism, no one need be surprised at Nehru's welcome to Eisenhower, but when a Communist Party leader shows such eagerness to welcome the chieftain of U.S. imperialism and uses such stern language in criticism of comrades for failing to attend the reception, one cannot help being amazed.

These two issues, the Caribbean crisis and the Sino-Indian border question, have once again thoroughly exposed the line and policy followed by those who claim to be "completely correct" and shown them to be contrary to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. Nevertheless, they did not draw the proper lessons or show any desire to correct their errors and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and Statement. Instead, angrier and more red-faced than ever, they have slid further and further down the wrong path; and in an effort to divert people's attention and cover up their mistakes, they have started a still bigger adverse current directed against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, a current that is destructive of the unity of the international communist movement.

Several fraternal European Parties held their congresses between November 1962 and January 1963. At these congresses, by careful arrangements, a disgusting situation was created with large-scale and systematic public attacks made on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties by name. In particular, at the recent congress of the German Socialist Unity Party, this adverse current reached a new high in the attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal

Parties and the disruption of the unity of the international communist movement. At this congress, certain comrades, while talking about ending the attacks, continued violently to assail the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties and moreover, they openly tried to reverse the verdict on the traitorous Tito clique. Can these comrades deceive anybody by their double-dealing? Obviously not. Such double-dealing just shows that they are not sincere about stopping the polemics and restoring unity.

In particular, it must be pointed out that the question of how to treat the Tito clique is a major question of principle. It is not question of how to interpret the Moscow Statement but of whether to defend it or tear it up. It is not a question of what attitude to take towards a fraternal Party, but of what attitude to take towards traitors to the communist cause. It is not a question of helping comrades rectify the mistakes they have made, but of unmasking and denouncing enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Adhering faithfully to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Statement, the Chinese Communist Party will never allow the common agreement of the fraternal Parties to be either doctored or scrapped, will never allow traitors to be pulled into our ranks, and will never agree to any trading in Marxist-Leninist principles or bartering away of the interests of the international communist movement.

From the facts cited above, one can clearly see that Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Communist Party have been taking a surprisingly irresponsible attitude towards the present serious debate in the international communist movement. They have been resorting to deception, blocking information, concealing facts and distorting the views of the Chinese Communist Party in order to be able to make unbridled attacks on it. This is certainly not the proper way to carry on a debate, nor does it show a responsible attitude towards the members of the French Communist Party and the French working class. If Thorez and the other comrades dare to face the facts and believe themselves to be right, they ought to publish the material of the Chinese Communist Party which explains its views, including the relevant articles we have published recently, and let all the members of the French Communist Party and the French working class learn the truth and decide for themselves what is right and what is wrong. Comrade Thorez and the other comrades! We have already published your statements accusing

us. Will you do the same? Do you have that kind of statesmanship? Do you have that kind of courage?

Comrade Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Communist Party have distorted facts and reversed right and wrong to an extent that is really astonishing and yet they keep on calling themselves "creative Marxist-Leninists". Very well, let's look at this kind of "creativeness".

We note that, prior to 1959, Thorez and the other comrades rightly pointed out that U.S. imperialism was the leader of the forces of aggression and that they denounced the U.S. government's policies of aggression and war. But on the eve of the Camp David talks someone said that Eisenhower hoped for "the elimination of tension in the relations between states", and so Thorez and the others vied with each other in lauding Eisenhower and decided that the parliamentary deputies of the French Communist Party should welcome this "peace emissary". This was a complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We note further that in the past Thorez and the other comrades correctly denounced the revisionist programme of the Yugoslav Tito clique, saying that the Tito clique was accepting "the subsidies of the American capitalists", and that these "capitalists clearly do not bestow them in order to facilitate the construction of socialism". But recently someone spoke of "helping" the Tito clique "to resume its place in the great family of all fraternal Parties", and so Thorez and other comrades began to talk a great deal about "helping the League of Yugoslav Communists to return once again to the fold of the great communist family". This was another complete turn of 180 degrees in response to the baton.

We also note that a year or so ago when the Chinese Communist Party opposed the practice of one Party publicly attacking another fraternal Party at its own congress, someone condemned this as being "contrary to the Marxist-Leninist stand". And then, Comrade Thorez followed him by saying that the Chinese comrades were "wrong" to take such an attitude, which was "not right". Recently, someone continued the attacks while saying that open polemics should halt, and so certain comrades of the French Communist Party again followed suit and said this was "sensible, Leninist". This was still another turn in response to the baton.

Instances of this sort are too numerous to mention. Turning about in this way and following the baton so unconditionally cannot possibly be regarded as indicative of the normal relationship of independence and equality that should exist among fraternal Parties, but rather of abnormal feudal, patriarchal relationships. Some comrades apparently believe that the interests of the proletariat and of the people in their own country may be disregarded completely, that the interests of the international proletariat and of the people of the world may also be completely disregarded, and that it is good enough just to follow others. Is it right to go east or is it right to go west? Is it right to advance or is it right to retreat? – about all such questions they do not care at all. What someone else says, they repeat word for word. If someone else takes one step, they follow with the same step. Here there is all too much ability to parrot and all too little of Marxist-Leninist principle. Are "creative Marxist-Leninists" of this kind something to be proud of?

However much Comrade Thorez and certain other comrades of the French Party publish in order to slander and viciously attack the Chinese Communist Party, they cannot in the least sully the glory of the great Chinese Communist Party. These practices of theirs run counter to the desire of all communists to remove differences and strengthen unity and they are not in keeping with the glorious tradition of the French working class and the French Communist Party.

The working class and the labouring people of France have a long and glorious revolutionary tradition. In their heroic endeavour to found the Paris Commune the French working class set a brilliant example for the proletarian revolution in all countries of the world. The *Internationale,* the immortal battle-march created by an outstanding fighter and gifted composer of the French working class, is a clarion call to the people of the world to fight for their own emancipation and carry the revolution to the end. Founded under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the French Communist Party gathered together a vast number of the finest sons and daughters of the French people and waged determined struggles jointly with the French working class and the labouring people. In the resistance movement against fascism the French people under the leadership of the French Party enriched the revolutionary tradition of the French working class and showed dauntless heroism. In the postwar period the French

Communists played an important role in the struggle to defend world peace, to preserve democratic rights, to better the living conditions of the working people and to oppose monopoly capital. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always had the greatest respect for the French Communist Party and the French working class.

Comrade Thorez and the other comrades have repeatedly stressed that the Chinese comrades should correct their mistakes. But it is Comrade Thorez and the others, and not we, who really need to correct mistakes. In spite of the fact that we have no alternative but to debate with Comrade Thorez and certain other French comrades in this article, we sincerely hope that they will honour the history of the French Communist Party and treasure their own record of militant struggle for the cause of communism. We hope that they will take the basic interests of the international communist movement to heart, correct their errors which are out of keeping with the revolutionary tradition of the French proletariat, out of keeping with the glorious tradition of the French Communist Party and out of keeping with their oath of dedication to communism, and will return to the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

As always, the Chinese communist Party firmly upholds the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the revolutionary people throughout the world, and opposes any disruption of this unity by word or deed. As always, we firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and we are against all words and deeds that run counter to these revolutionary principles.

Naturally, the occurrence of one kind of difference or another in the international communist movement can hardly be avoided. When differences do occur, and especially when they concern the line of the movement, the only way to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement is to start from the desire for unity and, through serious debate, to eliminate these differences on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. The question is not whether to debate, but through what channels and by what methods to conduct the debate. We have always maintained that debates should be conducted only among the fraternal Parties and not in public. Although this stand of ours is irrefutable, it

has been under attack by certain comrades of fraternal Parties. After having publicly attacked us and other fraternal Parties for more than a year, they have now changed their tune and say they want to stop open polemics. We should like to ask: Do you or do you not consider now that the public attacks you have been making on fraternal Parties were a mistake? Are you or are you not ready to admit this mistake and to apologise to the fraternal Parties you have attacked? Are you truly and sincerely ready to return to the proper course of inter-party consultation on the basis of equality?

In order to eliminate differences and strengthen unity, the Chinese Communist Party has many times proposed, and still holds today, that a meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries should be convened; moreover, the Chinese Communist Party is ready to take the necessary steps together with all the fraternal Parties to prepare the conditions for the convening of such a meeting.

One of the preparatory steps for such a meeting is the cessation of the public polemics which are still going on. The Chinese Communist Party made this proposal long ago. We are of the opinion that in ceasing public polemics the actions must suit the words, and that the cessation must be mutual and general. While professing to terminate these polemics, some persons have continued to make attacks. Actually they want to forbid you to strike back after they have beaten you up. This will not do. Not only must attacks on the Chinese Communist Party cease, the attacks leveled at the Albanian Party of Labour and other fraternal Parties must also stop. Moreover, it is absolutely impermissible to use the pretext of stopping polemics in order to forbid the exposure and condemnation of Yugoslav revisionism, because this violates the provision of the Moscow Statement on the obligation to expose further the revisionist leaders of Yugoslavia. Some persons now want to oust the fraternal Albanian Party of Labour from the international communist movement on the one hand, and to pull in the renegade Tito clique on the other. We want to tell these people frankly that this is absolutely impossible.

A necessary step for preparing such a meeting is to hold bilateral and multilateral talks among the fraternal Parties. This was proposed by the Chinese Communist Party as far back as ten months ago. We have always been willing to have talks with all the fraternal Parties

which share our desire to eliminate differences and strengthen unity. As a matter of fact, we have had such talks with a number of fraternal Parties. We have never refused to hold bilateral talks with any fraternal Party. In their statement of January 12 the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party alleged that the Chinese Communist Party had not accepted the C.P.S.U.'s request "for joint discussion". It has been said they were told this by another Party. However, we must point out in all seriousness that this is a sheer fabrication. We wish to reiterate that we are ready to hold talks and to exchange views with any fraternal Party or Parties in order to facilitate the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist Parties of all countries.

At present the imperialists, and particularly the U.S. imperialists, are stepping up their policies of aggression and war, are frantically opposing the Communist Parties and the socialist camp, and are savagely suppressing national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries. At this juncture all Communist Parties, the proletariat of the world and the people of all countries are urgently calling for the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist ranks and the unity of the people of the whole world against our common enemy. Let us eliminate differences and strengthen unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement! Let us work together to strengthen our struggle against imperialism, to win victory for the cause of world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, and to attain our great goal of communism!

MORE ON THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMRADE TOGLIATTI AND US

Some Important Problems of Leninism in the Contemporary World

by The Editorial Department of *"Hongqi"* (Red Flag)

I. INTRODUCTION

At the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy (C.P.I.) Comrade Togliatti launched an open attack on the Chinese Communist Party and provoked a public debate. For many years, he and certain other comrades of the C.P.I. have made many fallacious statements violating fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism on a whole series of vital issues of principle concerning the international communist movement. From the very outset we have disagreed with these statements. However, we did not enter into public debate with Togliatti and the other comrades, nor did we intend to do so. We have always stood for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. We have always stood for handling relations between fraternal Parties in accordance with the principles of independence, equality and the attainment of unanimity through consultation as laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We have always held that differences between fraternal Parties should be resolved through inter-Party consultation by means of bilateral or multilateral talks or conferences of fraternal Parties. We have always maintained that no Party should make unilateral public charges against a fraternal Party, let alone level slanders or attacks against it. We have been firm

Source : More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliati and Us, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1963. First appeared in *Hongqi* (Red Flag), Nos. 3-4, March 4, 1963.

and unshakable in thus standing for unity. It was contrary to our expectations that Togliatti and the other comrades should have utilised their Party Congress to launch public attacks against the Chinese Communist Party. But since they directly challenged us to a public debate in this way, what were we to do? Were we to keep silent as we had done before? Were the "magistrates to be allowed to burn down houses, while the common people were forbidden even to light lamps"? No and again no! We absolutely had to reply. They left us no alternative but to make a public reply. Consequently, our paper *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) carried an editorial on December 31, 1962, entitled "The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us".

Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I. were not at all happy about this editorial and they published another series of articles attacking us. They declared that our article "often lacked explicit clarity", was "highly abstract and formal" and "lacked a sense of reality". (Togliatti, "Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit", l'Unita, January 10, 1963.) They also said that we were "not accurately informed" (ibid.) on the situation in Italy and on the work of the C.P.I. and had committed an "obvious falsification"(Luigi Longo, "The Question of Power", l'Unita, January 16, 1963.) of the views of the C.P.I. They accused us of being "dogmatists and sectarians who hide their opportunism behind an ultra-revolutionary phraseology", (ibid.) and so on and so forth. Togliatti and the other comrades are bent on continuing the public debate. Well then, let it continue!

In the present article we shall make a more detailed analysis and criticism of the fallacious statements made by Togliatti and the other comrades over a number of years, as a reply to their continued attacks against us.

When Togliatti and the other comrades have read our reply, we shall see what attitude they will take – whether they will still say that we "often lack explicit clarity", that we are "highly abstract and formal" and "lack a sense of reality", that we are "not accurately informed" on the situation in Italy and on the work of the C.P.I., that we are committing an "obvious falsification" of the views of the C.P.I., and that we are "dogmatists and sectarians who hide their opportunism behind an ultra-revolutionary phraseology". We shall wait and see.

In a word, it will not do for certain persons to behave like the

magistrate who ordered the burning down of people's houses while forbidding the people so much as to light a lamp. From time immemorial the public has never sanctioned any such unfairness. Furthermore, differences between us Communists can only be settled by setting forth the facts and discussing them rationally, and absolutely not by adopting the attitude of masters to their servants. The workers and Communists of all countries must unite, but they can be united only on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, on the basis of setting forth the facts and discussing them rationally, on the basis of consultations on an equal footing and reciprocity, and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. If it is a case of masters wielding batons over the heads of servants, incanting "Unity! Unity!", then what is actually meant is "Split! Split!" The workers of all countries will not accept such splittism. We desire unity, and we will never allow a handful of people to keep on with their splitting activities.

II. THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT GREAT DEBATE AMONG COMMUNISTS

As a result of the challenge the modern revisionists have thrown out to Marxist-Leninists, a widespread debate on issues of theory, fundamental line and policy is now unfolding in the international communist movement. This debate has a vital bearing on the success or failure of the whole cause of the proletariat and the working people throughout the world and on the fate of mankind.

In the last analysis, one ideological trend in this debate is genuine proletarian ideology, that is, revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, and the other is bourgeois ideology which has infiltrated into the ranks of the workers, that is, an anti-Marxist-Leninist ideology. Ever since the birth of the working-class movement, the bourgeoisie has tried its utmost to corrupt the working-class ideologically in order to subordinate the movement to its own fundamental interests, weaken the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries and lead the people astray. For this purpose, bourgeois ideological trends assume different forms at different times, now taking a Rightist form and now a "Leftist" form. The history of the growth of Marxism-Leninism is one of struggle against bourgeois ideological trends, whether from the Right or the "Left". The

duty of Marxist-Leninists is to act as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin did, not to run away from the challenge presented by any bourgeois ideological trend, but to smash attacks in the fields of theory, fundamental line and policy whenever they are made and to chart the correct road to victory for the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations in their struggles.

Since Marxism became predominant in the working-class movement, a number of struggles have taken place between Marxists on the one hand and revisionists and opportunists on the other. Among them there were two debates of the greatest historic significance, and now a third great debate is in progress. Of these the first was the great debate which Lenin had with Kautsky and Bernstein and the other revisionists and opportunists of the Second International; it advanced Marxism to a new stage of development, the stage of Leninism, which is Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The second was the great debate which the Communists of the Soviet Union and of other countries, headed by Stalin, conducted against Trotsky, Bukharin and other "Left" adventurists and Right opportunists. It successfully defended Leninism and elucidated Lenin's theory and tactics concerning the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the revolution of the oppressed nations and the building of socialism. Side by side with this debate there was the fierce and fairly protracted debate inside the Chinese Communist Party, which Comrade Mao Tse-tung carried on against the "Left" adventurists and Right opportunists for the purpose of closely integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

The current great debate was first provoked by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia through its open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

The Tito clique had taken the road of revisionism long ago. In the winter of 1956, it took advantage of the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign launched by the imperialists to conduct propaganda against Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and, on the other, to carry out subversive activities within the socialist countries in coordination with imperialist schemes. Such propaganda and sabotage reached a climax in the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. It was then that Tito made his notorious Pula speech. The Tito clique did its utmost to vilify

the socialist system, insisted that "a thorough change is necessary in the political system" (Cf. Kardelj's speech at the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *Borba*, December 8, 1956.) of Hungary, and asserted that the Hungarian comrades "need not waste their efforts on trying to restore the Communist Party". (Ibid.) The Communists of all countries waged a stern struggle against this treacherous attack by the Tito clique. We had published the article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in April 1956. Towards the end of December 1956, aiming directly at the Titoite attack, we published another article "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". In 1957, the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries adopted the famous Moscow Declaration. This Declaration explicitly singled out revisionism as the main danger in the present international communist movement. It denounced the modern revisionists because they "seek to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declare that it is 'outmoded' and allege that it has lost its significance for social progress". The Tito clique refused to sign the Declaration, and in 1958 put forward their out-and-out revisionist programme, which they counterposed to the Moscow Declaration. Their programme was unanimously repudiated by the Communists of all countries. But in the ensuing period, especially from 1959 onwards, the leaders of certain Communist Parties went back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and made Tito-like statements. Subsequently, these persons found it increasingly hard to contain themselves; their language became more and more akin to Tito's, and they did their best to prettify the U.S. imperialists. They turned the spearhead of their struggle against the fraternal Parties which firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration, and made unbridled attacks on them. After consultation on an equal footing at the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, agreement was reached on many differences that had arisen between the fraternal Parties. The Moscow Statement issued by this meeting severely condemned the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. We heartily welcomed the agreement reached by the fraternal Parties at this meeting, and in our own actions have strictly adhered to

and defended the agreement. But not long afterwards, the leaders of certain fraternal Parties again went back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and they made public attacks on other fraternal Parties at their own Party Congresses, laying bare before the enemy the differences in the international communist movement. While assailing fraternal Parties, they extravagantly praised the Tito clique and wilfully wallowed in the mire with it.

Events have shown that the modern revisionist trend is a product, under new conditions, of the policies of imperialism. Inevitably, therefore, this trend is international in character, and, like the previous debates, the present debate between Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists is inevitably developing into an international one.

The first great debate between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists and opportunists led to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the founding of revolutionary proletarian parties of a new type throughout the world. The second great debate led to victory in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union the victory of the anti-fascist world war, in which the great Soviet Union was the main force, the victory of the socialist revolution in a number of European and Asian countries and the victory of the great revolution of the Chinese people. The present great debate is taking place in the epoch in which the imperialist camp is disintegrating, the forces of socialism are developing and growing stronger, the great revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is surging forward, and the mighty working class of Europe and America is experiencing a new awakening. In starting the present debate, the modern revisionists vainly hoped to abolish Marxism-Leninism at one stroke, liquidate the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and save the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries from their doom. But Marxism-Leninism cannot be abolished, the peoples' liberation struggles cannot be liquidated, and the imperialists and reactionaries cannot be saved from their doom. Contrary to their aspirations the modern revisionists are doomed to fail in their shameful attempt.

The working-class movement of the world sets before all Marxist-Leninists the task of replying to the general revision of Marxism-Leninism by the modern revisionists. Their revisions serve the current needs of world imperialism, of the reactionaries of various countries or

of the bourgeoisie of their own countries, and are aimed at robbing Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary soul; they throw overboard the most elementary principle of Marxism-Leninism, the principle of class struggle, and all they want to retain is the Marxist-Leninist label.

In discussing international and social problems, the modern revisionists use the utterly hypocritical bourgeois "supra-class" viewpoint in place of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of class analysis. They concoct a host of surmises and hypotheses, which are purely subjective and devoid of any factual basis and which they substitute for the scientific Marxist-Leninist investigation of society as it actually exists. They substitute bourgeois pragmatism for dialectical materialism and historical materialism. In a word, they indulge in a lot of nonsensical talk, which they themselves must find it hard to understand or believe, in order to fool the working class and the oppressed people and oppressed nations.

In the past few years, a great number of international events have testified to the bankruptcy of the theories and policies of the modern revisionists. Nevertheless, every time their theories and policies are disgraced before the people of the world, they invariably "glory in their shame", (Lenin, "What Should Not Be Imitated in the German Labour Movement", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. 4, p. 336.) as Lenin once remarked, and, stopping at nothing and disregarding all consequences, they direct their fire at the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists – their brothers in other countries – who have previously advised them not to entertain illusions nor to act so blindly. By venting their venom and fury on others in the same ranks, they try to prove that they have gained a "victory", in a vain attempt to isolate the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, to isolate all their brothers in other countries who are defending revolutionary principles.

In the circumstances, what can all true revolutionary Marxist-Leninists do but take up the challenge of the modern revisionists? With regard to differences and disputes on matters of principle, Marxist-Leninists have the duty to differentiate between right and wrong and to straighten things out. For the common interests of unity against the enemy, we have always stood for a solution through inter-Party consultation and against making the differences public in the face of the enemy. But since some people have insisted on making the dispute

public, what alternative is there for us but to reply publicly to their challenge?

Latterly, the Chinese Communist Party has come under preposterous attacks. The attackers have vociferously levelled many trumped-up charges against us in total disregard of the facts. The hows and whys of these attacks are not hard to understand. It is also as clear as daylight where those who have planned and carried out these attacks put themselves, and with whom they align themselves.

Whoever is acquainted with statements made by Comrade Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I. in recent years will see that it is no accident that at the last C.P.I. Congress they added their voice to the attacks on the Marxist-Leninist views of the Chinese Communist Party. An ideological thread alien to Marxism-Leninism runs right through the Theses for the C.P.I. Congress and Comrade Togliatti's report and concluding speech at the Congress. Along this line, they employed the same language as that used by the social-democrats and the modern revisionists in dealing both with international problems and with domestic Italian issues. A careful reading of the Theses and other documents of the C.P.I. reveals that the numerous formulations and viewpoints contained therein are none too fresh, but by and large are the same as those put forward by the old-line revisionists and those propagated from the outset by the Titoite revisionists of Yugoslavia.

Let us now analyse the Theses and other relevant documents of the C.P.I. so as to show clearly how far Togliatti and the other comrades have moved away from Marxism-Leninism.

III. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

COMRADE TOGLIATTI'S NEW IDEAS

Comrade Togliatti and some other comrades of the Communist Party of Italy make their appraisal of the international situation their fundamental point of departure in posing questions.

Proceeding from their appraisal, they have formed their new ideas, of which they are very proud, concerning international as well as domestic issues.

1. "It is necessary, in the world struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence,

to fight for a policy of international economic cooperation, which will make it possible to overcome those contradictions at present preventing a more rapid economic development which will be translated into social progress." ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.")

2. "In Europe, in particular, it is necessary to develop an integral initiative in order to lay the foundation for European economic cooperation even among states with diverse social structures, which will make it possible, within the framework of the economic and political organs of the United Nations, to step up trade, eliminate or lower customs barriers, and make joint interventions to promote the progress of the underdeveloped areas."(Ibid.)
3. "One should demand ...the unfolding of systematic action to overcome the division of Europe and the world into blocs while breaking down the political and military obstacles which preserve this division," (ibid.) and "the rebuilding of a single world market."(Ibid.)
4. In the conditions of modern military technique, "war becomes something qualitatively different from what it was in the past. In the face of this change in the nature of war, our very doctrine requires fresh deliberations." (Togliatti, "Unity of the Working Class in Order to Advance Towards Socialism in Democracy and Peace", Report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I., December 2, 1962.)
5. "Fighting for peace and peaceful co-existence, we wish to create a new world, whose primary characteristic will be that it is a world without war."("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.")
6. "The colonial regime has almost completely crumbled." (Ibid.) "...there are no longer any spheres of influence preserved for imperialism in the world." (Togliatti, "Unity of the Working Class in Order to Advance Towards Socialism in Democracy and Peace", Report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I., December 2, 1962.)
7. "In fact, there exists in the capitalist world today an urge towards structural reforms and to reforms of a socialist nature, which is related to economic progress and the new expansion of productive forces."(Togliatti's Report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I)
8. " ...the very term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' can assume a content different from what it had in the hard years of the Civil War and of socialist construction for the first time, in a country encircled by capitalist." ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I., l'Unita supplement, September 13, 1962.)
9. In order "to realise profound changes in the present economic and political structure" in the capitalist countries, "a function of prime importance can

fall ...on parliamentary institutions".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.")

10. In capitalist Italy "the accession of all the people to the direction of the state"(Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) is possible. In Italy, the democratic forces "can oppose the class nature and class objectives of the state, while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.", *l'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.)
11. "Nationalisation", "planning" and "state intervention" in economic life can be turned into "instruments of struggle against the power of big capital in order to hit, restrict and break up the rule of the big monopoly groups".(Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.)
12. The bourgeois ruling groups can now accept "the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative", and "this can be a sign of the ripening of the objective conditions for a transition from capitalism to socialism".(Ibid.)

To sum up, the new ideas advanced by Comrade Togliatti and others present us with a picture of the contemporary world as they envisage it in their minds. Despite the fact that in their Theses and articles they employ some Marxist-Leninist phraseology as a camouflage and use many specious and ambiguous formulations as a smokescreen, they cannot cover up the essence of these ideas. That is, they attempt to substitute class collaboration for class struggle, "structural reform" for proletarian revolution, and "joint intervention" for the national liberation movement.

These new ideas put forward by Togliatti and the other comrades imply that antagonistic social contradictions are vanishing and conflicting social forces are merging into a single whole throughout the world. For instance, such conflicting forces as the socialist system and the capitalist system, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, rival imperialist countries, imperialist countries and the oppressed nations, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and working people in each capitalist country, and the various monopoly capitalist groups in each imperialist country, are all merging or will merge into a single whole.

It is difficult for us to see any difference between these new ideas put forward by Togliatti and other comrades and the series of absurd anti-Marxist-Leninist views in the Tito clique's Programme which earned it notoriety.

Undoubtedly, these new ideas advanced by Togliatti and other comrades constitute a most serious challenge to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and an attempt to overthrow it completely. It reminds us of the title Engels gave to the book he wrote in his polemic against Dühring, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science.* Can it be that Comrade Togliatti now intends to follow in Dühring,'s footsteps and start another "revolution" – in the theory of Marxism-Leninism?

A PRESCRIPTION FOR CHANGING THE WORLD IN WHICH THE PRESCRIBER HIMSELF SCARCELY BELIEVES

How can "those contradictions at present preventing a more rapid economic development which will be translated into social progress" ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") be overcome? In other words, how can the antagonistic social forces, international and domestic, be merged into a single whole? The answer of Togliatti and other comrades is:

> For the socialist countries, and for the Soviet Union in the first place, to challenge the bourgeois ruling classes to a peaceful competition for the establishment of an economic and social order capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men and peoples towards freedom, well-being, independence and the full development of and respect for the human personality, and towards peaceful cooperation of all states. (Ibid.)

Does this mean that it is possible, merely through peaceful competition between the socialist and the capitalist countries, and without a people's revolution, to establish the same "economic and social order" in capitalist countries as in the socialist countries? If so, does it not mean that capitalism need no longer be capitalism, that imperialism need no longer be imperialism, and that the capitalists may cease their life-and-death scramble for profits or superprofits at home and abroad, but instead may enter into "peaceful cooperation" with all people and all nations in order to satisfy all the aspirations of men?

This is the prescription Comrade Togliatti has invented for changing the world. But this panacea has not proved effective even in the actual movement in Italy. How can Marxist-Leninists lightly believe in it?

It is common knowledge – and Marxist-Leninists particularly

should remember – that soon after the October Revolution Lenin advanced the policy of peaceful co-existence between the socialist and capitalist countries and favoured economic competition between the two. During the greater part of the forty years and more since its founding, the socialist Soviet Union has in the main been in a state of peaceful co-existence with the capitalist countries. We consider the policy of peaceful co-existence, as pursued by Lenin and Stalin, to be entirely correct and necessary. It indicates that the socialist countries neither desire nor need to use force to settle international disputes. The superiority of the socialist system as demonstrated in the socialist countries is a source of great inspiration to the oppressed people and nations. After the October Revolution Lenin reiterated that the socialist construction of the Soviet Union would set an example for the rest of the world. He said that the communist system can be created by the victorious proletariat and that "this task is of world significance". (Lenin, "Our Internal and External Situation and the Tasks of the Party", *Collected Works*, Moscow, 4th Russ. Ed., Vol, 31, p.391.) In 1921 when the Civil War had more or less come to an end and the Soviet state was making the transition to peaceful construction, Lenin set socialist economic construction as the main task for the Soviet state. He said: "At present it is by our economic policy that we are exerting our main influence on the international revolution." (Lenin, "Tenth All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P. (B)". *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p.413. Moscow, 4th Russ.Ed.) Lenin's view was correct. Precisely as he foresaw, the forces of socialism have exerted increasing influence on the international situation. But Lenin never said that the building of a Soviet state could take the place of the struggles of the people of all countries to liberate themselves. Historical events during the forty years and more of the Soviet Union's existence also show that a revolution or a transformation of the social system in any country is a matter for the people of that country, and that the policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition followed by socialist countries cannot possibly result in a change of the social system in any other country. What grounds have Togliatti and other comrades for believing that the pursuit of the policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition by the socialist countries can change the face of the social system in every other country and establish an "economic and social order" capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men?

True, Comrade Togliatti and the others are by no means so wholehearted in believing their own prescription. That is why they go on to say in the Theses, "However, the ruling groups of the imperialist countries do not want to renounce their domination over the whole world."

But Comrade Togliatti and the others do not base themselves on the laws of social development to find out why the ruling groups of the imperialist countries "do not want to renounce their domination over the whole world". They simply maintain that this is so because the ruling groups of the imperialist countries have a wrong conception or "understanding" of the world situation, and also that "the uncertainty of the international situation"("Theses for the Tenth Congess of the C.P.I.") arises precisely from this wrong conception and "understanding".

From a Marxist-Leninist point of view, how can one reduce the attempt of imperialism to preserve its domination, the uncertainty of the international situation, etc. to a mere question of understanding on the part of the ruling groups of the imperialist countries, and not regard them as conforming to the operation of the laws of development of capitalist imperialism? How can one assume that once the ruling groups of the imperialist countries acquire a "correct understanding" and once their rulers become "sensible", the social systems of different countries will be radically changed without class struggle and revolutions by the peoples of these countries?

TWO FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT VIEWS ON CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD

In analysing the present-day international situation Marxist-Leninists must grasp the sum and substance of the political and economic data on various countries and comprehend the following major contradictions: the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction among imperialist countries, the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and other working people in each capitalist country, the contradiction among different monopolist groups in each capitalist country, the contradiction between the monopoly capitalists and the small and

medium capitalists in each capitalist country, etc. Obviously, only by comprehending these contradictions, by analysing them and their changes at different times and by locating the focus of the specific contradictions at a given time, can the political parties of the working class correctly appraise the international and domestic situation and provide a reliable theoretical basis for their policies. Unfortunately, these are the very contradictions that Togliatti and other comrades have failed to face seriously in their Theses, and consequently their whole programme has inevitably departed from the orbit of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, Togliatti and the other comrades do mention many contradictions in their Theses, but strangely enough Comrade Togliatti, who styles himself a Marxist-Leninist, has evaded precisely the above major contradictions.

The following contradictions in the international situation are listed in the Theses in the part concerning the European Common Market:

> . . . the increased economic rivalry among the big capitalist countries is accompanied by an accentuated trend not only towards international agreements among the big monopolies, but also towards the creation of organic commercial and economic alliances among groups of states. The extension of markets, which has been the outcome of one of these alliances (European Common Market) in Western Europe, has stimulated the economic development of certain countries (Italy, the German Federal Republic). Economic integration accomplished under the leadership of the big monopoly groups and linked to the Atlantic policy of rearmament and war has created new contradictions both on an international scale and in individual countries between the progress of some highly industrialised regions and the permanent and even relatively increasing backwardness and decline of others; between the rate of growth of production in industry and that in agriculture, which is everywhere experiencing a period of grave difficulties and crises; between fairly broad zones of well being with a high level of consumption and the broadest zones of low wages, underconsumption and poverty; between the enormous mass of wealth which is destroyed not only in rearmament but in unproductive expenditures and unbridled luxury, and the impossibility of solving problems vital to the masses and to progress (housing, education, social security, etc.).

Here a long list of so-called contradictions, or "new

contradictions", is given. Yet no mention is made of contradictions between classes, of the contradiction between the imperialists and their lackeys on the one hand and the peoples of the world on the other, etc. Togliatti and other comrades describe the contradictions "on an international scale and in individual countries" as contradictions between the industrially developed and industrially underdeveloped areas and between areas of well being and areas of poverty.

They admit the existence of economic rivalry between the capitalist countries, of big monopoly capitalist groups and of groups of states, but the conclusion they draw is that the contradictions are non-class or supra-class contradictions. They hold that the contradictions among the imperialist countries can be harmonised or even eliminated by "international agreements among the big monopolies" and "the creation of organic commercial and economic alliances among groups of states". In fact this view plagiarises the "theory of ultra-imperialism" held by the old-line revisionists and is, as Lenin put it, "ultra-nonsense".

It is well known that in the imperialist epoch Lenin put forward the important thesis that "uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism". (Lenin, "The United States of Europe Slogan", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol.5, p. 141.) The uneven development of the capitalist countries in the imperialist epoch takes the form of leaps, with those previously trailing behind leaping ahead, and those previously ahead falling behind. This inexorable law of the uneven development of capitalism still holds after World War II. The U.S. imperialists and the revisionists and opportunists have all along proclaimed that the development of U.S. capitalism transcends this inexorable law, but the rate of economic growth in Japan, West Germany, Italy, France and certain other capitalist countries has for many years since the War surpassed that in the United States. The weight of the United States in the world capitalist economy has declined. U.S. industrial production accounted for 53.4 per cent of that of the whole capitalist world in 1948, and fell to 44.1 per cent in 1960 and to 43 per cent in 1961.

Although the rate of economic growth of U.S. capitalism lags behind that of a number of other capitalist countries, the United States has not altogether lost its monopolistic position in the capitalist world. Hence, on the one hand, the United States is trying hard to

maintain and expand its monopolistic and dominant position in that world, and on the other, the other imperialist and capitalist countries are striving to shake off this U.S. imperialist control. This is an outstanding and increasingly acute real contradiction in the politico-economic system of the capitalist world. Besides this contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist countries, there are contradictions among other imperialist countries and among other capitalist countries. The contradictions among the imperialist powers are bound to give rise to, and in fact have given rise to, an intensified struggle for markets, outlets for investments, and sources of raw materials. Here lies an interwoven pattern of struggles between the old colonialism and the new and between the victorious and the vanquished imperialist nations. The case of the Congo, the recent quarrel over the European Common Market and the quarrel arising from the recent U.S. restrictions on imports from Japan are striking instances of such struggles.

Although according to the Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. "the absolute economic supremacy of U.S. capitalism is beginning to disappear by one of those processes of uneven development and leaps peculiar to capitalism and imperialisms", Togliatti and the other comrades have failed to perceive from this new phenomenon the fact that the contradictions in the capitalist world are growing in breadth and in depth, and they have also failed to perceive that this new phenomenon will bring about a new situation with sharp life-and-death struggles among the imperialist powers, and sharp struggles among the various monopoly groups in each imperialist country and between the proletariat and working people and the monopoly capitalists in each capitalist country. In particular, the imperialist-controlled world market has substantially contracted in area as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in a series of countries; moreover, the emergence of many countries possessing national independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America has shaken the imperialist economic monopoly in those areas. In these circumstances, the sharp struggles raging in the capitalist world have become not weaker, but fiercer, than in the past.

There now exist two essentially different world economic systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, and two mutually antagonistic world camps, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

In the course of events the strength of socialism has surpassed that of imperialism. Undoubtedly, the strength of the socialist countries, combined with that of the revolutionary people of all countries, of the national liberation movement and of the peace movement, greatly surpasses the strength of the imperialists and their lackeys. In other words, in the world balance of forces as a whole, the superiority belongs to socialism and the revolutionary people, and not to imperialism; it belongs to the forces defending world peace, and not to the imperialist forces of war. As we Chinese Communists put it, "The East wind prevails over the West wind." It is utterly wrong not to take into account this tremendous change in the world balance of forces after World War II. However, this change has not done away with the various inherent contradictions in the capitalist world, has not altered the jungle law of survival in capitalist society, and does not preclude the possibility of the imperialist countries splitting into blocs and engaging in all kinds of conflicts in the pursuit of their own interests.

How can it be said that the distinction between the two social systems of capitalism and socialism will automatically vanish as a result of the change in the world balance of forces?

How can it be said that the various inherent contradictions of the capitalist world will automatically disappear as a result of this change in the world balance of forces?

How can it be said that the ruling forces in the capitalist countries will voluntarily quit the stage of history as a result of this change in the world balance of forces?

Yet, those very views are to be found in the programme of Togliatti and other comrades.

THE FOCUS OF CONTRADICTIONS IN THE WORLD AFTER WORLD WAR II

Togliatti and other comrades live physically in the capitalist world, but their minds are in cloud-cuckoo-land.

As Communists in the capitalist world, they should base themselves on the Marxist-Leninist class analysis and, proceeding from the world situation as a whole, analyse the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps and lay stress on analysing the contradictions

among the imperialist powers, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations, and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and other working people in each imperialist country, in order to chart the right course for the proletariat of their own country and all the oppressed people and nations. But, to our regret, Togliatti and the others have failed to do so. They merely indulge in irrelevant inanities about contradictions while actually covering them up and trying to lead the Italian proletariat and all the oppressed people and nations astray.

Like Tito, Comrade Togliatti describes the contradiction between the imperialist and socialist camps as the "existence and contraposition of two great military blocs", (Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) and holds that by "changing this situation" a new world "without war", a world of "peaceful cooperation", (ibid.) can be realised and that the contradiction between the two major social systems of the world will disappear.

These ideas of Comrade Togliatti's are a bit too naive. Day after day he may go on hoping that the rulers of the imperialist countries will become "sensible", but the imperialists will never comply with his wishes by voluntarily disarming themselves or changing their social system. In essence, his ideas can only mean that the socialist countries should abandon or abolish their defences and that there should be a so-called liberalisation, i.e., "peaceful evolution" or "spontaneous evolution", of the socialist system towards capitalism, which the imperialists have always hoped for.

The contradiction between the imperialist and socialist camps is a contradiction between the two social systems, a basic world contradiction, which is undoubtedly acute. How can a Marxist-Leninist regard it as a contradiction between two military blocs rather than between two social systems?

Nor should a Marxist-Leninist view the contradictions in the world simply and exclusively as contradictions between the imperialist and socialist camps.

It must be pointed out that by the nature of their society the socialist countries need not, cannot, should not and must not engage in expansion abroad. They have their own internal markets, and China and the Soviet Union, in particular, have most extensive internal markets. At the same time, the socialist countries engage in international trade in accordance

with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, but there is no need for them to scramble for markets and spheres of influence with the imperialist countries, and they have absolutely no need for conflicts, and especially armed conflicts, with the imperialist countries on this ground.

However, things are quite different with the imperialist countries.

So long as the capitalist-imperialist system exists, the laws of capitalist imperialism continue to operate. Imperialists always oppress and exploit their own people at home, and always perpetrate aggression against other nations and countries and oppress and exploit them. They always regard colonies, semi-colonies and spheres of influence as sources of wealth for themselves. The "civilised" wolves of imperialism have always regarded Asia, Africa and Latin America as rich meat to contend for and devour. Using various means they have never ceased to suppress the struggles and uprisings of the people in the colonies and in their spheres of influence. Whatever policies the capitalist-imperialists pursue, whether old colonialist policies or new colonialist policies, contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations is inevitable. This contradiction is irreconcilable and extremely acute, and it cannot be covered up.

Furthermore, the imperialist powers are constantly struggling with each other in the scramble for markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of influence and profits from war contracts. At times this struggle may grow somewhat less acute, and may result in certain compromises or even in the formation of "alliances of groups of states", but such relaxations of tension, compromises or alliances always breed more acute, more intense and more widespread contradictions and struggles among the imperialists.

Stepping into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, the U.S. imperialists have been carrying out a policy of expansion in all parts of the world ever since World War II. Under the cover of their opposition to the Soviet Union, they have embarked on a course of aggression, annexation and domination vis-a-vis the former colonies and spheres of influence of Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Italy. Again under the cover of their opposition to the Soviet Union, they have taken advantage of post-war conditions to place a string of capitalist countries – Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy,

Belgium, Canada, Australia and others – under the direct control of U.S. monopoly capital. This control is political and economic as well as military.

In other words, U.S. imperialism is trying to build a huge empire in the capitalist world, such as has never been known before. This huge empire which U.S. imperialism is seeking to build would involve the direct enslavement not only of such vanquished nations as West Germany, Italy and Japan, and of their former colonies and spheres of influence, but also of its own wartime allies, Britain, France, Belgium, etc. and their existing and former colonies and spheres of influence.

That is to say, in its quest for this unprecedentedly large empire, U.S. imperialism concentrates its efforts primarily on the seizure of the immense intermediate zone between the United States and the socialist countries. At the same time, it is using every means to conduct subversion, sabotage and aggression against the socialist countries.

Here we may recall the well-known interview by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in August 1946 in which he exposed the anti-Soviet smokescreen the U.S. imperialists were then putting up and in which he gave the following concise analysis of the world situation:

> The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question. In the Pacific the United States now controls areas larger than all the former British spheres of influence there put together; it controls Japan, that part of China under Kuomintang rule, half of Korea, and the South Pacific. It has long controlled Central and South America. It seeks also to control the whole of the British Empire and Western Europe. Using various pretexts, the United States is making large-scale military arrangements and setting up military bases in many countries. The U.S. reactionaries say that the military bases they have set up and are preparing to set up all over the world are aimed against the Soviet Union. True, these military bases are directed against the Soviet Union. At present, however, it is not the Soviet Union but the countries in which these military bases are located that are the first to suffer U.S. aggression. I believe it won't be long before these countries come to realise who is really oppressing them, the Soviet Union or the United States. The day will come when the U.S. reactionaries find themselves opposed by the people of the whole world.

> Of course, I do not mean to say that the U.S. reactionaries have no intention of attacking the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a defender of world peace and a powerful factor preventing the domination of the world by the U.S. reactionaries. Because of the existence of the Soviet Union, it is absolutely impossible for the reactionaries in the United States and the world to realise their ambitions. That is why the U.S. reactionaries rabidly hate the Soviet Union and actually dream of destroying this socialist state.
>
> 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.(Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press Peking, 1961, Vol. 4, pp. 99-100.)

Thus, sixteen years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung most lucidly exposed the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to set up a huge world empire and showed how to defeat the insane plan of the U.S. imperialists to enslave the world and how to strive to avert a third world war.

In this passage Comrade Mao Tse-tung explains that there is a vast intermediate zone between the U.S. imperialists and the socialist countries. This intermediate zone includes the entire capitalist world, the United States excepted. The U.S. imperialists' clamour about a war against the socialist camp shows that while they are in fact preparing an aggressive war against the socialist countries and dreaming of destroying them, this clamour also serves as a smokescreen to conceal their immediate aim of aggression against and enslavement of the intermediate zone.

This policy of aggression and enslavement on the part of the U.S. imperialists with their lust for world hegemony runs up first against the resistance of the oppressed nations and people in the intermediate zone, and particularly those of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This

reactionary policy has in fact ignited revolutions by the oppressed nations and people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and has fanned the flames of revolution which have now been burning in these areas for more than a decade. The flames of revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America are further damaging the foundations of imperialist rule; they are spreading, and will certainly go on spreading to even wider areas.

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialist policy of world hegemony inevitably intensifies the fight between the imperialist powers and between the new and old colonialists over colonies and spheres of influence; it also intensifies the struggles between U.S. imperialism with its policy of control and the other imperialist powers which are resisting this control. These struggles affect the vital interests of imperialism, and the imperialist contestants give each other no quarter, for each side is striving to strangle the other.

The policy of the U.S. imperialists and their partners towards the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling for their own liberation is an extremely reactionary policy of suppression and deception. The socialist countries, acting from a strong sense of duty, naturally pursue a policy of sympathy and support for the national and democratic revolutionary struggles in these areas. These two policies are fundamentally different. The contradiction between them inevitably manifests itself in these areas. The policy of the modern revisionists towards these areas in fact serves the ends of the imperialist policy. Consequently, the contradiction between the policy of the Marxist-Leninists and that of the modern revisionists inevitably manifests itself in these areas too.

The population of these areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America constitutes more than two-thirds of the total population of the capitalist world. The evermounting tide of revolution in these areas and the fight over them between the imperialist powers and between the new and old colonialists clearly show that these areas are the focus of all the contradictions of the capitalist world; it may also be said that they are the focus of world contradictions. These areas are the weakest link in the imperialist chain and the storm-centre of world revolution.

The experience of the last sixteen years has completely confirmed the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis on the location of the focus of world contradictions after World War II.

HAS THE FOCUS OF WORLD CONTRADICTIONS CHANGED?

Tremendous changes have taken place in the world during the past sixteen years. The main ones are:

1. With the founding of a series of socialist states in Europe and Asia and with the victory of the people's revolution in China, these countries together with the Soviet Union formed the socialist camp, which comprises twelve countries, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, China, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, and has an aggregate population of one thousand million. This has fundamentally changed the world balance of forces.
2. The strength of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist world has greatly increased and its influence has greatly expanded.
3. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the national liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement have destroyed and are destroying the positions of U.S. imperialism and its partners over wide areas with the force of a thunderbolt. The heroic Cuban people have won great victories in their revolution after overthrowing the reactionary rule of the running dogs of U.S. imperialism, and have taken the road of socialism.
4. There have been new activity and new developments in the struggle for democratic rights and socialism on the part of the working class and the working people in the European and American capitalist countries.
5. The uneven development of the capitalist countries has become more pronounced. There have been certain new developments in the capitalist forces of France, which are beginning to be bold enough to stand up to the United States. The contradiction between Britain and the United States has been further aggravated. Nurtured by the United States, the nations defeated in World War II, namely, West Germany, Italy and Japan, have risen to their feet again and are striving, in varying degrees, to shake off U.S. domination. Militarism is resurgent in West Germany and Japan, which are again becoming hotbeds of war. Before World War II, Germany and Japan were the chief rivals of U.S. imperialism. Today West Germany is again colliding with U.S. imperialism as its chief rival in the world capitalist market. The competition between Japan and the United States is also becoming increasingly acute.
6. While the capitalist countries develop more and more unevenly in relation to each other in the economic and political spheres, the competition among the monopoly capitalist groups in each capitalist country sharpens, too.

All these changes show that the people in various countries can defeat the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and win freedom and

emancipation for themselves, if they awaken and unite.

These changes also show that the greater the strength of the socialist countries, the firmer the unity of the socialist camp, the broader the liberation movement of the oppressed nations, and the more vigorous the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed people in the capitalist countries, then the greater the possibility of manacling the imperialists in such a way that they will not dare to defy the universal will of the people, and the greater the possibility of preventing a new world war and preserving world peace.

Moreover, these changes show that the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and other imperialist countries are growing deeper and sharper and that new conflicts are developing between them.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the victories in construction in all the socialist countries, the victory of the national democratic revolution in many countries and the victory of the Cuban people's revolution have dealt most telling blows to the U.S. imperialists' wild plans for enslaving the world. In order to carry through their policy of aggression the U.S. imperialists, in addition to conducting anti-Soviet propaganda, have been particularly active in recent years in their propaganda against China. Their purpose in this propaganda is of course to perpetuate their forcible occupation of our territory of Taiwan and to carry on all sorts of criminal subversive activities menacing our country. At the same time, it is obvious that the U.S. imperialists are using this propaganda for another important practical purpose, namely, the control and enslavement of Japan, southern Korea and the whole of South-East Asia. The "Japan-U.S. Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty", SEATO, etc., are U.S. instruments for controlling and enslaving a host of countries in this area.

For years, the U.S. imperialists have given both overt and covert support to the Indian reactionaries and the Nehru government. What is their real objective? They are trying by underhand means to turn India, which was formerly a colonial possession of the British Empire and is still a member of the British Commonwealth, into a U.S. sphere of influence, and to turn the "brightest jewel" in the British Imperial Crown into a jewel in the Yankee Dollar Imperial Crown. [To attain this object, the U.S. imperialists must first create a pretext, or put up a smokescreen, to fool the people of India and of the whole world; hence their campaign

against China and against the so-called Chinese aggresion, though they themselves do not believe there is any such thing as "Chinese aggression". The U.S. imperialists see a golden opportunity for controlling India in the Nehru government's current military operations against China. After Nehru provoked the Sino-Indian boundary conflict, the U.S. imperialists swaggeringly entered India on the pertext of opposing China and]* are extending their influence there in the military, political and economic fields.

These massive U.S. imperialist inroads represent an important step taken by the U.S. reactionaries in their neo-colonialist plans for India; they are an important development in the present overt and covert struggle among the imperialist countries to seize markets and spheres of influence and redivide the world. This U.S. imperialist action is bound to hasten a new awakening of the Indian people, and at the same time to intensify the contradiction between British and U.S. imperialism in India.

With the loss of the old colonies, the extension of the national revolutionary movement and the shrinking of the world capitalist market, the scramble among the imperialist countries is not only continuing in many parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australasia, but is also manifesting itself in Western Europe, the classical home of capitalism. Never in history has the tussle among the imperialist countries been so extensive in peace-time, reaching every corner of Western Europe, and never before has it taken the form of a fierce scramble for industrially developed areas like Western Europe. The European Common Market consisting of the six countries of West Germany, France, Italy and Benelux (Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxemberg-Ed.), the European Free Trade Association of seven countries headed by Britain, and the Atlantic Community energetically planned by the United States represent the increasingly fierce scramble of the imperialist powers for Western European markets. What Togliatti and other comrades call "the development of Italian commerce in all directions" ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") in fact demonstrates the reaching out of the Italian monopoly capitalists for markets.

Outside Western Europe, the recent open quarrel over the U.S. restriction on Japanese cotton exports shows that the struggle for markets

*This portion of the article was omitted in Communist Party Publication – Ed.

between the United States and Japan is becoming more overt.

Comrade Togliatti and other comrades say: "The colonial regime has almost completely crumbled," (Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) and "there are no longer any spheres of influence preserved for imperialism in the world."(Togliatti's speech at the session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I., July 21, 1960.) Others say, "There are only fifty million people on earth still groaning under colonial rule," and only vestiges of the colonial system remain. In their view, the struggle against imperialism is no longer the arduous task of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such a view has no factual basis at all. Most countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are still victims of imperialist aggression and oppression, of old and new colonialist enslavement. Although a number of countries have won their independence in recent years, their economies are still under the control of foreign monopoly capital. In some counties, the old colonialists have been driven out, but even more powerful and dangerous colonialists of a new type have forced their way in, gravely threatening the existence of many nations in these areas. The peoples in these areas are still a long way from completing their struggle against imperialism. Even for a country like ours which has accomplished its national democratic revolution and, moreover, has won victory in its socialist revolution, the task of combating the aggression of the U.S. imperialists still remains. Our sacred territory of Taiwan is still forcibly occupied by the U.S. imperialists; even now many imperialist countries refuse to recognise the existence of the great People's Republic of China, and China is still unjustifiably deprived of its rightful position in the United Nations. To struggle against imperialism, against new and old colonialism, remains the cardinal and most urgent task of the oppressed nations and people in the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The changes occurring in the world in the past sixteen years have proved again and again that the focus of postwar world contradiction is the contradiction between the U.S. imperialist policy of enslavement and the people of all countries and between the U.S. imperialist policy of worldwide expension and the other imperialist powers. This contradiction manifests itself particularly in the contradiction between the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys on the one hand and the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other, and

in the contradiction between the old and new colonialists in their struggles for these areas.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Asia, Africa and Latin America have long been plundered and oppressed by the colonialists of Europe and the United States. They have fed and grown fat on the enormous wealth seized from these vast areas. They have turned the blood and sweat of the people there into "manure" for "capitalist culture and civilization"(Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East", Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, p.21.)while condemning them to extreme poverty and economic and cultural backwardness. However, once a certain limit is reached, a change in the opposite direction is inevitable. Long enslavement by these alien colonialist and imperialist oppressors has necessarily bred hatred in the people of these areas, aroused them from their slumbers and compelled them to wage unremitting struggles, and even to launch armed resistance and armed uprisings, for their personal and national survival. There are vast numbers of people who refuse to be slaves in these areas and they include not only the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even some patriotic princes and aristocrats.

The people's resistance to colonialism and imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been continually and ruthlessly suppressed and has suffered many defeats. But after each defeat the people have risen to fight again. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given a concise explanation of imperialist aggression against China and how it engendered opposition to itself. In 1949, when the great revolution of the Chinese people achieved basic victory, he wrote in "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle":

> All these wars of aggression, together with political, economic and cultural aggression and oppression, have caused the Chinese to hate imperialism, made them stop and think, "What is all this about"' and compelled them to bring their revolutionary spirit into full play and become united through struggle . They fought, failed, fought

> again, failed again and fought again and accumulated 109 years of experience, accumulated the experience of hundreds of struggles, great and small, military and political, economic and cultural, with bloodshed and without bloodshed – and only then won today's basic victory. (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. 4, p. 426.)

The experience of the Chinese people's struggle has a practical significance for the people's liberation struggles of many countries and regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Great October Revolution linked the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat with the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and opened up a new path for the latter. The success of the Chinese people's revolution has furnished the oppressed nations with a great example of victory.

Following on the October Revolution in Russia and the revolution in China, the people's revolutionary struggles in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America have reached unparalleled proportions. Experience has shown over and over again that although these struggles may suffer setbacks, the imperialists and their lackeys will never be able to withstand this tide.

Today, the imperialist countries of Europe and America are besieged by the people's liberation struggle of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This struggle renders most vital support to the struggle of the working class in Western Europe and North America.

Marx, Engels and Lenin always regarded the peasant struggle in the capitalist countries and the struggle of the people in the colonies and dependent countries as the two great and immediate allies of the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries.

As is well known, Marx expressed the following hope in 1856: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasants' War."(Marx and Engels, "Marx to Engels", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. 2, p. 454.) The heroes of the Second International evaded this direct instruction bequeathed by Marx, and Lenin bitterly denounced them, saying that "the statement Marx made in one of his letters – I think it was in 1856 – expressing the hope of a union in Germany of a peasant war, which might create a revolutionary situation, with the working-class movement–even this plain statement they avoid

and prowl around it like a cat around a bowl of hot porridge".(Lenin, "Our Revolution", *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 547.) When discussing the importance of the peasants as an ally in the emancipation of the proletariat, Lenin-said:

> Only in the consolidation of the alliance of workers and peasants lies the general liberation of all humanity from such things as the recent imperialist carnage, from those savage contradictions we now see in the capitalist world, . . .(Lenin, "On the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Republic – a Report to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Vol. 33, p. 130.)

And Stalin said:

> . . . indifference towards so important a question as the peasant question on the eve of the proletarian revolution is the reverse side of the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is an unmistakable sign of downright betrayal of Marxism.(Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, p. 128.)

We also know the celebrated saying of Marx and Engels: "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations." In 1870 Marx made the following surmise in the light of the then existing situation:

> After occupying myself with the Irish question for many years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the English ruling classes . . . *cannot* be delivered *in England but only in Ireland.*(Marx and Engels, "Marx to S. Meyer and A. Vogt", *Selected Correspondence*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 285.)

In 1853 during the Taiping Revolution in China, Marx wrote in his famous essay "Revolution in China and in Europe":

> . . . It may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis, which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the Continent. (*Marx on China*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1951, p. 7.)

Lenin developed Marx's and Engels' view, stressing the great significance of the unity between the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the oppressed nations for the victory of the proletarian revolution. He affirmed the correctness of the slogan "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!"(Cf. Lenin, "Speech at the Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organisations of the R.C.P. (B)", *Collected*

Works, 4th Russ.Ed., Vol.31, p.423.) for our epoch. He pointed out:

> 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.(Lenin, "The Second Congress of Communist International", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2,pp. 472-73.)

Stalin developed the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the national question and Lenin's thesis that the national question is part of the general problem of the world socialist revolution. In his *The Foundations of Leninism* Stalin pointed out that Leninism

> ...broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the "civilised" and "uncivilised" slaves of imperialism, and thus linked the national question with the question of the colonies. The national question was thereby transformed from a particular and internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke of imperialism.(Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1853, Vol. 6, p. 144.)

In discussing the world significance of the October Revolution in his article "The October Revolution and the National Question", Stalin said that the October Revolution *"erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East,* having created a new front of revolutions *against* world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian Revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East".(Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 170.)

Thus, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin very clearly pointed out the two basic conditions for the emancipation and victory of the proletariat of Europe and America. As far as the external condition is concerned they maintained that the development of the struggle for national liberation would deal the ruling classes of the metropolitan capitalist countries a decisive blow.

As is well known, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has devoted considerable time and energy to the exposition of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the two great allies of the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation. He concretely and successfully solved the

peasant question and the question of national liberation in the practice of the Chinese revolution under his leadership, and thus ensured victory for the great Chinese revolution.

Every struggle of the oppressed nations for survival won the warm sympathy and praise of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Although Marx, Engels and Lenin did not live to see the fiery national liberation struggles and people's revolutionary struggles now raging in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America or their successive victories, yet the validity of the laws they discovered from the experience of the national liberation struggles of their own times has been increasingly confirmed by life itself. The tremendous changes in Asia, Africa and Latin America following World War II have in no way outmoded this Marxist-Leninist theory of the relationship between the national liberation movement and the proletarian revolutionary movement, as some people suggest; on the contrary, they more than ever testify to its great vitality. Indeed, the revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have further enriched this theory.

A fundamental task is thus set before the international communist movement in the contemporary world, namely, to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, because these struggles are decisive for the cause of the international proletariat as a whole. In a sense, the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat as a whole hinges on the outcome of the people's struggles in these regions, which are inhabited by the overwhelming majority of the world's population, as well as on the acquisition of support from these revolutionary struggles.

The revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot be suppressed. They are bound to burst forth. Unless the proletarian parties in these regions lead these struggles, they will become divorced from the people and fail to win their confidence. The proletariat has very many allies in the anti-imperialist struggle in these regions. Therefore, in order to lead the struggle step by step to victory and to guarantee victory in each struggle, the proletariat and its vanguard in the countries of these regions must march in the van, hold high the banner of anti-imperialism and national independence, and be skilful in organizing their allies in a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front, exposing every deception practised by the imperialists, the

reactionaries and the modern revisionists, and leading the struggle in the correct direction. Unless all these things are done, victory in the revolutionary struggle will be impossible, and even if victory is won, its consolidation will be impossible and the fruits of victory may fall into the hands of the reactionaries, with the country and the nation once again coming under imperialist enslavement. Experience, past and present, abounds in instances of how the people have been betrayed in the revolutionary struggle, the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1927 being a significant example.

The proletariat of the capitalist countries in Europe and America, too, must stand in the forefront of those supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In fact, such support simultaneously helps the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat in Europe and America. Without support from the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia Africa and Latin America, it will be impossible for the proletariat and the people in capitalist Europe and America to free themselves from the calamities of capitalist oppression and of the menace of imperialist war. Therefore, the proletarian parties of the metropolitan imperialist countries are duty bound to heed the voice of the revolutionary people in these regions, study their experience, respect their revolutionary feelings and support their revolutionary struggles. They have no right whatsoever to flaunt their seniority before these people, to put on lordly airs, to carp and cavil, like Comrade Thorez of France who so arrogantly and disdainfully speaks of them as being "young and inexperienced".(Thorez's report to the session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F., December 15, 1960.) Much less have they the right to take a social-chauvinist attitude, slandering, cursing, intimidating and obstructing the fighting revolutionary people in these regions. It should be understood that according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, without a correct stand, line and policy on the national liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it will be impossible for the workers' parties in the metropolitan imperialist countries to have a correct stand, line and policy on the struggle waged by the working class and the broad masses of the people in their own countries.

The national liberation movement and the people's revolutionary

movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America give great support to the socialist countries; they constitute an extremely important force safeguarding the socialist countries from imperialist invasion. Beyond any doubt, the socialist countries should give warm sympathy and active support to these movements and they absolutely must not adopt a perfunctory or a selfishly national attitude, or an attitude of great-power chauvinism, much less hamper, obstruct, mislead or sabotage these movements. Those countries in which socialism has been victorious must make it their sacred internationalist duty to support the national liberation struggles and the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries. Some people take the view that such support is but a one-sided "burden" on the socialist countries. This view is very wrong and runs counter to Marxism-Leninism. It must be understood that such support is a two-way, mutual affair; the socialist countries support the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries, and these struggles in turn serve to support and defend the socialist countries. In this connection, Stalin put it very aptly:

> The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is not only that it hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but also that, by facilitating this victory, it ensures the *final* victory of socialism in the first victorious country. (Stalin, "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists", *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, p. 419.)

Some persons hold that peaceful economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries is now the chief and most practical way to oppose imperialism. They assert that the national liberation struggles, the people's revolutionary struggles, the exposure of imperialism, etc. are nothing but "the cheapest methods of struggle" and "practices of medicinemen and quacks". Like opulent and lordly philanthropists, they tell the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America not to display "sham courage", not to kindle "sparks", or hanker after "dying beautifully", or "lack faith in the possibility of triumphing over the capitalist system in peaceful economic competition", but to await the day when the socialist countries have completely beaten capitalism in the level of their productive forces, for then the people in these areas will have everything, and imperialism will automatically tumble. Strangely enough, these persons fear the people's revolutionary struggle

in these areas like the plague. Their attitude has absolutely nothing in common with that of Marxist-Leninists; it runs completely counter to the interests of all the oppressed people and nations, to the interests of the proletariat and other working people of their own countries, and to the interests of the socialist countries.

In short, the present situation is an excellent one for the people of the world. It is most favourable for the oppressed nations and people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, for the proletariat and working people of the capitalist countries, for the socialist countries and for the cause of world peace; it is unfavourable only for the imperialists and the reactionaries in all countries and for the forces of aggression and war. In such a situation, the attitude towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America becomes an important criterion for distinguishing between revolution and non-revolution, between internationalism and social chauvinism, and between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. It is also an important criterion for distinguishing between those who genuinely work for world peace and those who encourage the forces of aggression and war.

SOME BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

Here we shall recapitulate our theses on the international situation.

First, U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the world, the international gendarme suppressing the just struggle of the people of various countries and the chief bulwark of modern colonialism. Since World War II, the U.S. imperialists have been making frenzied efforts to seize the vast intermediate zone between the United States and the socialist countries; they are not only enslaving the vanquished powers and their former colonies and spheres of influence but are also getting their wartime allies under their control, and grabbing their existing and former colonies and spheres of influence by every means. But the U.S. imperialists are besieged by the people of the world, and their unbridled ambition has led to their increasing isolation among the imperialist countries; actually their power is being constantly curtailed and the united front of the peoples of the world against the imperialists headed by the United States is steadily broadening. The American people and the oppressed people and nations of the world will be able to defeat

the U.S. imperialists by struggle. The prospects are not so bright for the imperialists headed by the United States and for the reactionaries in all countries, whereas the strength of the people of the world is in the ascendant.

Second, the struggles among the imperialist powers for markets and spheres of influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in Western Europe are bringing about new divisions and alignments. Contradictions and clashes among the imperialist powers are objective facts, which are determined by the nature of the imperialist system. In terms of the actual interests of the imperialist powers, these contradictions and clashes are more pressing, more direct, more immediate than their contradictions with the socialist countries. Failure to see this point is tantamount to denying the sharpening of the contradictions which arises from the uneven development of capitalism in the era of imperialism, makes it impossible to understand the specific policies of imperialism and thus makes it impossible for Communists to work out a correct line and policy for fighting imperialism.

Third, the socialist camp is the most powerful bulwark of world peace and of the cause of justice. Further consolidation and strengthening of this bulwark will make the imperialists more wary of attacking it. For the imperialists know that any attack on this bulwark will constitute a grave risk for themselves, a risk which will involve not only their draining the cup of bitterness but their very existence.

Fourth, some persons regard the contradictions in the contemporary world simply as contradictions between the socialist and imperialist camps, and fail to see or actually cover up the contradictions between the old and new colonialist imperialists and their lackeys on the one hand and the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other; they fail to see or actually cover up the contradictions among the imperialist countries; they fail to see or actually cover up the focus of the contradictions in the contemporary world. We cannot agree with this view.

Fifth, while admitting the existence of contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps, some persons hold that this contradiction can actually disappear and that the socialist and capitalist systems can merge and become one, if what they call "the existence and contraposition of two great military blocs"(Togliatti's report to the Tenth

Congress of the C.P.I.) can be eliminated, or if the socialist countries "propose a challenge of peaceful competition with the capitalist ruling classes".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") We cannot agree with this view.

Sixth, the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the imperialist countries shows that, so far from weakening its ruling position at home and its competitive position abroad, the monopoly capitalist class is striving to strengthen them. At the same time, the imperialists are frantically reinforcing their war machines not only for the purpose of plundering other nations and ousting foreign competitors but also for the purpose of intensifying their oppression of the people at home. So-called bourgeois democracy in the imperialist countries has more nakedly revealed itself as the tyranny of a handful of oligarchs over their wage slaves and the broad masses of the people. What is it if not pure subjectivist delirium to say that state-monopoly capitalism in these countries is gradually passing into socialism and that their working people can come into and are actually coming into the direction of the state, and hence to maintain that "in fact, there exists in the capitalist world today an urge towards structural reforms and towards reforms of a socialist nature"? (Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.)

History is on the side of the peoples of the world and not on the side of the imperialists headed by the United States and the reactionaries in all countries. In their desperation the imperialists are trying to find a way out. They most absurdly pin their hopes on what they call a "clash between China and the Soviet Union". The imperialists and their apologists have long voiced this idea. The ludicrous attacks and slanders recently hurled at the Chinese Communist Party by the modern revisionists and their followers have encouraged them in this idea. They are overjoyed and are assiduously playing the dirty game of sowing dissension. However, these reactionary daydreamers are making far too low an estimate of the great strength of the friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union and of the great strength of a unity based on proletarian internationalism, and far too high an estimate of the role the modern revisionists and their followers can play. Sooner or later, the hard facts of history will completely demolish their illusions and the reactionary daydreamers will inevitably come to grief.

The mistake of Comrade Togliatti and other comrades in their

Theses, reports and concluding speech lies in their fundamental departure from the Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis, from the class analysis, of the international situation.

As Lenin said, ridiculing the Narodniks: "The whole of their philosophy amounts to whining that struggle and exploitation exist but that they 'might' not exist if . . . if there were no exploiters." He went on to say, "And they are content to spend their whole lives just repeating these 'ifs' and 'ans'." (Lenin, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1960.Vol. 1, pp. 239, 240.)

Surely a Marxist-Leninist cannot behave like a Narodnik!

And yet, the point of departure and positions of Togliatti and other comrades in their Theses and reports rest on exactly these "ifs" and "ans". Hence, their original ideas are inevitably a bundle of extremely confused notions.

IV. WAR AND PEACE

THE QUESTION IS NOT ONE OF SUBJECTIVE IMAGINATION BUT OF THE LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In recent years, some so-called Marxist-Leninists have made endless speeches, written many prolix articles and flooded the market with books and pamphlets on the subject of war and peace. But they have refused to make a serious investigation of the root cause of war, of the difference between just and unjust wars and of the road to the elimination of war.

The anarchists demanded that the state should be done away with overnight. Certain self-styled Marxist-Leninists now call for the emergence some fine morning of a "world without weapons, without armies, without wars" while the system of capitalism and exploitation still exists. They proudly assert that this is a "great epoch-making discovery", "a revolutionary change in human consciousness", and a "creative contribution" to Marxism-Leninism, and that one of the crimes of the "dogmatists" is an obtuse failure to accept this scientific offering of theirs.

Apparently, Comrade Togliatti and some other Italian comrades are zealously peddling this offering. They claim that the only strategy for the creation of a new world "without war" is the "strategy of peaceful co-existence" as they interpret it. But the content of this "strategy of peaceful co-existence" differs radically from the policy of peaceful co-existence propounded by Lenin after the October Revolution and supported by all Marxist-Leninists.

In present-day, peace-time Italy, which is ruled by monopoly capital, there are over four hundred thousand troops in the standing army for the oppression of the people, about one hundred thousand police, nearly eighty thousand gendarmes, and U.S. military bases equipped with missiles. When Togliatti and other comrades demand "peace and peaceful co-existence" in such a country, what do they really mean? If the demand means that the Italian government should follow a policy of peace and neutrality and of peaceful co-existence with the socialist countries, that is of course correct. But, apart from this, do you also demand of the Italian working class and other oppressed masses that they should practise "peace and peaceful co-existence" with the monopoly capitalist class? Does this sort of peace and peaceful co-existence imply that the U.S. imperialists will voluntarily remove their military bases from Italy and that the Italian monopoly capitalists will voluntarily lay down their arms and disband their troops? And if this is impossible, how is "peace and peaceful co-existence" to be realised between the oppressors and the oppressed in Italy? By a logical extension of this point, how can a "world without war" be created in this way?

Would it not indeed be a fine thing if there were to emerge a "world without weapons, without armies, without wars"? Why should it not have our approval and applause?

However, as Marxist-Leninists see it, the question is clearly not one of subjective imagination but of the laws of social development.

In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", written in 1936, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society."(Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", *Selected Works*, Vol. 1.)

During the War of Resistance against Japan in 1938, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again expressed this ideal when he said in "On Protracted

War", "Fascism and imperialism wish to perpetuate war, but we wish to put an end to it in the not too distant future." (Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War", *Selected Works*, Vol. 2.)

In the same work, he stated that the war then being fought by the Chinese nation for its own liberation was a war for perpetual peace. He said that "our War of Resistance against Japan takes on the character of a struggle for perpetual peace".(Ibid.)

He wrote there that war is a product of the "emergence of classes".(Ibid.) He continued,

> Once man has eliminated capitalism, he will attain the era of perpetual peace, and there will be no more need for war. Neither armies, nor warships, nor military aircraft, nor poison gas will then be needed. Thereafter and for all time, mankind will never again know war. (Ibid.)

These theses of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's fully accord with those reiterated by Lenin on the question of war and peace.

In 1905, the year in which the first Russian Revolution broke out, Lenin wrote:

> Social-Democracy has never taken a sentimental view of war. It unreservedly condemns war as a bestial means of settling conflicts in human society. But Social-Democracy knows that so long as society is divided into classes, so long as there is exploitation of man by man, wars are inevitable. This exploitation cannot be destroyed without war, and war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes. (Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 8, p. 565.)

In 1915, during the first imperialist world war, Lenin wrote that

> Marxists have always condemned wars between nations as a barbarous and bestial affair. Our attitude towards war, however, differs in principle from that of the bourgeois pacifists (the partisans and preachers of peace) and the Anarchists. We differ from the first in that we understand the inevitable connection between wars on the one hand and class struggles inside of a country on the other, we understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating Socialism, and in that we fully recognize the justice, the progressivism and necessity of civil wars, i.e., wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor, of slaves against the slave-holders, of serfs against the landowners, of wage-workers against the

> bourgeoisie. We Marxists differ from both the pacifists and the Anarchists in that we recognise the necessity of an historical study (from the point of view of Marx's dialectical materialism) of each war individually. (Lenin, "Socialism and War", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 271.)

During World War I, Lenin as a most conscientious Marxist devoted himself to studying the problem of war, of which he made an extensive and rigorous scientific analysis. He sharply denounced the many absurdities regarding war and peace put about by the opportunists and revisionists of Kautsky's ilk and he showed mankind the correct road to the elimination of war.

Today, however, some self-styled Leninists talk drivel on the question of war and peace without the least inclination to pause and consider how Lenin studied the question of war or to consider any of his scientific conclusions on the question of war and peace. Nevertheless, they vociferously accuse others of betraying Lenin and claim that they alone are the "reincarnations of Lenin".

IS THE AXIOM "WAR IS THE CONTINUATION OF POLITICS BY OTHER MEANS" OUT OF DATE?

Some people may perhaps say, "There's no need for you to be so garrulous. We are just as familiar with Lenin's views on the question of war and peace, but now conditions are different and Lenin's theses have become out of date."

It was the Tito clique which first openly treated Lenin's fundamental theory on war and peace as outmoded. They claim that, with the emergence of atomic weapons, the axiom that "war is the continuation of politics by other means", which Lenin stressed as the theoretical basis for studying all wars and for determining the nature of different kinds of wars, is no longer applicable. In their view, war has ceased to be the continuation of the politics of one class or another and has lost its class content, and there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars. The assertion of Togliatti and other comrades that with modern military technique the nature of war has changed in fact repeats what the Tito clique has been saying for a long time.

Clearly, the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries will not divest themselves of their armaments and stop suppressing the

oppressed people and nations, or abandon their aggressive and subversive activities against the socialist countries simply because the modern revisionists deny the axiom that "war is the continuation of politics by other means", nor will they on that account stop clashing with one another in their scramble for super-profits. The modern revisionists are actually striving to influence the oppressed people and nations by such assertions, and want to put false notions into their heads, as though the imperialists' war moves to hold down the oppressed people and nations, their arms expansion and war preparations, their direct and indirect armed conflicts for the seizure of markets and spheres of influence were not all the continuation of imperialist politics. For example, in their view, the U.S. imperialist war to suppress the people of southern Vietnam and the war engineered by the new and old colonialists in the Congo are not to be considered the continuation of imperialist politics.

Are the war, the U.S. imperialists are carrying on in southern Vietnam and the armed conflict in the Congo between the new and old colonialists, to be regarded as wars or not? If they are not to be regarded as wars, what are they? If they are wars, is there not a connection between them and the system of U.S. imperialism and its politics? And what kind of connection?

Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I. hold that it is "possible to avoid small local wars". (Speeches of the C.P.I. Delegation to the Conference of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, pamphlet published in January 1962, by the Central Department of Press and Propaganda of the C.P.I.) They also hold that "war would become impossible in human society even if socialism has not yet been realised everywhere". (Ibid.) In all likelihood, these conclusions were reached by Togliatti and other comrades after their "fresh deliberations" on "our doctrine itself". Now, these remarks by Togliatti and other comrades were made in November 1960. Let us leave aside the events prior to that year. In the year 1960 alone, there occurred in different parts of the world various kinds of military conflicts and armed interventions which are mostly of the category Togliatti and other comrades call "small local wars":

> The war waged by the French colonial forces to suppress the Algerian national liberation movement went on for its sixth year.

During this year the U.S. imperialists and their running dog Ngo Dinh Diem continued their brutal suppression of the people of southern Vietnam, arousing still greater armed resistance by the latter.

In January and February, armed clashes broke out between Syria and Israel, which was supported by the United States.

On February 5, four thousand U.S. marines landed in the Dominican Republic in Latin America, intervening in its internal affairs by force of arms.

On May 1, an American U-2 plane intruded over the Soviet Union and was shot down by Soviet rocket units.

On July 10, Belgium launched armed intervention in the Congo. Three days later, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution under which a "United Nations force" arrived in the Congo to put down the national liberation movement there.

In August, the United States aided and abetted the Savannakhet clique in provoking civil war in Laos.

Perhaps the events of 1960 do not fall within the scope of discussion of Togliatti and other comrades. Well then, do world events of 1961 and 1962 serve to bear out their prediction?

Let us review the facts.

The French colonial forces continued their criminal war of suppression against the Algerian national liberation movement until they were forced to accept a ceasefire in March 1962. By then, the war had lasted more than seven years. The "special war" waged by the U.S. imperialists against the people in southern Vietnam is still going on.

The "United Nations force" (mainly Indian troops) serving U.S. neo-colonialism continued its suppression of the Congolese people. Early in 1961, Lumumba, national hero of the Congo, was murdered by the hirelings of the U.S. and Belgian imperialists and on their instructions. From September 1961 to the end of the following year, the U.S.-manipulated "United Nations force" mounted three armed attacks on Katanga, which was under the control of the British, French and Belgian old colonialists.

In March 1961, the Portuguese colonialists, supported by U.S. imperialism, massed their forces and began their large-scale suppression and massacre of the people of Angola who are demanding national independence. This bloody atrocity is still going on.

On April 17, 1961, U.S. mercenaries staged an armed invasion of Cuba and were wiped out at Giron Beach by the heroic army and

people of Cuba within seventy-two hours.

On July 1, 1961, British troops landed in Kuwait. On the 19th, French troops attacked the port of Bizerta in Tunisia.

On November 19 and 20, 1961, the United States again intervened in the Dominican Republic by armed force, using naval and air units.

On January 15, 1962, the Dutch colonialists' naval forces attacked Indonesian naval units off the coast of West Irian.

In April 1962, the Indonesian people launched a guerrilla campaign in West Irian against the Dutch colonialists.

In May 1962, the United States plotted to expand the civil war in Laos and prepared direct intervention by armed force. On the 17th, U.S. forces entered Thailand, and on the 24th Britain announced the dispatch of an air squadron to Thailand. These military moves by the United States and Britain posed a direct threat to peace in South-East Asia. After resolute struggle on the part of the Laotian people and concerted efforts by the socialist countries and the neutral nations, a Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and a protocol to the declaration were signed on July 23, 1962, at the enlarged Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

On August 24, 1962, U.S. armed vessels bombarded the seaside residential areas of Havana, the Cuban capital.

On September 26, 1962, when a military coup d'etat took place in the Yemen, the United States instigated Saudi Arabian armed intervention.

During 1962, the Nehru government of India made repeated armed intrusions into Chinese territory with U.S. imperialist support. On October 20, the Nehru government launched a massive military attack along the Sino-Indian border.

On October 22, 1962, the United States, resorting to piracy, imposed a military blockade and carried out a war provocation against Cuba which shocked the world. The Cuban people gained a great victory in their struggle to defend the sovereignty of their fatherland, supported as they were by the people of the socialist and all other countries in the world.

During these two years, ruthless exploitation, brutal repression and armed intervention by the imperialists and their lackeys continued to evoke armed resistance by the people in many countries and by many oppressed nations, such as the armed uprising of the Brunei people against Britain on December 8, 1962.

Time and again events have confirmed Lenin's statement that "war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes", and that "war is the continuation of politics by other means". Present and future realities will continue to bear out these truths enunciated by Lenin.

WHAT HAS EXPERIENCE PAST AND PRESENT TO TEACH US?

Since the imperialists and reactionaries incessantly foment wars in various regions of the world to serve their own political ends, it is impossible for anybody to prevent the oppressed people and nations from waging wars of resistance against oppression.

Certain self-styled Marxist-Leninists may not regard the many wars cited above as wars at all. They acknowledge only wars which take place in "highly developed civilised regions". Actually, such ideas are nothing new.

Lenin long ago criticised the absurd view that wars outside Europe were not wars. Lenin said sarcastically in a speech in 1917 that there were "...wars which we, Europeans, do not consider to be wars, because all too often they resembled not wars, but the most brutal slaughter, extermination of unarmed peoples." (Lenin, "War and Revolution", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Moscow, Vol. 24, p. 365.)

People exactly like those Lenin criticised are still to be found today. They think that all is quiet in the world so long as there is no war in their own locality or neighbourhood. They do not consider it worth their while to bother whether the imperialists and their lackeys are ravaging and slaughtering people in other localities, or engaging in military intervention and armed conflicts or provoking wars there. They only worry lest the "sparks" of resistance by the oppressed nations and people in these places might lead to disaster and disturb their own tranquillity. They see no need whatsoever to examine how wars in these places originate, what social classes are waging these wars, and what the nature of these wars is. They simply condemn these wars in an undiscriminating and arbitrary fashion. Can this approach be regarded as Leninist?

There are certain other self-styled Marxist-Leninists who think only of war between the socialist and imperialist camps whenever war

is mentioned, as if there could be no wars to speak of other than one between the two camps. This thesis, too, was first invented by the Titoites, and now there are certain people who are singing the same tune. They are simply unwilling to face reality or to give thought to the facts of history.

If these people's memories are not too short, they will remember that when World War I started, there was no socialist country in existence, let alone a socialist camp. All the same, a world war broke out.

If their memories are not too short, they may also recall World War II. From September 1939 to June 1941 when the German-Soviet war began, a war had been going on for almost two years in the capitalist world and among the imperialist countries themselves. This was not a war between socialist and imperialist countries. The Soviet Union, after Hitler attacked it, became the main force in the war against the fascist hordes, but even after June 1941 the war could not be looked upon as one simply between the socialist and imperialist countries. In addition to the land of socialism, the U.S.S.R., a number of capitalist countries – Great Britain, the United States and France – were part of the anti-fascist front and so were many colonial and semi-colonial countries suffering from oppression and aggression.

It is therefore clear that both world wars originated in the contradictions inherent in the capitalist world and in the conflict of interests between the imperialist powers, and that both were unleashed by the imperialist countries.

World wars do not originate in the socialist system. A socialist country has no antagonistic social contradictions, which are peculiar to the capitalist countries, and it is absolutely unnecessary and impermissible for a socialist country to embark on wars of expansion. No world war can ever be started by a socialist country.

Thanks to the victories of the socialist countries and to the victories of the national-democratic revolutionary movement in many countries, great new changes continue to take place in the world situation. Togliatti and other comrades say that in view of the changes in the world balance of forces the imperialists can no longer do as they like. There is nothing wrong with this statement. As a matter of fact, the point was made by Lenin not long after the October Revolution. Basing himself on an

appraisal of the changes in the balance of class forces at that time, Lenin said: "The hands of the international bourgeoisie are now no longer free."(Lenin' "Report on Work in the Rural Districts – Delivered at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B)", *Selected Works*, F.LP.H., Moscow, 1952, Part 2, Vol. 2, p. 176.) But when the world balance of forces is becoming more and more favourable to socialism and to the people of all countries, and when we say that the imperialists can no longer do as they please, does this now mean the spontaneous disappearance of the possibility of all sorts of conflicts arising from the contradictions inherent in the capitalist world, has it meant so in the past, and will it mean so in the future? Does it mean that the imperialist countries have ceased to dream about, and prepare for, attacks on the socialist countries? Does it mean that the imperialist countries have stopped their aggression against and oppression of the colonial and semi-colonial countries? Does it mean that the imperialist countries will no longer fight each other to the death over markets and spheres of influence? Does it mean that the monopoly capitalist class has given up its brutal grinding down and suppression of the people at home? Nothing of the kind.

The question of war and peace can never be understood unless it is seen in the light of social relations, of the social system, and of the laws of social development.

That old-line opportunist Kautsky held that "war is a product of the arms drive", and that "if there is a will to reach agreement on disarmament", it will "eliminate one of the most serious causes of war".(Kautsky, The National State, the Imperialist State and the League of States.) Lenin sharply criticised these anti-Marxist views of Kautsky and other old-line opportunists who examined the causes of war without reference to the social system and the system of exploitation.

In "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution" Lenin pointed out that "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.* "(Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. 1, Part2, p. 574.) Such is the law of social development, and it cannot be otherwise

Being incapable of explaining the question of war and peace from

the historical and class angle, the modern revisionists always talk about peace and about war in general terms without making any distinction between just and unjust wars. Some people are trying to persuade others that the people's liberation would be "incamparably easier" after general and complete disarmament, when the oppressors would have no weapons in their hands. In our opinion this is nonsensical and totally unrealistic and is putting the cart before the horse. As pointed out by Lenin, such people try to "reconcile two hostile classes and two hostile political lines by means of a little word which 'unites' the most divergent things".(Lenin, "The Peace Question", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ.Ed., Moscow, Vol. 21, p. 263.)

On the lips of the modern revisionists, "peace" and "the strategy of peaceful co-existence" amount to pinning the hope of world peace on the "wisdom" of the imperialist rulers, instead of relying on the unity and struggle of the people of the world. The modern revisionists are resorting to every method to fetter the struggles of the people in all countries, are trying to paralyse their revolutionary will and induce them to abandon revolutionary action, and thus weakening the forces fighting against imperialism and for world peace. This can only result in increasing the reactionary arrogance of the imperialist forces of aggression and war and in increasing the danger of a world war.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, OR THE THEORY THAT "WEAPONS DECIDE EVERYTHING"?

The modern revisionists hold that with the emergence of atomic weapons the laws of social development have ceased to operate and the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory concerning war and peace is outmoded. Comrade Togliatti holds the same view. The *Renmin Ribao* editorial of December 31, 1962 has already discussed our main differences with Comrade Togliatti on the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. We shall now go into this question further.

Marxist-Leninists give proper and adequate weight to the role of modern weapons and military techniques in the organisation of armies and in war. Marx's pamphlet, *Wage-Labour and Capital,* contains the well-known passage:

> With the invention of a new instrument of warfare, firearms, the whole internal organisation of the army necessarily changed; the

> relationships within which individuals can constitute an army and act as an army were transformed and the relations of different armies to one another also changed. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, F.LP.H., Moscow, 1958, pp. 89-90.)

But no Marxist-Leninist has ever been an exponent of the theory that "weapons decide everything".

Lenin said after the October Revolution, "He wins in war who has the greater reserves, the greater sources of strength, the greater endurance in the mass of its people." Again, "We have more of all of this than the Whites have, and more than 'universally-mighty' Anglo-French imperialism; that colossus with feet of clay." (Lenin, "The Results of the Party Week in Moscow and Our Tasks," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Moscow, Vol. 30, p. 55.)

To elucidate the point, we might quote another passage from Lenin. He said:

> In every war, victory is conditioned in the final analysis by the spiritual state of those masses who shed their blood on the field of battle.... This comprehension by the masses of the aims and reasons of the war has an immense significance and guarantees victory. (Lenin, "Speech at the Mass Conference of Workers and Red Armymen in the Rogozhsky-Simonovsky District in May 1920", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 115.)

On the question of war, it is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle to give full weight to the role of man in war. But this principle has often been forgotten by some self-styled Marxist-Leninists. When atomic weapons appeared at the end of World War II, some people became confused, thinking that atom bombs could decide the outcome of war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at that time: "These comrades show even less judgement than a British peer" and "these comrades are more backward than Mountbatten."(Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 21.) The British peer, Mountbatten then Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Southeast Asia, had declared that the worst possible mistake would be to believe that the atom bomb could end the war in the Far East. (Cf. ibid., p. 26, Note 27.)

Of course, Comrade Mao Tse-tung took the destructiveness of atomic weapons into full account. He said, "The atom bomb is a weapon

of mass slaughter." (Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", Selected Works, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 100.) The Chinese Communist Party has always held that nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive and that humanity will suffer unprecedented havoc if a nuclear war should break out. For this reason, we have always stood for the total banning of nuclear weapons, that is, the complete prohibition of their testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use, and for the destruction of existing nuclear weapons. At the same time, we have always held that in the final analysis atomic weapons cannot change the laws governing the historical development of society, cannot decide the final outcome of war, cannot save imperialism from its doom or prevent the proletariat and people of all countries and the oppressed nations from winning victory in their revolutions.

Stalin said in September 1946 :

> I do not believe the atomic bomb to be as serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to regard it. Atomic bombs are intended for intimidating the weak-nerved, but they cannot decide the outcome of war since atomic bombs are by no means sufficient for the purpose. Certainly, monopolist possession of the secret of the atomic bomb does create a threat, but at least two remedies exist against it: (a) monopolist possession of the atomic bomb cannot last long; (b) use of atomic bomb will be prohibited. (Stalin's answer to Mr. A. Werth, correspondent of Sunday Times in Moscow, *The Times*, September 25, 1946.)

These words of Stalin's showed his great foresight.

After World War I, some imperialist countries noisily advertised a military theory, according to which quick victory in war could be won through air supremacy and surprise attacks. Events in World War II exposed its bankruptcy. With the appearance of nuclear weapons, some imperialists have again noisily advertised this kind of theory and resorted to nuclear blackmail, asserting that nuclear weapons could quickly decide the outcome of war. Their theory will definitely go bankrupt too. But the modern revisionists, such as the Tito clique, are serving the U.S. and other imperialists, preaching and trumpeting this theory in order to intimidate the people of all countries.

The policy of nuclear blackmail employed by the U. S. imperialists

reveals their evil ambition to enslave the world, and at the same time it reveals their fear.

It must be pointed out that if the imperialists should start using nuclear weapons, they will bring fatal consequences upon themselves.

First, if the imperialists should start using nuclear weapons to attack other countries, they will find themselves completely isolated in the world. For such an attack will be the greatest possible crime against human justice and will proclaim the attackers to be the enemy of all mankind

Second, when they menace other countries with nuclear weapons, the imperialists put their own people first under threat and fill them with dread of such weapons. By clinging to the policy of nuclear blackmail, the imperialists will gradually arouse the people in their own countries to rise against them. One of the U.S. airmen who dropped the first atom bombs on Japan has attempted suicide because of postwar condemnation of atomic bombing by the people of the whole world, and has been sent to a mental hospital many times. This instance, in itself, shows to what extent the nuclear war policy of U.S. imperialism has been discredited.

Third, the imperialists unleash wars for the purpose of seizing territory, expanding markets, and plundering the wealth and enslaving the working people of other countries. The destructiveness of nuclear weapons, however, compels the imperialists to think twice, because the consequences of the employment of such weapons would conflict with the actual interests they are seeking.

Fourth, the secret of nuclear weapons has long since ceased to be a monopoly. Those who possess nuclear weapons and guided missiles cannot prevent other countries from possessing the same. In their vain hope of obliterating their opponents with nuclear weapons, the imperialists are, in fact, subjecting themselves to the danger of being obliterated.

Above, we have dealt with some of the consequences which will inevitably arise if the imperialists use nuclear weapons in war. It is also one of the important reasons why we have always maintained that it is possible to conclude an agreement for a total ban on nuclear weapons.

It must also be pointed out that the policy of frantic expansion of nuclear arms pursued by the imperialists, and particularly the

U.S. imperialists, aggravates the crises within the capitalist-imperialist system itself:

First, the unprecedentedly onerous military expenditures imposed on the people in the imperialist countries and the increasingly lopsided militarisation of the national economy are arousing the growing opposition of the people to the imperialist governments and their policy of arms expansion and war preparation.

Second, the imperialists' arms drive, and especially their nuclear arms drive, exacerbates the struggle among the imperialist powers and among the monopoly groups in each imperialist country.

Engels said in *Anti-Dühring*, written in the 1870s, "Militarism dominates and is swallowing Europe. But this militarism also bears within itself the seed of its own destruction." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 235.)

Today there is all the more reason to say that the policy of nuclear arms expansion pursued by the U.S. and other imperialists is dominating and swallowing North America and Western Europe, but that this policy, this new militarism, bears within itself the seed of the destruction of the imperialist system.

It can therefore be seen that the policy of nuclear arms expansion pursued by the U.S. imperialists and their partners is bound to be self-defeating. If they dare to use nuclear weapons in war, the result will be their own destruction.

What should one conclude from all this? Contrary to the pronouncements of Togliatti and other comrades about the "total destruction" of mankind, the only possible conclusions are:

First, mankind will destroy nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons will not destroy mankind.

Second, mankind will destroy the cannibal system of imperialism, the imperialist system will not destroy mankind.

Togliatti and other comrades hold that with the appearance of nuclear weapons "the destiny of humanity today is uncertain".("Political Resolution of the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") They hold that with the existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of a nuclear war, there is no longer any point in talking about the choice of a social system. If one follows their argument, then what happens to the law of social development according to which the capitalist system will inevitably

be replaced by the socialist and communist system? And what happens to the truth elucidated by Lenin – that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism? Does not their view represent real "fatalism", "scepticism" and "pessimism"?

We stated in the article "Long Live Leninism!":

> As long as the people of all countries enhance their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also possessing modern weapons, it is certain that if the U.S. or other imperialists refuse to reach an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and should dare to fly in the face of the will of all the peoples by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will only be the very speedy destruction of these monsters themselves encircled by the peoples of the world, and certainly not the so-called annihilation of mankind. We consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, because imperialist war would impose enormous sacrifices upon the peoples of various countries (including the peoples of the United States and other imperialist countries). But should the imperialists impose such sacrifices on the peoples of various countries, we believe that, just as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution shows, those sacrifices would be rewarded. On the ruins of imperialism, the victorious people would very swiftly create a civilisation thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.

Is this not the truth?

During the past few years, however, some self-styled Marxist-Leninists have wantonly distorted and condemned these Marxist-Leninist theses, stubbornly describing the ruins of imperialism as "the ruins of mankind" and equating the destiny of the imperialist system with that of mankind. In fact, this view is a defence of the imperialist system. If these people had read some of the Marxist-Leninist classics, it would have been clear to them that building a new system on the ruins of the old was a formulation used by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Engels said in *Anti-Dühring*, "The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, . . ." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 368.) Did the ruins of the feudal system, which Engels spoke of, mean the "ruins of mankind"?

In his article "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", written in December 1919, Lenin spoke

of the proletariat "organising socialism on the ruins of capitalism".(Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Vol. 30, p. 239.) Did the ruins of capitalism, which Lenin mentioned, mean the "ruins of mankind"?

To describe the ruins of the old systems mentioned by Marxist-Leninists as the "ruins of mankind" is to substitute frivolous quibbling for serious debate. Can this be the non-"discordant note" which Togliatti and the other comrades want? Is this the polemic carried on in an "admissible tone" which they demand? In fact, at the time of the collapse of Italian fascism, Comrade Togliatti himself said, "A great task rests upon us: we should establish a new Italy on the ruins of fascism, on the ruins of reactionary tyranny." (Quoted in *The Italian Communist Party,* published by the C.P.I. in May 1950.)

Every serious Marxist-Leninist must consider the possibility of the imperialists adopting the most criminal means to inflict the heaviest sacrifices and the keenest suffering on the people of all counties. The purpose of such consideration is to awaken the people, mobilise and organise them more effectively, and to find the correct course of struggle for liberation and a way to deliver mankind from suffering, a way to win peace in the face of the threats of imperialism, and a way effective in preventing a nuclear war.

That no socialist country will ever start an aggressive war is known by everybody, even by the U.S. imperialists as well as by all the other imperialists and reactionaries. The national defence of each socialist country is designed for protection against external aggression, and absolutely not for attacking other countries. If the aggressors should impose a war on a socialist country, then the war waged by the socialist country would above all be a war of self-defence.

Possession of nuclear weapons by the socialist countries has a purely defensive purpose, the purpose of preventing the imperialists from unleashing nuclear war. Therefore, with nuclear superiority in their hands, the socialist countries will never attack other countries with such weapons; they will not permit themselves to launch such attacks, nor will they have any need to do so. Being firmly opposed to the policy of nuclear blackmail, the socialist countries advocate the total banning and destruction of nuclear weapons. Such is the attitude, line and policy of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China

on the question of nuclear weapons. Such is the attitude, line and policy of all Marxist-Leninists. The modern revisionists deliberately distort our attitude, line and policy on this question and fabricate mean and vulgar slanders and lies; their purpose is to cover up the nuclear blackmail of the imperialists and to conceal their own adventurism and capitulationism on the question of nuclear weapons. It must be pointed out that adventurism and capitulationism on this question are very dangerous and are an expression of the worst kind of irresponsibility.

A STRANGE FORMULATION

In accordance with the nature of their social system, socialist countries give sympathy and support to all oppressed people and oppressed nations in their struggles for liberation. But socialist countries will never launch external wars as a substitute for revolutionary struggles by the peoples of other countries. The emancipation of the people of each country is their own task – this is the firm standpoint held since the time of Marx by all true Communists, including the Communists who wield state power. It is identical with the standpoint consistently advocated by all Marxist-Leninists that "revolution cannot be exported or imported".

If the people of any country do not want a revolution, no one can impose it from without; where there is no revolutionary crisis and the conditions for a revolution are not ripe, nobody can create a revolution. And of course, if the people in any country desire a revolution and themselves start a revolution, no one can prevent them from making it, just as no one could prevent the revolutions in Cuba, in Algeria or in southern Vietnam.

Togliatti and other comrades say that peaceful co-existence implies "excluding ...the possibility of foreign intervention to 'export' either counter-revolution or revolution". ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") We should like to ask: When you talk about "export of revolution" by foreign countries, do you mean that the socialist countries want to export revolution? This is just what the imperialists and reactionaries have been alleging all along. Should a Communist talk in such terms? As for the imperialist countries, they have always exported counter-revolution. Can anyone name an imperialist country which has not done so? Can we forget that the imperialists launched direct

intervention against the Great October Revolution and the Chinese revolution? Can anyone deny that the U.S. imperialists are still forcibly occupying our territory of Taiwan today? Can anyone deny that the U.S. imperialists have all along been intervening in the Cuban revolution? Is not U.S. imperialism playing the international gendarme and trying its utmost to export counter-revolution to all parts of the world and interfering in the internal affairs of the other countries in the capitalist world?

Togliatti and other comrades make no distinction between countries whose social systems differ in nature; they do not understand the Marxist-Leninist view that "revolution cannot be exported or imported"; and in discussing peaceful co-existence they ignore the fact that the imperialists have all along been exporting counter-revolution and speak of "export of counter-revolution" and "export of revolution" in the same breath. This strange formulation cannot but be considered an error of principle.

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS' BASIC THESES ON THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE

On the question of war and peace, the Chinese Communists, now, as always, uphold the views of Lenin.

In the above quotations, Lenin pointed out that proletarian parties "unreservedly condemn war" and "have always condemned wars between peoples". But Lenin always maintained that unjust wars must be opposed and that just wars must be supported; he never indiscriminatingly opposed all wars. There are people today who unblushingly compare themselves to Lenin and allege that Lenin, and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, too, opposed war in the same way as they do. They have emasculated Lenin's theories and policies on the question of war and peace. It is common knowledge that during World War I, Lenin resolutely opposed the imperialist war. At the same time he maintained that once war broke out among the imperialist countries, the proletariat and other working people of these countries should turn the imperialist war into just revolutionary wars inside the imperialist countries, i.e., into just revolutionary wars of the proletariat and other working people against the imperialists of their own countries. The day after the outbreak of the October Revolution, the Second All-

Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, under the chairmanship of Lenin, adopted the famous Decree on Peace. This Decree was an appeal to the international proletariat, and particularly to the class-conscious workers of Britain, France and Germany, trusting that they "will understand the duty that now faces them of saving mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences, that these workers, by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous action, will help us 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". (Lenin, "The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 331.) The Decree pointed out that the Soviet government "considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the strong and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the conditions indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception".(Ibid., p. 329.) This Decree proposed by Lenin is a great document in the history of the proletarian revolution. Yet there are people today who dare to distort and mutilate it; they have tampered with Lenin's description of a war waged by imperialist countries to divide the world and oppress weak nations as constituting the greatest of crimes against humanity, and deliberately twisted it into "war is the greatest of crimes against humanity". These people portray Lenin, the great proletarian revolutionary, the great Marxist, as a bourgeois pacifist. They brazenly distort Lenin, distort Leninism, distort history, and yet they presumptuously assert that others "do not understand the substance of the Marxist doctrine of revolutionary struggle". Isn't this kind of argument absurd?

We Chinese Communists are being abused by the modern revisionists because we oppose all the ridiculous arguments that are used to distort Leninism and because we insist on restoring the original features of Lenin's theory on the question of war and peace.

Marxist-Leninists hold that, in order to defend world peace and prevent a new world war, we must rely on the unity and growing strength of the socialist countries, on the struggles of the oppressed nations and

people, on the struggles of the international proletariat, and on the struggles of all the peace-loving countries and people in the world. This is the correct line for defending world peace for the people of all lands, a line which is in full accord with the Leninist theory of war and peace. Some people maliciously distort this line, calling it "a 'theory' to the effect that the road to victory for socialism runs through war between nations, through destruction, bloodshed and the death of millions of people". They place the defence of world peace in opposition to the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, and they hold that in order to have peace the people of all countries should kneel before the imperialists, and the oppressed nations and people should give up their struggles for liberation. Instead of fighting for world peace by relying on the united struggle of all the world's peace-loving forces, all these people do is to beg the imperialists, headed by the United States, for the gift of world peace. This so-called theory, this line of theirs, is absolutely wrong; it is anti-Leninist.

The Chinese Communists' basic views on the question of war and peace and our differences with Togliatti and other comrades on this question were made clear in the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of December 31, 1962. We said in that editorial:

> . . . on the question of how to avert world war and safeguard world peace, the Communist Party of China has consistently stood for the resolute exposure of imperialism, for strengthening the socialist camp, for firm support of the national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles, for the broadest alliance of all the peace-loving countries and people of the world, and at the same time, for taking full advantage of the contradictions among our enemies, and for utilising the method of negotiation as well as other forms of struggle. The aim of this stand is precisely the effective prevention of world war and preservation of world peace. This stand fully conforms with Marxism-Leninism and with the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. It is the correct policy for preventing world war and defending world peace. We persist in this correct policy precisely because we are deeply convinced that it is possible to prevent world war by relying on the combined struggle of all the forces mentioned above. How then can this stand be described as lacking faith in the possibility of averting world war? How can it be called "warlike"? It would simply result in a phoney peace or bring about an actual war

> for the people of the whole world if you prettify imperialism, pin your hopes of peace on imperialism, take an attitude of passivity or opposition towards the national liberation movements and the peoples' revolutionary struggles and bow down and surrender to imperialism, as advocated by those who attack the Communist Party of China. This policy is wrong and all Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionary people, all peace-loving people must resolutely oppose it.

Here let us recapitulate our basic theses on the question of war and peace:

First, we have always held that the forces of war and aggression headed by U.S. imperialism are preparing in earnest for a third world war and that the danger of war exists. But in the last ten years or so, the world balance of forces has changed more and more in favour of socialism and in favour of the struggles for national liberation, people's democracy and the defence of world peace. The people are the decisive factor. Imperialism and the reactionaries are isolated. By relying on the unity and the struggles of the people, and on the correct policies of the socialist countries and of the proletarian parties of various countries, it is possible to avert a new world war and to avert a nuclear war, and it is possible to achieve an agreement for the total banning of nuclear weapons.

Second, if the people of the world wish to be successful in preserving world peace, preventing a new world war and preventing nuclear war, they must support one another, form the broadest possible united front, and unite all the forces that can be united, including the people of the United States, to oppose the policies of war and aggression of the imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. reactionaries.

Third, the socialist countries stand for and adhere to the policy of peaceful co-existence with countries having other social systems, and develop friendly relations and carry on trade on the basis of equality with them. In pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence, the socialist countries oppose the use of force to settle disputes between states and do not interfere in the internal affairs of any other country. Some people say that peaceful co-existence will result in the transformation of the social system in all the capitalist countries, and that it is "the road leading to socialism on a world scale". (Todor Zhivkov, "Peace: Key Problem of Today", *World Marxist Review,* No. 8, 1960.) Others say that the

policy of peaceful co-existence is "the most advanced form of struggle against imperialism and for the peoples' liberation" ("Groundless Polemics of the Chinese Communists", l'Unita, December 31, 1962.) by all the oppressed people and nations. These people have completely distorted Lenin's policy of peaceful co-existence by jumbling together the question of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems, the question of class struggle in capitalist countries and the question of the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation.

Fourth, we have always believed in the necessity of constantly maintaining sharp vigilance against the danger of imperialist aggression on the socialist countries. We have always believed, too, that it is possible for the socialist countries to reach agreement through peaceful negotiations and make the necessary compromises with the imperialist countries on some issues, not excluding important ones. However, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

> Such compromise 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. (Mao Tse-tung, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation", *Selected Works,* Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 87.)

Fifth, the sharp contradictions among the imperialist powers exist objectively and are irreconcilable. Among the imperialist countries and blocs, clashes, big and small, direct and indirect and in one form or another, are bound to occur. They arise from the actual interests of the imperialists and are determined by the inherent nature of imperialism. To claim that the possibility of clashes among the imperialist countries arising from their actual interests has disappeared under the new historical conditions is tantamount to saying that imperialism has undergone a complete change, and is, in fact, to embellish imperialism.

Sixth, since capitalist-imperialism and the system of exploitation are the source of war, no one can guarantee that imperialists and reactionaries will not launch wars of aggression against the oppressed nations, or wars against the oppressed people of their own countries. On the other hand, no one can prevent the awakened oppressed nations and people from rising to wage revolutionary wars.

Seventh, the axiom that "war is the continuation of politics by

other means", which was affirmed and stressed by Lenin, remains valid today. The social system of the capitalist-imperialist countries is fundamentally different from that of the socialist countries, and their domestic and foreign policies are likewise fundamentally different from those of the socialist countries. From this it follows that the capitalist-imperialist countries and the socialist countries must take fundamentally different stands on the question of war and peace. As far as the capitalist-imperialist countries are concerned, whether they launch wars or profess peace, their aim is to pursue or to maintain their imperialist interests. Imperialist war is the continuation of imperialist policy in peacetime, and imperialist peace is the continuation of the war policy of imperialism. The bourgeois pacifists and the opportunists have always denied this point. As Lenin said, "The pacifists of both shades have never understood that 'war is the continuation of the politics of peace, and peace is the continuation of the politics of war'." (Lenin, "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 262.)

Eighth, the era of perpetual peace for mankind will come; the era when all wars will be eradicated will come. We are striving for its advent. But this great era will come only after, and not before, mankind has eradicated the system of capitalist-imperialism. As the Moscow Statement puts it, *"The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars."*

These are our basic theses on the question of war and peace.

Our theses are derived from analysis, based on the Marxist materialist conception of history, of a host of phenomena objectively existing in the world, of the extremely complex political and economic relationships among different countries, and of the specific conditions in the new world epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Revolution. These theses are correct in theory and, moreover, they have been repeatedly tested in practice. Since the modern revisionists and their followers have no way of disproving these theses, they have freely resorted to distortions and lies in their attempt to demolish the truth.

But how can the truth ever be demolished? Should it not rather be said that those trying to do this will themselves, sooner or later, be demolished by the truth?

At the present time, certain self-styled "creative Marxist-Leninists" believe that world history moves to the waving of their baton, and not according to the objective laws of society. This reminds us of the words of the famous French philosopher Diderot, as quoted by Lenin in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism:*

> There was a moment of insanity when the sentient piano imagined that it was the only piano in the world, and that the whole harmony of the universe took place within it. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 14, p. 38.)

Let those historical idealists who think that they are everything and that everything is contained in their own subjectivism carefully think over this passage!

V. THE STATE AND REVOLUTION

WHAT IS THE "POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION" OF COMRADE TOGLIATTI'S "THEORY OF STRUCTURAL REFORM"?

Togliatti and some other comrades describe their "fundamental line" of "structural reform" as "common to the whole international communist movement"; (Togliatti's concluding speech at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) they describe their thesis of structural reform as "a principle of the world strategy of the working class and communist movement in the present situation". (Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

It seems that Togliatti and other comrades not only want to thrust the "Italian road" on the working class and working people of Italy but to impose it on the people of the whole capitalist world. For they consider their proposed Italian road to be "the road of advance to socialism" for the whole capitalist world today, and apparently the one and only such road. Comrade Togliatti and certain other Italian comrades have an extraordinarily high opinion of themselves.

In order to make the issue clear, it may be useful first to introduce the reader to the main contents of their proposed Italian road and structural reform.

1. Is the most fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the state apparatus of bourgeois dictatorship has to be smashed and a state apparatus of proletarian dictatorship established, still wholly valid? In their opinion,

this is "a subject for discussion".(Togliatti, "The Italian Road to Socialism", Report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) They say that "it is evident that we correct something of this position, taking into account the changes which have taken place and which are still in the process of being realised in the world". (Ibid.)

2. "Today, the question of doing what was done in Russia is not posed to the Italian workers." (Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) Comrade Togliatti expressed this view in April 1944 and reaffirmed it as being "programmatic" in his report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.
3. The Italian working class can "organise itself into the ruling class within the limits of the constitutional system".("Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.", adopted by the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I. in December 1956.)
4. The Italian Constitution "assigns to the forces of labour a new and pre-eminent position" and "permits and envisages structural modifications". ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") "The struggle to give a new socialist content to Italian democracy has ample room for development within our Constitution." (Ibid.)
5. ". . . We can talk of the possibility of the thorough utilisation of legal means and also of Parliament to carry out serious social transformations...." (Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) "Full power should be given to Parliament, allowing it to carry out not only legislative tasks, but also the functions of direction of and control over the activities of the Executive...."("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") And they talk of the demand for "the effective extension of the powers of Parliament to the economic field". ("Political Theses Approved by the Ninth Congress of the C.P.I.")
6. ". . . The building of a new democratic regime advancing towards socialism is closely connected with the formation of a new historical grouping, which, under the leadership of the working class, would fight to change the structure of society and which would be the bearer of an intellectual and moral as well as a political revolution." ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.")
7. ". . . The destruction of the most backward and burdensome structures in Italian society and the beginning of their transformation in a democratic and socialist sense cannot and should not be postponed till the day when the working class and its allies win power...." ("Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.")
8. The nationalised economy, i.e., state-monopoly capital, in Italy can stand "in opposition to the monopolies", (A. Pesenti, "Is It a Question of the

Structure or of the Super-Structure?" in *Rinascita*, May 19, 1962.) can be "the expression of the popular masses" (ibid.) and can become "a more effective instrument for opposing monopolistic development". (A Pesenti, "Direct or Indirect Forms of State Intervention", in *Rinascita*, June 9, 1962.) It is possible "to break up and abolish the monopoly ownership of the major productive forces and transform it into collective ownership . . through nationalisation". ("Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.")

9. State intervention in economic life can "fulfil the needs for a democratic development of the economy" (Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) and can be turned into an "instrument of struggle against the power of big capital in order to hit, restrict and break up the rule of the big monopoly groups". (Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.)
10. Under capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship, "the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative", (ibid.) can be accepted. The working class, by "taking part in formulating and executing the planning policy in full realization of its own ideals and autonomy, with the strength of its own unity", ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") can turn planning policy into "a means of satisfying the needs of men and of the national collective". (Ibid.)

In short, the Italian road and the structural reform of Togliatti and other comrades amount to this – politically, while preserving the bourgeois dictatorship, "progressively to change the internal balance and structure of the state" and thus "impose the rise of new classes to its leadership" (Ibid.) through the "legal" means of bourgeois democracy, constitution and parliament (as to what is meant by "new classes", their exposition has always been ambiguous); and economically, while preserving the capitalist system, gradually to "restrict" and "break up" monopoly capital through "nationalisation", "programming" and "state intervention". In other words, it is possible to attain socialism in Italy through bourgeois dictatorship, without going through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Togliatti and other comrades consider their ideas to be "a positive contribution to the deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class". (Togliatti, "Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit".) Unfortunately there is nothing new in their ideas; they are very old and very stale; they are the bourgeois socialism which Marx and Engels so relentlessly refuted long ago.

The bourgeois socialism Marx and Engels criticised belonged to a period before monopoly capitalism had emerged. If Togliatti and the other comrades have made any "positive contribution", it is to the development, not of Marxism, but of bourgeois socialism. They have developed pre-monopoly bourgeois socialism into monopoly bourgeois socialism. But this is the very development which the Tito clique proposed long ago, and Togliatti and the other comrades have taken it over after their "study and profound understanding" of what the Tito clique has done and is doing.

COMPARE THIS WITH LENINISM

Whether it is possible to pass over to and realise socialism before overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the most fundamental question at issue between Marxist-Leninists and every kind of opportunist and revisionist. In *The State and Revolution* and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky,* two great works familiar to all Marxist-Leninists, Lenin comprehensively and penetratingly elucidated this fundamental question, defended and developed revolutionary Marxism and thoroughly exposed and repudiated the distortions of Marxism by the opportunists and revisionists.

As a matter of fact, "structural reform", the "change in the internal balance of the state" and other ideas held by Togliatti and the other comrades are all ideas of Kautsky's which Lenin criticised in *The State and Revolution.* Comrade Togliatti says, "The Chinese comrades want to scare us by reminding us of Kautsky, with whose views our policy has nothing in common." (Ibid.) Are we trying to scare Comrade Togliatti and the others? Has their policy nothing in common with Kautsky's views? As they did, we ask whether they will "permit us to remind them" to re-read carefully *The State and Revolution* and Lenin's other works.

Togliatti and the other comrades refuse to pay attention to the fundamental difference between proletarian socialist revolution and bourgeois revolution.

Lenin said:

> The difference between socialist revolution and bourgeois

> revolution lies precisely in the fact that the latter finds ready forms of capitalist relationships; while the Soviet power – the proletarian power – does not inherit such ready-made relationships. . . . (Lenin, "Report on War and Peace, Delivered to the Seventh Congress of the R.C.P. (B)", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 420.)

All state power in class society is designed to safeguard a particular social and economic system, that is, particular relations of production. As Lenin put it, "Politics are the concentrated expression of economics." (Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IX, p. 54.) Every social and economic system invariably has a corresponding political system which serves it and clears away the obstacles to its development.

Historically speaking, the slave-owners, the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie all had to establish themselves politically as the ruling class and take state power into their own hands in order to make their relations of production prevail over all others and to consolidate and develop these relations of production.

A fundamental point differentiating revolutions of exploiting classes from proletarian revolution is that, before the seizure of state power by any of the three great exploiting classes – the slave-owners, the landlords or the bourgeoisie – the relations of production of slavery, feudalism or capitalism already existed in society, and in certain cases had become fairly mature. But before the proletariat seizes power, socialist relations of production do not exist in society. The reason is obvious. A new form of private ownership can come into being spontaneously on the basis of an old one, whereas socialist public ownership of the means of production can never come into being spontaneously on the basis of capitalist private ownership.

Let us compare the ideas and programme of Togliatti and the other comrades with Leninism.

Contrary to Leninism, Togliatti and the other comrades maintain that socialist relations of production can gradually come into being without a socialist revolution and proletarian state power, and that the basic economic interests of the proletariat can be satisfied without a political revolution which replaces the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the starting-point of the

"Italian road" and the "theory of structural reform" of Comrade Togliatti and the others.

Who are right? Marx, Engels and Lenin, or Togliatti and the other comrades? Which ones "lack a sense of reality"? The Marxist-Leninists, or Togliatti and the other comrades with their ideas and programme?

Let us look at the reality in Italy.

Italy is a country with a population of fifty million. According to available statistics, Italy now has, in a period of peace, several hundred thousand government officials, over four hundred thousand troops in the standing army, nearly eighty thousand gendarmes, about one hundred thousand policemen, over one thousand two hundred law courts of all levels, and nearly one thousand prisons; this does not include the secret machinery of suppression with its armed personnel. In addition, there are U.S. military bases and U.S. armed forces stationed in Italy.

In their Theses, Togliatti and the other comrades delight in talking about Italy's democracy, constitution, parliament and so forth, but they do not use the class point of view to analyse the army, the gendarmes, the police, the law courts, the prisons and the other instruments of violence in present-day Italy. Whom do these instruments of violence protect and whom do they suppress? Do they protect the proletariat and the other working people and suppress the monopoly capitalists, or vice versa? When talking about the state system, a Marxist-Leninist must answer this question and not evade it.

Let us see what these instruments of violence are used for in Italy. Here are a few illustrations.

In the three years from 1948 to 1950, the Italian government killed or injured more than three thousand people and arrested more than ninety thousand, in the course of suppressing the mass opposition of the people.

In July 1960, the Tambroni government killed eleven people, injured one thousand and arrested another thousand, while suppressing the anti-fascist movement of the Italian working people.

In 1962 after the so-called centre-left government of Fanfani was formed, there were a succession of incidents as the government suppressed strikes or mass demonstrations – in Ceccano in May, in Turin in July, in Bari in August, in Milan in October and in Rome in November. In the Rome incident alone, dozens of people were injured, and six hundred arrested.

These are just a few instances, but do they not suffice to expose Italian democracy for what it really is? In an Italy with a powerful state machine, both open and secret, for suppressing the people, is it possible not to describe Italian democracy as the democracy, i.e., the dictatorship, of the Italian monopoly capitalist class?

Is it possible for the working class and all the working people of Italy to participate in the formulation of the Italian government's domestic and foreign policy under the Italian democracy of which Togliatti and the other comrades boast? If you, Togliatti and the other comrades, think it possible, will you take responsibility for the numerous crimes of suppression of the people committed by the Italian government, for that government's agreement to let the United States build military bases in Italy, for its participation in N.A.T.O., etc.? Naturally, you will say that you cannot be held responsible for these reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Italian government. But since you claim a share in policy-making, why are you unable to achieve the slightest change in these most fundamental policies of the Italian government?

To laud "democracy" in general terms, without making any distinction concerning the class character of democracy, is to sing the tune which the heroes of the Second International and the Right-wing social democratic leaders played to death. Is it not strange for the self-styled Marxist-Leninists of today to claim these worn-out tunes as their own new creations?

Perhaps Comrade Togliatti does want to differentiate himself a little from the social-democrats. He maintains that as far as "abstract argument" is concerned, one may acknowledge the class character of the state and the bourgeois character of the present Italian state, but that "putting it in concrete terms" is another matter. In terms of "concrete argument", he maintains that "starting from the present state structure . . . by realising the profound reforms envisaged by the Constitution, it would be possible . . . to obtain such results as would change the present power grouping and create the conditions for another grouping, of which the labouring classes constitute a part and in which they would assume the function which is their due . . ." and thus to make Italy "advance towards socialism in democracy and peace". (Cf. Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) When translated into language intelligible to ordinary people, these vague phrases of Comrade

Togliatti's mean that the nature of the state machine of the Italian monopoly capitalists can be gradually changed without a people's revolution in Italy.

Comrade Togliatti's "concrete argument" is at loggerheads with his "abstract argument". In his "abstract argument" he comes a little closer to Marxism-Leninism, but when he gives the "concrete argument" he is far removed from Marxism-Leninism. Perhaps he thinks this is the only way to avoid being "dogmatic"!

When Togliatti and the other comrades are assessed in the light of their "concrete argument", the hairline between them and the social-democrats vanishes.

Today, when certain people are doing their utmost to adulterate the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution, and when the modern revisionists are usurping the name of Lenin in their frenzied attacks on Leninism, we would like to draw attention to the following two paragraphs from Lenin's speech at the First Congress of the Communist International in 1919:

> The main thing that socialists fail to understand and that constitutes their short-sightedness in matters of theory, their subservience to bourgeois prejudices and their political betrayal of the proletariat is that in capitalist society, whenever there is any serious aggravation of the class struggle intrinsic to that society, there can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary petty-bourgeois lamentations. That is borne out by more than a century of development of bourgeois democracy and the labour movement in all the advanced countries, and notably by the experience of the past five years. This is also borne out by the science of political economy, by the entire content of Marxism, which reveals the economic inevitability, wherever commodity economy prevails, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that can only be replaced by the class which the growth of capitalism develops, multiplies, welds together and strengthens, that is, the proletarian class.
>
> Another theoretical and political error of the socialists is their failure to understand that ever since the rudiments of democracy first appeared in antiquity, its forms inevitably changed over the centuries as one ruling class replaced another. Democracy assumed different forms and was applied in different degrees in the ancient republics of Greece, the medieval cities and the advanced capitalist countries. It

> would be sheer nonsense to think that the most profound revolution in human history the first case in the world of power being transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority, could take place within the time-worn framework of the old, bourgeois parliamentary democracy, without drastic changes, without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions that embody the new conditions for applying democracy, etc. (Lenin, "The First Congress of the Communist International", *Lenin on the International Working Class and Communist Movement*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, pp. 255-56.)

Here we see that Lenin drew these clear-cut and definite conclusions on the basis of the whole of Marxist teaching, the whole experience of class struggle in capitalist society and the whole experience of the October Revolution. He held that within the old framework of bourgeois parliamentary democracy it was impossible for state power to be transferred from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, impossible to realise the most profound revolution in human history, the socialist revolution. Have not these specific truths which Lenin expounded in 1919 been repeatedly confirmed since by the experience of every country where the socialist revolution has taken place? Has not this experience confirmed again and again that the road of the October Revolution, which Lenin led, is the common road for the emancipation of mankind?

Have not the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 reiterated that this is the common road to socialism for the working class in all countries? Whether the working class uses peaceful or non-peaceful means depends, of course, "on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism".("Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.") But, one way or the other, it is necessary to smash the old bourgeois state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat

Instead of taking the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat or the living reality of Italian society as their starting-point, Togliatti and other comrades start from the present Italian Constitution and maintain that Italy can achieve socialism within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary democracy without smashing the old state machine. What they call the "new democratic regime" is

nothing but an "extension" of bourgeois democracy. No wonder that their "concrete argument" diverges so widely from the specific truths of Marxism-Leninism.

A MOST MARVELLOUS CONSTITUTION

The Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. declare that "the Italian road to socialism passes through the building of the new state as described in the Constitution (a state which is profoundly different from the present regime) and the accession of the new ruling classes to its leadership".

According to Togliatti and the other comrades, the Constitution of Italy is indeed a most marvellous one.

1. The Constitution of the Republic is "a unitary compact voluntarily binding on the great majority of the Italian people...."("Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.")
2. The Constitution of the Republic "envisages some fundamental reforms which . . . carry the marks of socialism".(Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)
3. The Constitution of the Republic "affirms the principle of the sovereignty of the people".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.")
4. The Constitution of the Republic "proclaims it [the state] to be 'founded on labour'", (Togliatti, "For an Italian Road to Socialism. For a Democratic Government of the Working Class", Report to the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I., December 1956.) and "assigns to the forces of labour a new and pre-eminent position".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.")
5. The Constitution of the Republic recognizes "the workers' right to enter into the direction of the state". ("Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.")
6. The Constitution of the Republic "affirms the necessity of those economic and political changes which are essential for reconstructing our society and for moving it in the direction of socialism".(Togliatti, "For an Italian Road to Socialism. For a Democratic Government of the Working Class", Report to the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I., December 1956.)
7. The Constitution of the Republic has resolved "the problem of principle of the march towards socialism within the ambit of democratic legality". (Ibid.)
8. The Italian people "are able to oppose the class nature and class aims of the state while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact". ("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.", *l'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.)

9. The Italian working class "can organise itself into the ruling class within the ambit of the constitutional system". ("Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.")
10. "The respect for, the defence of, and the integral application of, the Constitution of the Republic form the pivot of the whole political programme of the Party."(Ibid.)

We do not, of course, deny that the present Italian Constitution contains some lofty phraseology. But how can a Marxist-Leninist take the high-sounding phrases in a bourgeois constitution for reality?

There are 139 articles in the present Italian Constitution. But, in the final analysis, its class nature is most clearly represented by Article 42, which provides that "private ownership is recognised and guaranteed by law". In terms of Italian reality, this article protects the private property of the monopoly capitalists. By virtue of this provision, the Constitution satisfies the demands of the monopoly capitalists, for their private property is made sacred and inviolable. To try to cover up the real nature of the Italian Constitution and to talk about it in superlative terms is only to deceive oneself and others.

Togliatti and the other comrades say that the Italian Constitution "bears the marks of the presence of the working class", "affirms the principle of the sovereignty of the people" and "recognises certain new rights for the workers".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") When they talk about this principle and these new rights, why do they not compare the Italian Constitution with other bourgeois constitutions before drawing conclusions?

It should be noted that the provision concerning the sovereignty of the people is found in practically every bourgeois constitution since the time of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in the French bourgeois revolution of 1789, and is not peculiar to the Italian Constitution. "Sovereignty belongs to the people" was once a revolutionary slogan which the bourgeoisie pitted against the feudal monarchs' dictum of *L'etat, c'est Moi.* But since the establishment of bourgeois rule this article has become a mere phrase in bourgeois constitutions to conceal the nature of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It should be noted, too, that the Italian Constitution is not the only one that provides for civil liberties and rights. Such provisions are found in the constitutions of nearly all the capitalist countries. But after

stipulating certain civil liberties and rights, some constitutions go straight on to make other provisions to restrict or cancel them. As Marx said of the French Constitution of 1848, "Every one of its provisions contains its own antithesis – utterly nullifies itself."(Marx and Engels, "Constitution of the French Republic Adopted on November 4, 1848", *Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 7, p. 535.) There are other constitutions in which such articles are not followed by restrictive or nugatory provisions, but the bourgeois governments concerned readily achieve the same purpose by other means. The Italian Constitution falls into the former category; in other words, it is a nakedly bourgeois constitution and can in no way be described as "fundamentally socialist in inspiration".(Togliatti, "The Communists' Struggle for Liberation, Peace and Socialism", Report to the Fourth National Conference of the C.P.I.)

Lenin said, "Where laws are out of keeping with reality, the constitution is false; where they conform with reality, the constitution is not false."(Lenin, "How Do Socialist-Revolutionaries Summarise Results of Revolution", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Vol. 15, p. 308.) The present Italian Constitution has both these aspects; it is both false and not false. It is not false in such matters of substance as its open protection of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and it is false in its high-sounding phrases designed to deceive the people.

At the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy held in January 1948, Comrade Togliatti said:

> Our political and even constitutional future is uncertain, because one can foresee serious collisions between a progressive sector which will rely on one part of our constitutional charter, and a conservative and reactionary sector which will look for instruments of resistance in the other part. Therefore it would be committing a serious political error and deceiving the people if one confined oneself to saying: "Everything is now written in the Constitution. Let us apply what is sanctioned in it, and all the aspirations of the people will be realised." That is wrong. No constitution is ever used to save liberty if it is not defended by the consciousness of the citizens, by their power, and by their ability to crush every reactionary attempt. No constitutional norm will by itself assure us of democratic and social progress if the organised and conscious forces of the labouring masses are unable to lead the whole country along this road of progress and smash the resistance of reaction.

From these words spoken by Comrade Togliatti in 1948, it would seem that he then still retained certain Marxist-Leninist views, since he admitted that the political and constitutional future of Italy was uncertain and that the Italian Constitution was two-sided in character and could be used both by the conservative reactionary forces and the progressive forces. Comrade Togliatti then held that to place blind faith in the Italian Constitution was "a serious political error" and was "deceiving the people". In January 1955, Comrade Togliatti said in a speech, "It is clear that we have in our Constitution the lines of a programme, fundamentally socialist in inspiration, which is not only a political but also an economic and social programme."(Report to the Fourth National Conference of the C.P.I.) So by that time Comrade Togliatti had already taken the Italian Constitution as one "fundamentally socialist in inspiration".

Thus, the Togliatti of 1955 came out in opposition to the Togliatti of 1948.

From then on Comrade Togliatti has gone into a precipitous decline, and has virtually deified the Italian Constitution.

In 1960 Comrade Togliatti said in his report to the Ninth Congress of the C.P.I.:

> We move on the terrain of the Constitution, and as for all those who ask us what we would do if we were in power, we remind them of the Constitution. We have written in our Programmatic Declaration, and we repeat, that it is possible to carry out "in full constitutional legality the structural reforms necessary to undermine the power of the monopolist groups, to defend the interests of all workers against the economic and financial oligarchies, to exclude these oligarchs from power, and to enable the labouring classes to accede to power.

That is to say, Comrade Togliatti demanded that the working class and other working people of Italy must act in full legality under the bourgeois constitution and rely on it in order to "undermine the power of the monopolist groups".

At the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. in 1962, Togliatti and some other comrades of the C.P.I. reasserted that they are "firm" on this point. They declared that "the Italian road to socialism passes through the building of the new state as described in the Constitution ... and the rise of the new ruling classes to its leadership"; ("Theses for the Tenth

Congress of the C.P.I.") that this road means to "demand and impose the transformation of the state in the light of the Constitution, to conquer new positions of power within the state, to push forward the socialist transformation of society";(Ibid.) and that it means to form "a social and political bloc capable of carrying out the socialist transformation of Italy in constitutional legality".(Ibid.) They also proposed to "oppose the class nature and class aims of the state while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact, developing ample and articulated action tending to push the state along the road of a progressive democracy capable of developing towards socialism".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.", *l'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.)

In brief, Togliatti and the other comrades intend to bring about socialism within the framework of the Italian bourgeois constitution, completely forgetting that though there are some attractively worded articles in the Italian Constitution, the monopoly capitalists can nullify the Constitution whenever they find it necessary and opportune, so long as they have control of the state machine and all the armed forces.

Marxist-Leninists must expose the hypocrisy of bourgeois constitutions, but at the same time they should utilise certain of their provisions as weapons against the bourgeoisie. In ordinary circumstances, refusal to make use of a bourgeois constitution and carry on legal struggle wherever possible is a mistake, which Lenin called a "Left" infantile disorder. But to call upon Communists and the people to place blind faith in a bourgeois constitution, to say that a bourgeois constitution can bring socialism to the people, and that respect for, and defence and integral application of, such a constitution "form the pivot of the whole political programme of the Party"("Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.") is not just an infantile disorder but, again in Lenin's words, mental subservience to bourgeois prejudices.

CONTEMPORARY "PARLIAMENTARY CRETINISM"

Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades admit that to realise socialism involves struggle, that socialism must be realised through struggle. But they confine the people's struggle to the scope permitted by the bourgeois constitution and assign the primary role to parliament.

In describing how the present Italian Constitution came into

existence, Comrade Togliatti said, "This was due to the fact that in 1946 the Communists rejected the road of breaking legality by desperately attempting to seize power, and on the contrary chose the road of participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly."(Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

That is how Comrade Togliatti came to take the parliamentary road as the one by which the working class and other working people of Italy would "advance towards socialism".

For years Togliatti and other comrades have stressed the same point: "Today the thesis of the possibility of a march towards socialism within the forms of democratic and even parliamentary legality has been formulated in a general way.... This proposition...was ours in 1944-46."(Togliatti's report to the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I.)

"It is possible to pass to socialism by taking the parliamentary road."(Togliatti "Parliament and the Struggle for Socialism", In *Pravda*, March 7, 1956.)

Here we should like to discuss with Togliatti and the other comrades the question of whether the transition to socialism can be brought about through parliamentary forms.

The question must be made clear. We have always held that taking part in parliamentary struggle is one of the methods of legal struggle which the working class should utilise in certain conditions. To refuse to utilise parliamentary struggle when it is necessary, but instead to play at or prattle about revolution, is something that all Marxist-Leninists resolutely oppose. On this question, we have always adhered to the whole of Lenin's theory as expounded in his *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.* But some people deliberately distort our views. They say that we deny the necessity of all parliamentary struggle and that we deny that there are twists, and turns in the development of the revolution. They ascribe to us the view that some fine morning the people's revolutions will suddenly come in various countries. Or they assert, as Comrade Togliatti does in his reply of January 10 this year to our article, that we want the Italian comrades to "confine themselves to preaching and waiting for the great day of revolution". Of late such distortion of the arguments of the other side in the discussion has virtually

become the favourite trick of the self-styled Marxist-Leninists in dealing with the Chinese Communists.

It may be asked: What are our differences with Comrade Togliatti and the others on the proper attitude towards bourgeois parliaments?

First, we hold that all bourgeois parliaments, including the present Italian parliament, have a class nature and serve as ornaments for bourgeois dictatorship. As Lenin put it: "Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth – in these countries the real business of 'state' is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and the General Staffs."(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part I, p. 246.) ". . . the *more highly* [bourgeois] democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers."(Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 52.)

Secondly, we are for utilising parliamentary struggle, but against spreading illusions, against "parliamentary cretinism". Again, as Lenin said, political parties of the working class "stand for utilising the parliamentary struggle, for participating in parliament; but they ruthlessly expose 'parliamentary cretinism', that is, the belief that the parliamentary struggle is the *sole* or *under all circumstances the main* form of the political struggle".(Lenin, "Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 10, p. 353.)

Thirdly, we are for utilising the platform of the bourgeois parliament to expose the festering sores in bourgeois society and also to expose the fraud of the bourgeois parliament. For its own interests, the bourgeoisie under certain conditions admits representatives of the working class party to its parliament; at the same time this is a method by which it tries to deceive, corrupt and even buy over certain representatives and leaders of the workers. Therefore, in waging the parliamentary struggle the political party of the working class must be highly vigilant and must at all times maintain its political independence.

On the three points just mentioned, Togliatti and the other comrades have completely cast away the Leninist stand. Regarding parliament as being above classes, they exaggerate the role of the bourgeois parliament

for no valid reason and see it as the only road for achieving socialism in Italy.

Togliatti and other comrades have become thoroughly obsessed with the Italian parliament.

They hold that given an "honest electoral law" and provided that "in parliament a majority is formed, which is conformable to the will of the people", (Togliatti: "Parliament and the Struggle for Socialism".) it is possible to carry out "profound social reforms"(Ibid.) and "change the present relations of production, and consequently also the big property regime".("Political Theses Approved by the Ninth Congress of the C.P.I.")

Can things really happen that way?

No. Things can only happen like this: So long as the bureaucratic-military state machine of the bourgeoisie still exists, for the proletariat and its reliable allies to win a parliamentary majority under normal conditions and in accordance with bourgeois electoral law is some thing either impossible or in no way to be depended upon. After World War II, the Communist and Workers' Parties in many capitalist countries held seats in parliament, in some cases many seats. In every case, however, the bourgeoisie used various measures to prevent the Communists from gaining a parliamentary majority – nullifying elections, dissolving parliament, revising the electoral laws or the constitution, or outlawing the Communist Party. For quite a while after World War II, the Communist Party of France had the largest popular vote and parliamentary representation of any party in the country, but the French monopoly capitalists revised the electoral law and the constitution itself and deprived the French Communist Party of many of its seats.

Can the working class become the ruling class simply by relying on votes in elections? History records no case of an oppressed class becoming the ruling class through the vote. The bourgeoisie preaches a lot about parliamentary democracy and elections, but there was no country where the bourgeoisie replaced the feudal lords and became the ruling class simply by a vote. It is even less likely for the proletariat to become the ruling class through elections. As Lenin put it in his *Greetings to Italian, French, and German Communists:*

> 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 only after this must it win power. 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.(Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Vol. 30, p. 40.)

History does tell us that when a workers' party abandons its proletarian revolutionary programme, degenerates into an appendage of the bourgeoisie, and converts itself into a political party that is a tool of the bourgeoisie, the latter may permit it to have a temporary parliamentary majority and to form a government. This was the case with the British Labour Party. It was also the case with the social-democratic parties of several countries after they had betrayed their original socialist revolutionary programmes. But this sort of thing can only maintain and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and cannot in the least alter the position of the proletariat as an oppressed and exploited class. The British Labour Party has been in power three times since 1924, but imperialist Britain is still imperialist Britain, and, as before, the British working class has no power. We would ask Comrade Togliatti whether he is thinking of following in the footsteps of the British Labour Party and of the social-democratic parties in other countries.

The Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. declare that parliament must be given full powers to legislate and to direct and control the activities of the executive. We do not know who will give parliament the powers certain leaders of the Italian Communist Party desire for it. Are they to be given by the bourgeoisie or by Togliatti and the other comrades? In fact, the powers of a bourgeois parliament are given it by the bourgeoisie. Their extent is decided by the bourgeoisie according to its interests. No matter how much power the bourgeoisie allows parliament, the latter can never become the real organ of power of the bourgeois state. The real organ of power, by means of which the bourgeoisie rules over the people, is the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and not its parliament.

If Communists abandon the road of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, pin all their hopes on winning a majority in the bourgeois parliament by a vote and wait to be given powers to lead the

state, what difference is there between their road and Kautsky's parliamentary road? Kautsky said: "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."(Kautsky, "New Tactics", in *Neue Zeit*, No. 46, 1912.) Lenin said in criticism of this Kautskian road, "This is nothing but the purest and the most vulgar opportunism."(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 323.)

In March 1956, when talking about "utilisation of legal means and also of parliament", Comrade Togliatti stated, "What we do today would have been neither possible nor correct thirty years ago, it would have been pure opportunism, as we described it at that time."(Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

What grounds are there for saying that what was neither possible nor correct thirty years ago has become so today? What grounds are there for saying that what was then pure opportunism has now suddenly become pure Marxism-Leninism? Comrade Togliatti's words are in fact an admission that the road he and the other comrades are travelling is the same as that taken by the opportunists in the past.

However, when it was pointed out that they were travelling this parliamentary road, Comrade Togliatti changed his tune, saying in June 1956: "I would like to correct those comrades who have said – as if it were undoubtedly a peaceful matter – that the Italian road of development towards socialism means the parliamentary road and nothing more. That is not true."(Togliatti's report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) He also said: "To reduce this struggle to electoral competitions for parliament and to wait for the acquisition of fifty-one per cent would be not only simple-minded but also illusory."(Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) Comrade Togliatti argued that what they advocated was not only "a parliament which functions"(Togliatti's report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) but also "a great popular movement".(Ibid.)

To demand a great popular movement is a good thing, and Marxist-Leninists should of course feel happy about it. It should be recognised that there is a mass movement of considerable scale in Italy today and

that the Communist Party of Italy has in this respect made achievements. The pity is that Comrade Togliatti looks at the mass movement only within a parliamentary framework. He holds that the mass movement "can bring about the raising in our country of those urgent demands which could then be satisfied by a parliament, in which the popular forces have won sufficiently strong representation".(Ibid.)

The masses raise demands, then parliament satisfies them – such is Comrade Togliatti's formula for the mass movement.

The basic tactical principle of Marxism-Leninism is as follows: In all mass movements, and likewise in parliamentary struggle, it is necessary to maintain the political independence of the proletariat, to draw a line of demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to integrate the present interests of the movement with its future interests, and to coordinate the current movement with the entire process and the final goal of the working class struggle. To forget or violate this principle is to fall into the quagmire of Bernsteinism and, in reality, to accept the notorious formula that "the movement is everything, the aim is nothing". We should like to ask: What difference is there between Comrade Togliatti's formula concerning the mass movement and Bernstein's formula?

CAN STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITAL BECOME "A MORE EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT FOR OPPOSING MONOPOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT"?

Replying to the editorial in our paper *Renmin Ribao,* Comrade Luigi Longo, one of the chief leaders of the Communist Party of Italy, wrote in an article on January 4, 1963:

> Our Tenth Congress has also forcefully reaffirmed that a firm point in what we call the Italian road to socialism is the recognition that already today, in the existing international and domestic situation, even when the capitalist regime continues to exist, it is possible and necessary to arrive at the liquidation of the monopolies and of their economic and political power.

These comrades maintain that by adopting the measures they have worked out it is possible to change the capitalist relations of production now existing in Italy and to change the "big property regime" of the Italian monopoly capitalists.

The economic measures of "structural reform" which have been worked out by Togliatti and other comrades are, in their own words, the realisation of "the demand for a definite degree of nationalisation, the demand for programming, the demand for state intervention to guarantee democratic economic development, and so on";(Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) and "the movement which tends to increase direct state intervention in economic life, through programming, the nationalisation of whole sectors of production, etc."("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.")

Probably Togliatti and the other comrades will go on to devise still more measures of this sort.

Of course, they have the right to think and say what they like, and no one has the right to interfere, nor do we want to. However, since they want others to think and speak as they do, we cannot but continue the discussion of the questions they have raised.

Let us take first the question of state intervention in economic life.

Has not the state intervened in economic life ever since it came into being, no matter whether it was a state of slave-owners, of feudal lords or of the bourgeoisie? When these classes are in the ascendant, state intervention in economic life may take one form, and when they are on the decline, it may take another form. State intervention in economic life may also take different forms in different countries where the state power is the same in its class nature. Leaving aside the question of how the state of slave-owners or feudal-lords intervenes in economic life, we shall discuss only the intervention of the bourgeois state in economic life

Whether a bourgeois state pursues a policy of grabbing colonies or of contending for world supremacy, a policy of free trade or of protective tariffs, every such policy constitutes state intervention in economic life, which bourgeois states have long practised in order to protect the interests of their bourgeoisie. Such intervention has played an important role in the development of capitalism. State intervention in economic life is, therefore, not something new that has recently made its appearance in Italy.

But perhaps what Togliatti and the other comrades refer to by "state intervention in economic life" is not these policies long practised

by the bourgeoisie, but mainly the nationalisation they are talking about.

Well then, let us talk about nationalisation.

In reality, from slave society onward, different kinds of states have had different kinds of "nationalized sectors of the economy". The state of slave-owners had its nationalized sector of the economy, and so had the state of feudal lords. The bourgeois state has had its nationalized sector of the economy ever since it came into being. Therefore, the question to be clarified is the nature of the nationalisation in each case, and what class carries it out.

A veteran Communist like Comrade Togliatti is certainly not ignorant of what Engels said in his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific":

> In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society–the state–will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication–the post office, the telegraphs, the railways.(Marx and Engels, Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, pp. 147-48.)

To this statement, Engels added the following very important rider:

> I say "*have to*". For only when the means of production and distribution have *actually* outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the state has become *economically* inevitable, only then–even if it is the state of today that effects this–is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for state ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* state ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the state of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of socialism. If the Belgian state, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the state the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes–this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure,

directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor shops of the Army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the state of the brothels. (Ibid.)

Engels then went on to emphasise the nature of so-called state ownership in capitalist countries. He said:

> But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers–proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.(Ibid., pp. 148-49.)

Engels wrote all this in the period when monopoly capital was first emerging and capitalism had begun to move from free competition to monopoly. Have his arguments lost their validity now that monopoly capital has assumed a completely dominating position? Can it be said that nationalisation in the capitalist countries has now changed and even done away with "the capitalist nature of the productive forces"? Can it be said that state-monopoly capitalism, formed through capitalist nationalisation or in other ways, is no longer capitalism? Or perhaps this can be said of Italy, though not of other countries?

Here, then, we have to go into the question of state-monopoly capitalism, and in Italy in particular.

Concentration of capital results in monopoly. From World War I onward, world capitalism has not only taken a step further towards monopoly in general, but also taken a step further away from monopoly

in general to state monopoly. After World War I, and particularly after the economic crisis broke out in the capitalist world in 1929, state-monopoly capitalism further developed in all the imperialist countries. During World War II, the monopoly capitalists in the imperialist countries on both sides utilised state-monopoly capital to the fullest possible extent in order to make high profits out of the war. And since the War, state-monopoly capital has actually become the more or less dominant force in economic life in some imperialist countries.

Compared with the other principal imperialist countries, the foundations of capitalism in Italy are relatively weak. From an early date, therefore, Italy embarked upon state capitalism for the purpose of concentrating the forces of capital so as to grab the highest profits, compete with international monopoly capital, expand her markets and redivide the colonies. In 1914, the Consorzio per Sovvenzione su Valore Industria was established by the Italian government to provide the big banks and industrial firms with loans and subsidies. There was a further integration of the state organs with monopoly capitalist organizations during Mussolini's fascist regime. In particular, during the great crisis of 1929-33, the Italian government bought up at pre-crisis prices large blocks of shares of many failing banks and other enterprises, brought many banks and enterprises under state control, and organised the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale, thus forming a gigantic state-monopoly capitalist organisation. After World War II, Italian monopoly capital, including state-monopoly capital, which had been the foundation of the fascist regime, was left intact and developed at still greater speed. At present, the enterprises run by state-monopoly capital or jointly by state and private monopoly capital constitute about 30 per cent of Italy's economy.

What conclusions should Marxist-Leninists draw from the development of state-monopoly capital? In Italy, can nationalised enterprise, i.e., state-monopoly capital, stand "in opposition to the monopolies", (A. Pesenti: "Is It a Question of the Structure or of the Super-Structure?") can it be "the expression of the popular masses", (Ibid.) and can it become "a more effective instrument for opposing monopolistic development", (A. Pesenti: "Direct and Indirect Forms of State Intervention".) as stated by Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I.?

No Marxist-Leninist can possibly draw such conclusions.

State-monopoly capitalism is monopoly capitalism in which monopoly capital has merged with the political power of the state. Taking full advantage of state power, it accelerates the concentration and aggregation of capital, intensifies the exploitation of the working people, the devouring of small and medium enterprises, and the annexation of some monopoly capitalist groups by others, and strengthens monopoly capital for international competition and expansion. Under the cover of "state intervention in economic life" and "opposition to monopoly", and using the name of the state to deceive, it cleverly transfers huge profits into the pockets of the monopoly groups by underhand methods.

The chief means by which state-monopoly capital serves the monopoly capitalists are as-follows:

1. It uses the funds of the state treasury, and the taxes paid by the people, to protect the capitalists against risk to their investments, thus guaranteeing large profits to the monopoly groups.

   For example, on all the bonds issued to raise funds for the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale, the biggest state-monopoly organisation of Italy, the state both pays interest and guarantees the principal. The bond-holders generally receive a high rate of interest, as high as 4.5 to 8 per cent per annum. In addition, they draw dividends when the enterprises make a profit.
2. Through legislation and the state budget a substantial proportion of the national income is redistributed in ways favourable to the monopoly capitalist organizations, ensuring that the various monopoly groups get huge profits.

   For example, in 1955 about one-third of the total state budget was allocated by the Italian government for purchasing and ordering goods from private monopoly groups.
3. Through the alternative forms of purchase and sale, the state on certain occasions takes over those enterprises which are losing money or going bankrupt or whose nationalisation will benefit particular monopoly groups, and on other occasions sells to the private monopoly groups those enterprises which are profitable.

   For example, according to statistics compiled by the Italian economist Gino Longo, between 1920 and 1955, successive Italian governments paid a total of 1,647,000 million lire (in terms of 1953 prices) to purchase the shares of failing banks and enterprises, a sum equal to more than 50 per cent of the total nominal capital in 1955 of all the Italian joint-stock companies with a capital of 50 million lire or more. On the other hand,

from its establishment to 1958, the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale alone sold back to private monopoly organizations shares in profitable enterprises amounting to a total value of 491,000 million lire (in terms of 1953 prices), according to incomplete statistics.

4. By making use of state authority, state-monopoly capital intensifies the concentration and aggregation of capital, and accelerates the annexation of small and medium enterprises by monopoly capital.

   For example, from 1948 to 1958, the total nominal capital of the ten biggest monopoly groups, which control the lifelines of the Italian economy, multiplied 15 times. The Fiat Company multiplied its nominal capital 25 times and the Italcemento 40 times. Although the ten biggest companies in Italy constituted only 0.04 per cent of the total number of joint-stock companies, they directly held or controlled 64 per cent of the total private share-holding capital in Italy. During the same period, the number of small and medium enterprises which went bankrupt constantly increased.

5. Internationally, state-monopoly capital battles fiercely for markets, utilising the name of the state and its diplomatic measures, and thus serves Italian monopoly capital as a useful tool for extending its neo-colonialist penetration.

   For example, in the period of 1956-61 alone, the Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi obtained the right to explore and exploit oil resources, to sell oil or to build pipe-lines and refineries in the United Arab Republic, Iran, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Jordan, India, Yugoslavia, Austria, Switzerland, etc. In this way, it has secured for the Italian monopoly-capitalists a place in the world oil market.

The facts given above make it clear that state monopoly and private monopoly are in fact two mutually supporting forms used by the monopoly capitalists for the extraction of huge profits. The development of state-monopoly capital aggravates the inherent contradictions of the imperialist system and can never, as Togliatti and the other comrades assert, "limit and break up the power of the leading big monopoly groups"("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") or change the contradictions inherent in imperialism

In Italy there is a view current among certain people that contemporary Italian capitalism is different from the capitalism of fifty years ago and has entered a "new stage". They call contemporary Italian capitalism "neo-capitalism". They insist that under "neo-capitalism", or in the "new stage" of capitalism, such fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles as those concerning class struggle, socialist revolution, seizure

of state power by the proletariat and proletarian dictatorship are no longer of any use. In their view, this "neo-capitalism" can apparently perform the function of resolving the fundamental contradictions of capitalism within the capitalist system itself, by such means as "programming", "technical progress", "full employment" and the "welfare state", and through "international alliance". It was the Catholic movement and the social reformists who first advocated and spread these theories in Italy. Actually, it was in these so-called theories that Togliatti and the other comrades found a new basis for their "theory of structural reform".

Togliatti and the other comrades maintain that "the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative, are more and more extensively discussed and accepted today".(Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.)

It is Comrade Togliatti's opinion (1) that there can be planned development of the national economy not only in socialist countries but also under capitalism, and (2) that the economic planning and programming characteristic of socialism can be accepted in capitalist Italy.

Marxist-Leninists have always held that the capitalist state finds it both possible and necessary to adopt policies which in some way regulate the national economy in the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. This idea is contained in the passages quoted above from Engels. In the era of monopoly capital, this regulatory function of the capitalist state mainly serves the interests of the monopoly capitalists. Although such regulation may sometimes sacrifice the interests of certain monopoly groups, it never harms, but on the contrary represents, the over-all interests of the monopoly capitalists.

Here is Lenin's excellent exposition of this point. He said:

> . . . the erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion that monopoly capitalism or state-monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism, but can already be termed "state Socialism", or something of that sort, is most widespread. The trusts, of course, never produced, do not now produce, and cannot produce complete planning. But however much they do plan, however much the capitalist magnates calculate in advance the volume of production on a national and even on an international scale, and however much they systematically regulate

> it, we still remain under *capitalism – capitalism* in its new stage, it is true, but still, undoubtedly, capitalism. (Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 269.)

However, some comrades of the C.P.I. maintain that, by carrying out "planning" in Italy under the rule of the monopoly capitalists, it is possible to solve the major problems posed by Italian history, including "the problems of the liberty and emancipation of the working class".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") How is this miracle possible?

Comrade Togliatti says, "State-monopoly capitalism, which is the modern aspect of the capitalist regime in almost all the big countries, is that stage – as Lenin has affirmed – beyond which, in order to go forward, there is no other way but socialism. But from this objective necessity it is necessary to make a conscious movement arise."(Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.)

There is the well-known statement by Lenin that "capitalism, . . . advanced from capitalism to imperialism, from monopoly to state control. All this has brought the socialist revolution nearer and has created the objective conditions for it".(Lenin, "Report on the Current Situation Delivered at the April Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., May 7 (April 24), 1917", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VI, p. 99.) He also made similar statements elsewhere. Clearly, Lenin meant that the development of state-monopoly capitalism serves only to prove "the proximity. . . of the socialist revolution, and not at all as an argument in favour of tolerating the repudiation of such a revolution and the efforts to make capitalism look more attractive, an occupation in which all the reformists are engaged".(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, pp, 269-70.) In talking about "structural reform" and "conscious movement", Comrade Togliatti is using ambiguous language exactly as the reformists do to evade the question of socialist revolution posed by Marxism-Leninism, and he is doing his best to make Italian capitalism look more attractive.

REMEMBER WHAT THE GREAT LENIN TAUGHT

From the above series of questions it can be seen that the "theory

of structural reform" advanced by Togliatti and the other comrades is an out-and-out total revision of Marxism-Leninism on the fundamental question of the state and revolution.

Comrade Togliatti publicly hoisted the flag of total revision of Marxism-Leninism as early as 1956. In June of that year, at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I., he said:

> First Marx and Engels and later on Lenin, when developing this theory [the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat–Hongqi Ed.], said that the bourgeois state apparatus cannot be used for building a socialist society. This apparatus must be smashed and destroyed by the working class, and replaced by the apparatus of the proletarian state, i.e., of the state led by the working class itself. This was not the original position of Marx and Engels. It was the position they took after the experience of the Paris Commune and it was developed in particular by Lenin. Does this position remain completely valid today? This is a theme for discussion. In fact, when we affirm that a road of advance to socialism is possible not merely over democratic ground but also through utilising parliamentary forms, it is evident that we correct something of this position, taking into account the changes which have taken place and which are still in the process of being realised in the world.

Here Comrade Togliatti was posing as a historian of Marxism while fundamentally distorting the history of Marxism.

Consider the following facts.

In the *Communist Manifesto,* which was written in 1847, Marx and Engels stated very clearly that "the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy". (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 53.) Lenin said of this statement, "Here we have a formulation of one of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state, namely, the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (as Marx and Engels began to call it after the Paris Commune)."(Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 222.)

Subsequently, after summing up the experience of the period 1848-51, Marx raised the question of smashing the old state machine. As Lenin said, here "the question is treated in a concrete manner, and the conclusion is extremely precise, definite, practical and palpable: all the

revolutions which have occurred up to now perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed." Lenin added, "This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxian teaching on the state."(Ibid., pp. 226, 227.)

Basing himself on the experience of 1848-51, Marx came to the conclusion that, unlike previous revolutions, the proletarian revolution would not merely transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one group of people to another. Marx did not then give a specific answer to the question of what should replace the smashed state machine. The reason, as Lenin remarked, was that in presenting the question Marx did not base himself simply on logical reasoning but stayed strictly on the firm ground of historical experience.(Cf. ibid., p. 230.)

For this specific question, in 1852 there was nothing in previous experience which could be drawn on, but the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 put the question on the agenda. "The Commune is the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to *smash* the bourgeois state machine; and it is the political form 'at last discovered', by which the smashed state machine can and must be *replaced.*"(Ibid., p. 257.)

From this we see that there are two questions, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, and what should replace it, and Marx answered first one and then the other, on the basis of the historical experience of different periods. Comrade Togliatti says that it was only after the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 that Marx and Engels held it was necessary for the proletariat to smash the bourgeois state machine. This is a distortion of the facts of history.

Like Kautsky, Comrade Togliatti believes in "the possibility of power being seized *without* destroying the state machine".(Ibid., p. 311.) He holds that the bourgeois state machine can be preserved and the objectives of the proletariat can be achieved by using this ready-made state machine. It would be well if Comrade Togliatti noted how Lenin repeatedly repudiated Kautsky on this point. Lenin said:

> Kautsky either rejects the assumption of state power by the working class altogether, or he concedes that the working class may take over the old, bourgeois state machine; but he will by no means concede that it must break it up, smash it, and replace it by a new, proletarian machine. Whichever way Kautsky's arguments are "interpreted", or "explained", his rupture with Marxism and his

desertion to the bourgeoisie are obvious.(Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 69.)

Since Comrade Togliatti boasts, that their programme is a "deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism", it must be noted that the so-called theory of structural reform was in fact first devised by Kautsky. In his pamphlet *The Social Revolution,* Kautsky said, "It goes without saying that we shall not achieve supremacy under the present conditions. Revolution itself presupposes a long and deep-going struggle, which, as it proceeds, will change our present political and social structure." It is evident that Kautsky tried long ago to substitute the theory of structural reform for the theory of proletarian revolution and that Comrade Togliatti has simply inherited his mantle. Nevertheless, if we carefully examine their respective views, we shall find that Comrade Togliatti has jumped ahead of Kautsky – Kautsky admitted "we shall not achieve supremacy under the present conditions", whereas Comrade Togliatti maintains that we can achieve supremacy precisely "under the present conditions".

Togliatti and other comrades hold that what is needed for Italy to advance to socialism is to establish a "new democratic regime" under the marvellous Italian Constitution and at the same time to form a "new historical bloc", or a "new bloc of social and political leading forces".(Cf. "Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") They maintain it is this "new historical bloc" rather than the Italian proletariat that is the "bearer of an intellectual and moral, as well as a political revolution"(Cf. ibid.) in Italy. No one knows what this "new historical bloc" actually is or how it is to be formed. At times Togliatti and other comrades say that it is "under the leadership of the working class"(Cf. ibid.) and at times that this "new historical bloc" is itself the "bloc of leading forces". Is such a bloc a class organisation of the proletariat, or is it an alliance of classes? Is it under the leadership of the working class, or of the bourgeoisie, or of some other class? Heaven alone knows! In the final analysis, the purpose of their fanciful and elusive formulation is simply to get away from the basic Marxist-Leninist ideas of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

Comrade Togliatti's idea is: (1) there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine, and (2) there is no need to set up a proletarian

state machine. He thus repudiates the experience of the Paris Commune.

After Marx and Engels, Lenin repeatedly elucidated the experience of the Paris Commune and always insisted that it held good universally for the proletariat of all countries. Lenin did not separate the experience of the Russian Revolution from that of the Paris Commune but regarded it as a continuation and development of the experience of the Paris Commune. He saw in the Soviets "the type of state which was being evolved by the Paris Commune",(Lenin, "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 38.) and held that "the Paris Commune took the first epochal step along this path [the path of smashing the old state machine]; the Soviet government has taken the second step".(Lenin, "The First Congress of the Communist International", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Vol. 28, p. 444.)

In repudiating the experience of the Paris Commune, Comrade Togliatti is of necessity directly counterposinssg his ideas to Marxism-Leninism and flatly repudiating the experience of the October Revolution and of the people's revolutions in various, countries since the October Revolution; thus he counterposes his so-called Italian road to the common road of the international proletariat.

Comrade Togliatti says, "The problem of doing what was done in Russia is not posed to the Italian workersss."(Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) Here we have the essence of the question.

The Elements for a Programmatic Declaration adopted by the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I. in 1956 stated, "In the first years after World War I, the revolutionary conquest of power by the methods that had led to victory in the Soviet Union revealed itself to be impossible." Here again we have the essence of the question.

Referring to the experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Togliatti said that in the period of the Chinese people's struggle for state power, the Chinese Communist Party applied a political line "which corresponded not at all to the strategic and tactical line followed by the Bolsheviks in the course of their revolution from March to October (1917)".(Togliatti's concluding speech at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) This is a distortion of the history of the Chinese revolution. Since it has occurred in the specific conditions of China, the Chinese revolution has had its own characteristics. However, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung

has repeatedly explained, the principle on which the political line of our Party has been formulated is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese revolution, we have always held, is a continuation of the Great October Revolution, and it goes without saying that it is also a continuation of the cause of the Paris Commune. With regard to the most fundamental question concerning the theory of the state and revolution, that is, the question of smashing the old warlord-bureaucratic state machine and setting up the state machine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the basic experience of the Chinese revolution wholly corresponds to that of the October Revolution and the Paris Commune. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1949 in his famous essay *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, "Follow the path of the Russians – that was the conclusion."(Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Peking, Vol. IV.) To defend his revision of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, or his "modifications" as he and others put it, Comrade Togliatti says the experience of the Chinese revolution and the experience of the October Revolution are two different matters which do "not at all correspond" to each other. But how can this distortion possibly help the theory of structural reform of Togliatti and other comrades?

This theory is one of "peaceful transition" or, in their own words, of "advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace".("Theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.") Their whole theory and their entire programme are replete with praise of "class peace" in capitalist society and contain absolutely nothing about "advance towards socialism"; there is only class "peace", and no social "transition" at all.

Marxism-Leninism is the science of proletarian revolution, and it develops continuously in revolutionary practice, and individual principles or conclusions are bound to be replaced by new principles or conclusions suited to the new historical conditions. But this does not imply that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism can be discarded or revised. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution is absolutely not an individual principle or conclusion, but a fundamental principle derived from the Marxist-Leninist summing-up of the experience of the struggles of the international proletariat. To discard or revise this fundamental principle is to turn one's back

completely on Marxism-Leninism.

Here we would humbly offer Comrade Togliatti some sincere advice. Do not be so arrogant as to declare that you will not do what was done in the Russian October Revolution. Be a little more modest, and remember what the great Lenin taught in 1920, ". . . on certain very essential questions of the proletarian revolution, *all* countries will inevitably have to perform what Russia has performed."(Lenin, " 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 352.)

To support the principles of proletarian strategy put forward by Lenin and corroborated by the victory of the Great October Revolution, or to oppose them – here is the fundamental difference between the Leninists on the one hand and the modern revisionists and their followers on the other.

VI. DESPISE THE ENEMY STRATEGICALLY, TAKE HIM SERIOUSLY TACTICALLY

AN ANALYSIS OF HISTORY

Lately, some people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists again burst out in noisy opposition to the thesis of the Chinese Communists that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. One moment they say this is "underestimation of imperialism" and "demobilizing the masses", and the next moment they say this is "slighting the strength of socialism". One moment they call it a "pseudo-revolutionary" attitude and the next moment a thesis based on "fear". These people are now vying to outshout and outdo each other, with the latecomers striving to be first and prove they are not falling behind. Their arguments are full of inconsistencies and practically nonsensical–and all for the purpose of demolishing this thesis. But all their arguments suffer from one fatal weakness–they never dare to touch seriously on Lenin's scientific conclusion that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism.

Comrade Togliatti started this attack at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. He said, "It is wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder." (Togliatti's report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.) He also said, "If

they are paper tigers, why so much work and so many struggles to combat them?" (Togliatti, "Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit".) Now if Comrade Togliatti were a schoolboy answering a question about the meaning of a word in his language lesson, his answer that a paper tiger is a tiger made of paper might well gain him a good mark. But when it comes to examining theoretical questions, philistinism will not do. Comrade Togliatti claims "to have made a positive contribution to the deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class", (Ibid.) and yet he gives a schoolboy's answer to a serious theoretical question. Could there be anything more ludicrous?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers has always been crystal-clear. This is what he said:

> For struggle against the enemy, we formed over a long period the concept that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but that tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that in regard to the whole we should despise the enemy but that in regard to each and every concrete question we must take them seriously. If with regard to the whole we do not despise the enemy we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two persons. Yet in those early days they declared that capitalism would be overthrown all over the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism if we do not take them seriously. (Comrade Mao Tse-tung's speech at the 1957 Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.)

There are none so deaf as those who will not hear the truth. Who has ever said that imperialism can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder? Who has ever said that it is not necessary to exert effort or wage struggles in order to overthrow imperialism?

Here we should like to quote another passage from Comrade Mao Tse-tung:

> Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature – they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal

landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites – the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat – grew in strength step by step, struggled against them and became more and more formidable, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they ate people, ate people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them. Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are – paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can eat people. On this we should build our tactical thinking.(Cf. Mao Tse-tung, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, Introductory note on pp. 98, 99.)

This passage shows the dual nature of the three major exploiting classes not only in the various stages of their historical development but also in their last life-and-death struggle with the people. Clearly, this is a Marxist-Leninist analysis of history.

THE WATERSHED BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARIES AND REFORMISTS

History teaches us that all revolutionaries – including, of course, bourgeois revolutionaries – come to be revolutionaries because in the first place they dare to despise the enemy, dare to struggle and dare to

seize victory. Those who fear the enemy and dare not struggle, dare not seize victory, can only be cowards, can only be reformists or capitulationists; they can certainly never be revolutionaries.

Historically, all true revolutionaries have dared to despise the reactionaries, to despise the reactionary ruling classes, to despise the enemy, because in the historical conditions then obtaining which confronted the people with a new historical task, they had begun to be aware of the necessity of replacing the old system with a new one. When there is need for change, change becomes irresistible and comes about sooner or later whether one likes it or not. Marx said: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."(Marx and Engels, "Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 363.) The necessity for social change calls forth revolutionary consciousness in men. Before the historical conditions have made a change necessary, no one can pose the task of revolution or make a revolution, however hard he tries. But when the historical conditions have made a change necessary, revolutionaries and vanguard fighters of the people come forward who dare to denounce the reactionary ruling classes and dare to regard them as paper tigers. And in everything they do, these revolutionaries always raise the people's spirits and puncture the enemy's arrogance. This is historical necessity, this is the inevitability of social revolution. As to when the revolution will break out, and whether after its outbreak it succeeds quickly or takes a long time to succeed or whether it meets many serious difficulties, setbacks and even failures before final victory, etc. – all these questions depend upon various specific historical factors. But even if they meet with serious difficulties, setbacks and failures in the course of a revolution, all true revolutionaries will nevertheless dare to despise the enemy and will remain firm in their conviction that the revolution will triumph.

After the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927 the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party were in extreme difficulties. At that time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out to us, as a proletarian revolutionary should, the future course of development of the revolution and the prospects of victory. He maintained that it would be one-sided and wrong to exaggerate the subjective strength of the revolution and

belittle the strength of the counter-revolution. At the same time, he stressed that it would be one-sided and wrong to exaggerate the strength of the counter-revolution and underestimate the potential strength of the revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's appraisal was later confirmed by the development and victory of the Chinese revolution. At present, the world situation as a whole is most favourable for the people of all countries. It is strange that in this favourable situation certain people should concentrate their efforts on wantonly attacking the thesis of despising the enemy strategically, should exaggerate the strength of imperialism, abet the imperialists and all reactionaries and help the imperialists to frighten the revolutionary people. Instead of enhancing the people's spirits and puncturing the enemy's arrogance, they are encouraging the enemy's arrogance and trying to dampen the people's spirits.

Lenin said, "Do you want a revolution? Then you must be strong!"(Lenin, "No Falsehood! Our Strength Lies in Stating the Truth!" *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 9, p. 299.) Why must revolutionaries be strong, why are they necessarily strong? Because revolutionaries represent the new and rising forces in society, because they believe in the strength of the people and because their mainstay is the great strength of the people. The reactionaries are weak, and inevitably so, because they are divorced from the people; however strong they may appear at the moment, they are bound to be defeated in the end. "The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may not appear to be durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing."(Stalin, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", *Problems of Leninism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow. 1953, p. 715.)

Why did Lenin refer time and again to imperialism with such metaphors as a "colossus with feet of clay" and a "bugbear"? In the last analysis, it was because Lenin based himself on the objective laws of social development and believed that the new-born forces of society would eventually defeat the decaying forces of society and that the forces of the people would eventually triumph over the forces ranged against them. And is this not so?

We would like to say to those who are trying to demolish the Chinese Communists' thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers: You ought first to demolish Lenin's thesis. Why don't you directly refute Lenin's thesis that imperialism is a "colossus with feet of clay" and a "bugbear"? What else does this show other than your cowardice in the face of the truth?

For every sober-minded Marxist-Leninist, the metaphors used in Lenin's formulation that imperialism is a "colossus with feet of clay" and a "bugbear" and the metaphor in the Chinese Communists' formulation that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers are valid metaphors. These metaphors are based on the laws of social development and are meant to explain the essence of the problem in popular language. Great Marxist-Leninist and many scientists and philosophers have frequently used metaphors in their explanations, and often in a very precise and profound way.

While compelled to profess agreement with the metaphors used by Lenin to describe the essence of imperialism, some people single out for opposition the metaphor used by the Chinese Communists. Why? Why do these people keep on nagging at it? Why are they making such a hullabaloo about it just now? Besides revealing their ideological poverty, this of course shows that they have a specific purpose of their own.

What is it?

Since the end of World War II the socialist camp has grown much stronger. In the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, revolutions against the imperialists and their running dogs have been advancing. The manifold irreconcilable contradictions which beset the imperialist countries both internally and externally are like volcanoes constantly threatening the rule of monopoly capital. The imperialist countries are stepping up the armaments race and doing their best to militarise their national economies. All this is leading imperialism into an impasse. The brain trusts of the imperialists have produced plan after plan to save their masters from the fate that is now confronting them or will confront them, but they have been unable to find for imperialism a real way out of its predicament. In this international situation, certain people, although calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, have in actual fact become muddled

and have allowed a kind of *fin de siecle* pessimism to take the place of cool reason. They have no intention of leading the people in delivering themselves from the disasters created by imperialism, and they have no confidence that the people can overcome these disasters and build a new life for themselves. It would be nearer to the truth to say that they are concerned about the fate of imperialism and all reactionaries than to say that they are concerned about the fate of socialism and the people of all countries. Their purpose in boosting and exaggerating the strength of the enemy and beating the drums for imperialism as they do today is not to oppose "adventurism" but simply to prevent the oppressed people and oppressed nations from rising in revolution; their so-called opposition to adventurism is merely a pretext to achieve their purpose of opposing revolution.

Speaking of the liberal parties in the Russian Duma (the Tsarist Parliament) in 1906, Lenin said:

> The liberal parties in the Duma only inadequately and timidly back the strivings of the people; they are more concerned to allay and weaken the revolutionary struggle now proceeding than to destroy the people's enemy.(Lenin, "Resolution (II) of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. on the Attitude Towards the State Duma", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 10, p. 481.)

Today we find in the ranks of the working-class movement just such liberals as Lenin referred to, to wit, bourgeois liberals. They are more concerned with allaying and weakening the widespread revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people and nations than with destroying the imperialists and the other enemies of the people. Naturally, such persons can hardly be expected to understand the thesis that Marxist-Leninists should despise the enemy strategically.

MAGNIFICENT MODELS

After railing at the Chinese Communists' thesis of "despising the enemy strategically", some heroes go on to pour out their wrath on the thesis of "taking the enemy seriously tactically". They say that the formulation of "despising the enemy strategically while taking him seriously tactically" is a "double approach" and is "contrary to Marxism-Leninism". Ostensibly, they acknowledge that strategy is different from tactics and that tactics must serve strategic goals. But in actual fact

they obliterate the difference between strategy and tactics and thoroughly confuse the concept of strategy with that of tactics. Instead of subordinating tactics to strategy, they subordinate strategy to tactics. They engross themselves in routine struggles, and in specific struggles they either make endless concessions to the enemy and thus commit the error of capitulationism, or act recklessly and thus commit the error of adventurism. In the last analysis, their purpose is to discard the strategic principles of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and the strategic goals of all Communists.

We have already pointed out that historically all revolutionaries have been revolutionaries because in the first place they dared to despise the enemy, dared to wage struggle and dared to seize victory. Here we would add that, similarly, all successful revolutionaries in history have been successful not only because they dared to despise the enemy but also because on each particular question and in each specific struggle they took the enemy seriously and adopted a prudent attitude. In general, unless revolutionaries, and proletarian revolutionaries in particular, are able to do this, they cannot steer the revolution forward smoothly, but are liable to commit the error of adventurism, thus bringing losses or even defeat to the revolution.

Throughout their life-long struggles in the cause of the proletariat, Marx, Engels and Lenin always despised the enemy strategically, while taking full account of him tactically. They always fought on two fronts according to the concrete circumstances against Right opportunism and capitulationism and also against "Left" adventurism. In this respect, they are magnificent models for us.

Marx and Engels ended the *Communist Manifesto* with the celebrated passage:

> 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.(Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.65.)

This has always been the general strategic principle and goal of the whole international communist movement. But in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels also took careful account of the different

conditions the Communists in different countries faced. They did not lay down a stereotyped, rigid formula and force it on the Communists of all countries. Marxists have always held that the Communists in each country must define their own specific strategic and tactical tasks at each stage of history in the light of the conditions prevailing in their own country.

Marx and Engels themselves took direct part in the mass revolutionary struggles of 1848-49. While they regarded the bourgeois democratic revolution of the time as the prelude to a proletarian socialist revolution, they opposed making the slogan, "For a Workers' Republic", an immediate demand. Such was their specific strategy at that time. On the other hand, they opposed attempts to start a revolution in Germany by armed force from outside, characterizing this approach as "playing at revolution". They proposed that the German workers abroad should return to their own country "singly" and throw themselves into the mass revolutionary struggle there. In other words, when it came to concrete tactics, the proposals and the approach of Marx and Engels were radically different from those of the "Left" adventurists. On matters concerning any specific struggle, Marx and Engels always did their best to proceed from a solid basis.

For a while in the spring of 1850, appraising the situation after the failure of the 1848-49 revolution, Marx and Engels held that another revolution was imminent. But by the summer, they saw that an immediate recurrence of revolution was no longer possible. Some people disregarded the objective possibilities and tried to conjure up an "artificial revolution", substituting revolutionary phraseology for the actual state of revolutionary development. They told the workers that they had to seize state power right away, or otherwise they might as well all go to sleep. Marx and Engels firmly opposed such adventurism. As Lenin said:

> When the revolutionary era of 1848-49 ended, Marx opposed every attempt to play at revolution (the fight he put up against Schapper and Willich), and insisted on ability to work in the new phase which in a seemingly "peaceful" way was preparing for new revolutions.(Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p. 61.)

In September 1870, a few months prior to the Paris Commune,

Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising. But when the workers were compelled to rise, in March 1871, Marx paid glowing tribute to the heaven-storming heroism of the workers of the Paris Commune. In a letter to L. Kugelmann, Marx wrote:

> What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused by internal treachery more even than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not still at the gates of Paris! History has no like example of like greatness! If they are defeated only their "good nature" will be to blame.(Marx and Engels, "Marx to L. Kugelmann", *Selected Correspondence*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p. 318.)

See how Marx eulogised the workers of the Paris Commune for their heroic scorn of the enemy! Marx made this evaluation of the Paris Commune in the light of the general strategic goal of the international communist movement and said of the struggle of the Paris Commune that "history has no like example of like greatness!" True, the Paris Commune made several mistakes during the uprising; it failed to march immediately on counter-revolutionary Versailles, and the Central Committee relinquished power too soon. The Paris Commune failed. Yet the banner of proletarian revolution unfurled by the Commune will be for ever glorious. Marx wrote in *The Civil War in France:*

> Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.(Marx and Engels, "The Civil War in France", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 542.)

Writing in commemoration of the 21st anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels stated:

> Its highly internationalist character imparted historical greatness to the Commune. It was a bold challenge to every kind of expression of bourgeois chauvinism. And the proletariat of all countries unerringly understood this.(Marx and Engels, "In Commemoration of the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Paris Commune", *Collected Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 22, p. 291.)

But now our Comrade Togliatti seems to feel that Marx's and

Engels' high appraisal of the Paris Commune as of universal significance for the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat is no longer worth mentioning.

As Engels pointed out, after the defeat of the Paris Commune the Parisian workers needed a long respite to build up their strength. But the Blanquists advocated a new uprising regardless of the circumstances. This adventurism was sharply criticised by Engels.

During the period of peaceful development of capitalism in Europe and America, Marx and Engels continued their fight on two fronts in the working-class movement. On the one hand, they severely condemned empty talk about revolution and urged that bourgeois legality should be turned to advantage in the fight against the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, they severely – indeed even more severely – condemned the opportunist thinking then dominant in the social-democratic parties, because these opportunists had lost all proletarian revolutionary staunchness, confined themselves to legal struggles, and lacked the determination to use illegal means as well in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

From this it is evident that while Marx and Engels unswervingly adhered to the strategical principles of proletarian revolution at all times, including periods of peaceful development, they also took care to adopt flexible tactics in accordance with the specific conditions of a given period.

As a great Marxist, Lenin most lucidly formulated the revolutionary strategy of the Russian proletariat when he entered the historical arena of proletarian revolutionary struggle. In the concluding remarks of his first famous work, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats,* he said:

> When its advanced representatives have mastered the ideas of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas become widespread, and when stable organizations are formed among the workers to transform the workers' present sporadic economic war into conscious class struggle – then the Russian WORKER, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT (side by side with the proletariat of ALL COUNTRIES) *along the straight road of open political struggle to*

THE VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1960, Vol. 1, p. 300.)

This strategic principle of Lenin's remained the general guide for the vanguard of the Russian proletariat and for the Russian people throughout their struggle for emancipation.

Lenin always firmly upheld this strategic principle. In doing so, he waged uncompromising struggle against the Narodniks, the "legal Marxists", the Economists, the Mensheviks, the opportunists and revisionists of the Second International, and against Trotsky and Bukharin.

In 1902, when the programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was being drawn up, serious differences arose between Lenin and Plekhanov over principles of proletarian strategy. Lenin insisted that the Party programme should include the dictatorship of the proletariat and demanded that it should clearly define the leading role of the working class in the revolution.

During the 1905 Revolution, Lenin in his book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, reflected the heroic spirit of the Russian proletariat, which had dared to lead the struggle and to seize victory. He put forward a comprehensive theory of proletarian leadership in the democratic revolution and of a worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, thus developing Marxist theory on the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

During World War I, Lenin raised proletarian thinking on strategy to a new level in *The Collapse of the Second International*, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and other most important Marxist classics. He held that imperialism was the eve of the proletarian socialist revolution and that it was possible for the proletarian revolution to achieve victory first in one country or in a few countries. These strategic concepts paved the way for the triumph of the Great October Revolution.

There are many more similar examples.

On specific questions of tactics, Lenin always charted a course of action for the proletariat in the light of varying conditions – for example, conditions in which the political party of the proletariat should participate in and in which it should boycott parliament; conditions in

which it should form one kind of alliance or another; conditions in which it should make necessary compromises and in which it should reject compromises; in which circumstances it should wage legal struggles and in which illegal struggles, and how it should flexibly combine the two forms of struggle; when to attack and when to retreat or advance by a roundabout path; etc. In his book, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder,* Lenin elucidated these questions profoundly and systematically.

He rightly stated:

> . . . . First, that in order to fulfil its task the revolutionary class must be able to master *all* forms, or aspects, of social activity without any exception . . .; second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner.(Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 424-25.)

Discussing the various forms of struggle, Lenin said further that it was necessary for all Communists to investigate, analyse, explore, appraise and grasp the national characteristics of their own country, when taking concrete measures there for the purpose of accomplishing the general international task, of overcoming opportunism and "Left" dogmatism within the working-class movement and of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was absolutely wrong not to take the national characteristics of one's own country into account in the struggle.

In the light of Lenin's ideas, it can be seen that the concrete tactics of proletarian parties all have as their aim the organisation of the masses by the millions, the maximum mobilization of allies, and the maximum isolation of the enemies of the people, the imperialists and their running dogs, so as to attain the general strategic goal of the emancipation of the proletariat and the people. To use Lenin's own words,

> . . . The *forms* of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively particular and temporary causes, but the *substance* of the struggle, its class content, positively *cannot* change while classes exist. (Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 509.)

THE STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL THINKING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

Basing themselves on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Chinese Communists formulated the strategy and tactics of the Chinese revolution in concrete revolutionary practice.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung outlined the strategic and tactical thinking of the Chinese Communists in the following passage:

> Imperialism throughout the world and the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique in China are already rotten and have no future. We have reason to despise them and we are confident and certain that we shall defeat all the domestic and foreign enemies of the Chinese people. But with regard to each part, each specific struggle (military, political, economic or ideological), we must never take the enemy lightly; on the contrary, we should take the enemy seriously and concentrate all our strength for battle in order to win victory. While we correctly point out that, strategically, with regard to the whole, we should take the enemy lightly, we must never take the enemy lightly in any part, in any specific struggle. If, with regard to the whole, we overestimate the strength of our enemy and hence do not dare to overthrow him and do not dare to win victory, we shall be committing a Right opportunist error. If, with regard to each part each specific problem, we are not prudent, do not carefully study and perfect the art of struggle, do not concentrate all our strength for battle and do not pay attention to winning over all the allies that should be won over (middle peasants, small independent craftsmen and traders, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and ordinary intellectuals, ordinary government employees, professionals and enlightened gentry), we shall be committing a "Left" opportunist error.(Mao Tse-tung, "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Present Policy", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp. 181-82.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung here provides a very clear-cut and unequivocal explanation of the struggle of the proletariat as a whole, that is, of the question of strategy, and an equally clear-cut and unequivocal explanation of each part, each specific problem, in the struggle of the proletariat, that is, of the question of tactics.

Why is it that when taking the situation as a whole, i.e., strategically, we can despise the enemy? Because imperialism and all reactionaries are decaying, have no future and can be overthrown. Failure

to see this results in lack of courage to wage revolutionary struggle, loss of confidence in the revolution and the misleading of the people. Why is it that in specific struggles, i.e., tactically, we must not take the enemy lightly but must take him seriously? Because the imperialists and the reactionaries still control their apparatus for ruling and all the armed forces, and can still deceive the people. To overthrow the rule of imperialism and reaction, the proletariat and the masses of the people must go through bitter and tortuous struggles. The imperialists and the reactionaries will not automatically tumble from their thrones.

A revolutionary party will never carry on revolutionary struggle if it has abandoned the strategic goal of overthrowing the old system, and no longer believes that the enemy can be overthrown or that victory can be won. A revolutionary party will never achieve the hoped-for victory if it merely proclaims the target of revolution without seriously and prudently coming to grips with the enemy in the course of revolutionary struggle and without gradually building up and expanding the revolutionary forces, if it treats revolution simply as a matter for talk, or if it simply strikes out blindly. This is even more true of proletarian parties. If a proletarian party takes full account of the enemy on each and every concrete problem of revolutionary struggle and is skilful in combating him while adhering to proletarian strategic principles, then, to use Comrade Mao Tse-tung's words, "as time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole,"(Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.161.) even though the proletariat may be inferior in strength at the outset. In other words, if the enemy is taken seriously in matters of tactics, on concrete questions of struggle, and if every effort is made to win in each specific struggle, the victory of the revolution can be accelerated, and it will not be retarded or postponed.

By taking full account of the enemy tactically and winning victories in specific struggles, the proletarian parties enable the masses in ever greater number to learn from their own experience that the enemy can be defeated, that there is every reason and every basis for despising the enemy. In China there are the ancient proverbs: Great undertakings have small beginnings; a huge tree grows from tiny roots; the nine-storey castle begins as a pile of earth; a thousand-*li* journey starts with a step. These hold true for revolutionary people who want to overthrow the

reactionaries, that is to say, they can achieve their objective of finally defeating the reactionaries only by waging one struggle after another, by waging innumerable specific struggles, and by striving for victory in each one of them.

In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "Our strategy is 'pit one against ten' and our tactics are 'pit ten against one'– this is one of our fundamental principles for gaining mastery over the enemy." He added, "We use the few to defeat the many – this we say to the rulers of China as a whole. We use the many to defeat the few – this we say to each separate enemy force on the battlefield."(Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. I.) Here he was dealing with principles of military struggle, but they also apply to the political struggle. History shows that, to begin with, all revolutionaries, including bourgeois revolutionaries, are always in the minority, and the forces they lead are always comparatively small and weak. If in their strategy they lack the will to "use the few to defeat the many" and to "pit one against ten" in the struggle against the enemy, they grow flabby, impotent, and are incapable of accomplishing anything, and they will never become the majority. On the other hand, in their tactics, that is, in specific struggle, unless revolutionaries learn to organise the masses, to rally all possible allies, and to utilise the objectively existing contradictions among the enemies, unless they can apply the method of "using the many to defeat the few" and of "pitting ten against one" in struggle, and unless they are able to make all the necessary preparations for specific struggles they will never be able to gain victory in each specific struggle and multiply their small victories into large ones, and there will be the danger that their own forces will be smashed one by one by the enemy and the strength of the revolution dissipated.

A MIRROR

To sum up on the matter of the relationship between strategy and tactics, it is vital that the party of the proletariat pay the greatest attention to the ultimate goal of emancipating the working people and that it possess the courage and the conviction needed to overwhelm the enemy. It should not become so engrossed in minor and immediate gains and victories as to lose sight of the ultimate goal, and it should never lose faith in the triumph of the people's revolution merely because of the

enemy's temporary and outward strength. At the same time, the party of the proletariat must pay serious attention to the very small, day-to-day struggles, even if they do not appear to be very noteworthy. In every specific struggle, it must prepare adequately, do a good job of uniting the masses, study and perfect the art of struggle and do all it can to win, so that the masses will receive constant education and inspiration. It should take full cognisance of the fact that a large number of specific struggles, including the very small ones, can merge and develop into a force that will rock the old system.

It is, therefore, perfectly clear that strategy and tactics are different from each other and, at the same time, united. This is an expression of the very dialectics with which Marxist-Leninists examine questions. Certain people describe "despising the enemy strategically and taking him seriously tactically" as "scholastic philosophy" or a "double approach". But just what kind of "philosophy" and what "single approach" they have, are beyond us.

In his essay, "Our Revolution", Lenin had the following to say about the heroes of opportunism:

> They all call themselves Marxists, but their conception of Marxism is impossibly pedantic. They have completely failed to understand what is decisive in Marxism: namely, its revolutionary dialectics.(Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, Moscow, 1951, p. 547.)

In the same article, Lenin also said:

> Their whole conduct betrays them as cowardly reformists, who are afraid to take the smallest step away from the bourgeoisie, let alone break with it, and at the same time mask their cowardice by the wildest rhetoric and braggadocio.(Ibid., p. 548.)

To those who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party we commend these lines of Lenin's for careful reading. Assuredly; they may well serve as a political mirror for certain people.

VII. A STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

MODERN REVISIONISM IS THE. MAIN DANGER IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The Communist Party of Italy is one of the largest parties in the capitalist world today. It conducted heroic struggles in the extremely

dark days of fascist rule. It has a glorious tradition of struggle. During World War II it led the Italian people in courageous armed uprisings and guerrilla warfare against fascism. The people's armed forces arrested Mussolini and sentenced that fascist monster to death.

It is only natural that with this record of militant struggle the Italian Communist Party has won the sympathy and support of the people.

Since World War II, capitalism in Italy has found itself in a period of peaceful development, during which the C.P.I. has done a great deal of work, utilising legal forms of struggle. In the activities of working-class parties, positive use can be made of conditions of legal struggle, but if while waging legal struggle the working-class party is lacking in revolutionary vigilance and firmness, these conditions may produce a contrary and negative effect. Marx, Engels and Lenin all constantly alerted the proletariat to guard against this.

Why is it that since World War II revisionism has been publicly recognised as the main danger in the international working-class movement? Because first, the legal struggles in many countries have made available manifold historical experience and taught many lessons; second, the conditions that breed opportunism and revisionism actually exist; and third, there has in fact emerged modern revisionism, represented by the Tito clique.

Judging from the views of Togliatti and certain other comrades, we may say frankly that the danger of revisionism exists in the Communist Party of Italy, too. Certain comrades in the French Communist Party have recently written a series of articles attacking revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and attacking the Chinese Communists. The points they make on a number of basic questions concerning the international communist movement virtually duplicate those made by Togliatti and other comrades. Moreover, certain other people have recently come to the fore in the international communist movement who, as Lenin put it, "all belong to the same family, all extol each other, learn from each other, and together take up arms against 'dogmatic' Marxism".(Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?" *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, Vol. 5, footnote on p. 353.) This is a strange phenomenon, but if one has some knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and if one analyses this phenomenon, one can see clearly that it is not accidental.

Modern revisionism has appeared in some capitalist countries,

and it can appear in socialist countries, too. The Tito clique was the first to hoist the revisionist flag, and they have made previously socialist Yugoslavia gradually change its character. Politically, the Tito clique has long since become an accomplice of the United States and other imperialist countries, and, economically, it has turned Yugoslavia into an appendage of U.S. imperialism, gradually transforming her economy into what the imperialists call a liberalised economy.

At the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in May 1921 Lenin said:

> Milyukov was right. He very soberly takes into account the degree of political development and says that stepping stones in the shape of Socialist-Revolutionism and Menshevism are necessary for the reversion to capitalism. The bourgeoisie needs such stepping stones, and whoever does not understand this is stupid.(Lenin, "Speech in Reply to the Debate on the Report on the Food Tax at the All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P. (B), May 27, 1921", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. 9, p. 222.)

These telling words of Lenin's read like a prophecy of what the Tito clique was to do a few decades later.

How is it that revisionism can appear in socialist countries, too? As the Moscow Declaration of 1957 points out, "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source."

Reiterating the important thesis of the Moscow Declaration that revisionism is the main danger in the international working-class movement, the Moscow Statement of 1960 condemns the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism. The Statement is completely correct in pointing out that,

> 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 L.C.Y. 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, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. 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.

The Moscow Statement also says,

> 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.

This solemn document bears the signatures of the delegates of eighty-one Parties, including the Italian and French Parties, as well as of the Parties of socialist countries. But the ink was hardly dry on these signatures when the leading members of some of these Parties rushed to fraternize with the Tito clique.

Comrade Togliatti has openly declared that the stand taken in the 1960 Moscow Statement towards the Tito clique of Yugoslavia was "mistaken", saying that "to direct invectives against 'the Tito clique' will not enable us to advance one step, but will make us go back a great deal".("Apropos the Criticism of the 'Tito Clique"', in *Rinascita*, October 13, 1962.) Some people have said that "the Yugoslav Communists have taken steps towards rapprochement and unity with the entire world communist movement", and that between the Tito clique and themselves there is "coincidence and proximity" of positions "on a series of vitally important international problems". What they are doing belies their commitments; they are treating the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement merely as empty official formalities. In order to justify themselves, they have no scruples about prostituting the Moscow Statement and, instead of regarding revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement and working-class movement today, they allege that "latterly the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism has become the main danger".(The resolution adopted by the session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on December 14, 1962.) At the recent Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany when the Chinese Communist Party delegate in his speech upheld the Moscow Statement and condemned the revisionism of the Tito clique, he was treated with extreme rudeness. But the delegate of the Tito clique to the Congress was given a wild ovation. Can this be called "consistent observance of the commonly co-ordinated line of the communist movement"? Everybody knows that

this action, which can only grieve our own people and gladden the enemy, was deliberately planned.

The result of all this is that the market price of the Tito clique has suddenly shot up tenfold. The purpose of those who have brought this about is to install the Tito clique as their ideological centre; they are trying to replace Marxism-Leninism by modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique and to replace the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement by the Tito clique's modern revisionist programme, or by something else.

Don't some people frequently say that we ought to "synchronize our watches"? Now there are two watches; one is Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and Statement, and the other is modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique. Which is to be the master watch? The watch of Marxism-Leninism, of the Moscow Declaration and Statement, or the watch of modern revisionism?

Some people forbid us to fight modern revisionism, or even to mention the old-line revisionism of the period of the Second International, while they themselves revive the tunes of the old-line revisionists and revel in playing them over and over again. Writing of Proudhonism in the preface to the second edition of *The Housing Question,* Engels said, "Whoever occupies himself in any detail with modern socialism must also acquaint himself with the 'surmounted standpoints' of the movement." He believed that these standpoints or the tendencies emanating from them would inevitably reappear time and again so long as the conditions giving rise to them remained in society. "And if later on this tendency takes on a firmer shape and more clearly defined contours, . . . it will have to go back to its predecessors for the formulation of its program."(Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, pp. 549, 550.) Since we are fighting modern revisionism, we must naturally study its predecessors, the lessons of history, and how the modern revisionists have gone back to their predecessors. Should we not do so? Why is this "a completely impermissible historical comparison"? Does it violate any taboo?

Since they are replaying the tunes of such old revisionists as Bernstein and Kautsky, and are using the latter's viewpoints, methods and language to attack and smear the Chinese Communists and all

Marxist-Leninists, they cannot reasonably forbid us to answer them with Lenin's criticism of the old revisionists.

Lenin said:

> In exactly the same way the Bernsteinians have been dinning into our ears that it is they who understand the proletariat's true needs and the tasks of building up its forces, the task of deepening all the work, preparing the elements of a new society, and the task of propaganda and agitation. Bernstein says: We demand a frank recognition of that which is, thus sanctifying "movement" *without* any "ultimate aim", sanctifying defensive tactics alone, preaching the tactics of fear "lest the bourgeoisie recoil". So the Bernsteinians raised an outcry against the "Jacobinism" of the revolutionary Social-Democrats, against "publicists" who fail to understand the "workers' initiative", etc., etc. In reality, as everyone knows, revolutionary Social-Democrats have never even thought of abandoning day-by-day, petty work, the mustering of forces, etc., etc. All they demanded was a clear understanding of the ultimate aim, a clear presentation of the revolutionary tasks; they wanted to raise the semi-proletarian and semi-petty-bourgeois strata to the revolutionary level of the proletariat – not to reduce the latter level to that of opportunist considerations such as "lest the bourgeoisie recoil". Perhaps the most vivid expression of this rift between the intellectual opportunist wing and the proletarian revolutionary wing of the Party was the question: *dü rfen wir siegen?* "Dare we win?" Is it permissible for us to win? Would it not be dangerous for us to win? Ought we to win? This question, so strange at first sight, was however raised and had to be raised because the opportunists were afraid of victory, were frightening the proletariat away from it, predicting that trouble would come of it and ridiculing slogans that straightforwardly called for it.(Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 9, pp. 107-08.)

This quotation from Lenin can very well explain the revival of Bernsteinism in a new historical context and the essence of the difference between Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists.

"OUR THEORY IS NOT A DOGMA, BUT A GUIDE TO ACTION"

Some people who call themselves creative Marxist-Leninists say that times have changed, that conditions are no longer the same and

that there is no need to repeat the fundamental principles stated by Marx and Lenin. They object to our quoting from the Marxist-Leninist classics to explain issues, and brand this practice "dogmatism".

To discard Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of shaking off the chains of dogma is a convenient trick. Lenin exposed this trick of the opportunists long ago:

What a handy little word "dogma" is! One need only slightly twist an opposing theory, cover up this twist with the bogy of "dogma"– and there you are!(Lenin, "Revolutionary Adventurism", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, Vol. 6, p. 197.)

We all know that the days when Lenin lived and fought were greatly different from the days of Marx and Engels. Lenin developed Marxism comprehensively and carried it forward to a new stage, the stage of Leninism. In line with the new conditions and the new features of his own time, Lenin wrote many outstanding works which greatly enriched the treasury of Marxist theory and our ideas on the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution, and he advanced new policies and tasks for the international working-class movement. Lenin quoted abundantly and repeatedly from Marx and Engels in order to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism, to safeguard its purity and to oppose its distortion and adulteration by the opportunists and revisionists. For example, in *The State and Revolution* in particular, a great work of fundamental importance for Marxist theory, Lenin was not sparing in the use of quotations. In the very first chapter he wrote:

> In view of the unprecedentedly widespread distortion of Marxism, our prime task is to *re-establish* what Marx really taught on the subject of the state. For this purpose it will be necessary to quote at length from the works of Marx and Engels themselves. Of course, long quotations will render the text cumbersome and will not help at all to make it popular reading, but we cannot possibly avoid them. All, or at any rate, all the most essential passages in the works of Marx and Engels on the subject of the state must without fail be quoted as fully as possible, in order that the reader may form an independent opinion of the totality of the views of the founders of scientific Socialism and of the development of those views, and in order that their distortion by the now prevailing "Kautskyism" may be documentarily proved and clearly demonstrated.(Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 203.)

It can be seen that Lenin quoted at great length from Marx and Engels at a time when Marxism was being outrageously adulterated. Today, when Leninism is being outrageously adulterated, no revolutionary Marxist-Leninist can fail to quote from Lenin. The reason is that this practice sharply brings out the contrast between the truth of Marxism-Leninism and the fallacies of revisionism and opportunism.

Clearly, it is no crime to quote from the literature of Marxism-Leninism, as some people allege. The question is whether quotations are called for, how Marxist-Leninist literature is quoted and whether it is quoted correctly.

There are people who deliberately evade the themes we are confirming by our quotations from the literature of Marxism-Leninism. They dare not even publish the quotations, but simply attack us for "citing paragraph after paragraph".("In What Epoch Do We Live?", in *France Nouvelle*, January 16, 1963.) *l'Humanité*, the organ of the French Communist Party, has gone so far as to accuse the Chinese Communist Party of "denaturing Marxism-Leninism to the point of retaining only rigid formulas, and assuming the right to be high priests in charge of enunciating dogmas".("Our Unity and Our Discipline", *l'Humanité* January 16, 1963.) What does it actually signify – this lashing out at us with acrimonious phrases in which they so obviously revel? It simply reflects their state of mind and their feelings, that is, the violent repugnance with which they react the moment they see the words of Marx, Engels and Lenin. These people who object to others as priests of Marxism-Leninism are themselves serving as priests of anti-Marxism-Leninism and of bourgeois ideology.

While violently attacking us for quoting from the literature of Marxism-Leninism to explain fundamental Marxist-Leninist truths, some people constantly repeat what is in essence the language of Bernstein, Kautsky and Tito, from whom they have borrowed many of their basic ideas.

There are even those who violently assail what they term "dogmatism", yet who delight in biblical dogmas. Their heads are full of the Bible and similar matter but contain not a shadow of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin constantly cited the words of Marx and Engels, "Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action." Now that certain persons are

spreading the notion that we are "dogmatists", we have to tell them bluntly: The Chinese Communist Party is rich in experience in combating dogmatism. More than twenty years ago, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we fought an outstanding struggle against dogmatism, and ever since we have paid attention to struggles of this kind.

The true Marxist-Leninist does not recline on a bed of books. He should be skilful in using the Marxist-Leninist method to analyse the concrete environment, situation and conditions of the time both at home and abroad, in studying the varied experience of actual struggles, and in thus working out his own line of action. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly reminded us of Lenin's celebrated dictum: "The most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism, is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions."(Lenin, "Communism", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ.Ed., Vol. 31, p. 143.) He criticised the dogmatists in our ranks as "lazybones" who "refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things".(Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction", *Selected Works*, Vol. I.)

In a speech in 1942, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticised dogmatism in these sharp terms:

> Even now, there are not a few people who still regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance, and we should conduct a campaign to enlighten them. It is precisely such ignorant people who take Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. To them we should say bluntly, "Your dogma is worthless." Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stated that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. But such people prefer to forget this statement which is of the greatest, indeed the utmost importance. Chinese Communists can be regarded as linking theory with practice only when they become good at applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the Chinese revolution and when, furthermore, through serious research into the realities of China's history and revolution, they do creative theoretical work to meet China's needs in different spheres. Merely talking about linking theory and practice without actually doing anything about it is of no use, even if one goes on talking for a hundred years. To oppose the subjectivist, one-sided approach to problems, we must demolish dogmatist

subjectiveness and one-sidedness.(Mao Tse-tung, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, pp. 12-13.)

Those who are now vigorously railing at dogmatism have absolutely no idea of what it really is, let alone of how to combat it. They keep on proclaiming that times and conditions have changed and that one must "develop Marxism-Leninism creatively", but actually they are using bourgeois pragmatism to revise Marxism-Leninism. They are utterly unable to grasp the essence of the changed times and conditions, to understand the contradictions in the contemporary world or to locate the focus of these contradictions. They cannot grasp the laws of development of things that objectively exist and they stagger to and fro, plunging now into capitulationism and now into adventurism. Accommodating themselves to the immediate turn of events, they forget the fundamental interests of the proletariat, and this is characteristic both of their thinking and their actions. Thus they do not have a policy founded on principle, frequently fail to differentiate between the enemy, ourselves and our friends, and even reverse the relationships between the three, treating enemies as if they were our own people and vice versa.

Lenin said that the philistine "is never guided by a definite world outlook, by principles of integral party tactics. He always swims with the stream, blindly obeying the mood of the moment".(Lenin, "The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Working Class", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. 11, p. 390.) Now, are not these people exactly the same?

INTEGRATING THE UNIVERSAL TRUTH OF MARXISM-LENINISM WITH THE CONCRETE PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION IN ONE'S OWN COUNTRY

The well-known thesis of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution was formulated in our Party by Comrade Mao Tse-tung more than twenty years ago. It sums up the experience of the Chinese Communist Party in its long struggle on two fronts, against both Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism.

This thesis, the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in one's own

country, has two aspects. On the one hand, it is necessary at all times to adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, or otherwise the error of Right opportunism or revisionism will be committed; on the other hand, it is necessary at all times to start from real life, link oneself closely with the masses, constantly sum up the experience of mass struggle and examine one's work in the light of practical experience, or otherwise the error of dogmatism will be committed.

Why must one adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism? Why must one adhere to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism? Lenin said:

> The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression.(Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 78.)

The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, or in other words, its fundamental principles, are not figments of the imagination or subjective fancies; they are scientific conclusions that sum up the experience of mankind in its entire history of struggle and sum up the experience of the international proletarian struggle.

From Bernstein onwards, all sorts of revisionists and opportunists have used the pretext of so-called new changes and new situations to assert that the universal truth of Marxism has been outmoded. Yet events throughout the world in the past century and more have all proved the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to be valid everywhere. It applies both to the West and to the East; it has been confirmed not only by the Great October Revolution but also by the Chinese Revolution and by all the triumphant revolutions in other countries; it has been confirmed not only by the entire record of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries of Europe and America but also by the great revolutionary struggles which are going on in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In 1913 Lenin wrote in "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" that each period of world history since the birth of Marxism "has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in

the period of history that is now ensuing".(Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 88.)

In 1922 Lenin stated in his article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism":

> . . . Marx . . . applied [dialectics] so successfully that now every day of the awakening to life and struggle of new classes in the East (Japan, India and China)–i.e., the hundreds of millions of human beings who form the greater part of the population of the world and whose historical passivity and historical torpor have hitherto been conditions responsible for stagnation and decay in many advanced European countries–every day of the awakening to life of new peoples and new classes serves as a fresh confirmation of Marxism.(Ibid.. pp. 559-60.)

The events, of recent decades have further confirmed Lenin's conclusions.

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 sums up our historical experience and sets forth the principal laws universally applicable to the countries advancing on the road to socialism. The first general law thus stated in the Declaration is: "Guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat." What Togliatti and other comrades call "the Italian road to socialism" is precisely the abandonment of this most fundamental principle, the principle of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, and a negation of this most fundamental law reaffirmed in the Moscow Declaration.

Those who oppose the universal truth and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism inevitably oppose the integral Marxist-Leninist world outlook and "undermine its basic theoretical foundations – dialectics, the doctrine that historical development is all-embracing and full of contradictions".(Lenin, "Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism", *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 294.)

This is what the Moscow Declaration says with regard to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook:

> The theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism. This world outlook reflects the universal law of development of nature, society and human thinking. It is valid for the past, the present and the future. Dialectical materialism is countered

> by metaphysics and idealism. Should the Marxist political party in its examination of questions base itself not on dialectics and materialism, the result will be one-sidedness and subjectivism, stagnation of human thought, isolation from life and loss of ability to make the necessary analysis of things and phenomena, revisionist and dogmatist mistakes and mistakes in policy. Application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of the party functionaries and the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Today, there are people who treat this extremely important thesis in the Moscow Declaration with the utmost contempt and place themselves in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. They detest materialist dialectics, dismissing it as a "double approach" and "a scholastic philosophy". They are just like the old-line revisionists who "treated Hegel as a 'dead dog', and while they themselves preached idealism, only an idealism a thousand times more petty and banal than Hegel's, they contemptuously shrugged their shoulders at dialectics".(Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism", *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 89.) It is clear that these people attack materialist dialectics because they want to sell their modern revisionist stuff.

Of course, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook is opposed to dogmatism as well as to revisionism.

Adhering to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, we must oppose dogmatism, because dogmatism is divorced from actual revolutionary practice and regards Marxism-Leninism as a lifeless formula.

Marxism-Leninism is full of vitality, and it is invincible because it grows out of and develops in revolutionary practice, ceaselessly drawing new lessons from new revolutionary practice and therefore ceaselessly enriching itself.

Lenin often said that Marxism combines the greatest scientific strictness with the revolutionary spirit. He said,

> Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in that it represents a remarkable combination of complete scientific soundness in the analysis of the objective conditions of things and of the objective course of evolution and the very definite recognition of the significance

> of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative genius and the revolutionary initiative of the masses – and also, of course, of individuals groups, organisations and parties which are able to discover and establish contact with these classes.(Lenin, "Against the Boycott", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. III. p. 414.)

Here Lenin explained in exact terms that we must adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and at the same time oppose dogmatism, which is divorced from revolutionary practice and from the masses of the people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's explanation of the interrelationship between adherence to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and opposition to dogmatism fully conforms with Lenin's view. In discussing the question of cognition, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

> As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual expansion from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses i as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which hav not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of the common essence and prevent that knowledge from withering or petrifying.(Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction"; *Selected Works*, Vol. I.)

The mistake of the dogmatists lies in turning the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, into something withered and petrified.

Dogmatists distort Marxism-Leninism in another way. Divorcing themselves from reality, they contrive abstract, empty formulas, or mechanically take the experience of foreign countries and force it on the masses. Thereby, they cramp the mass struggle and prevent it from achieving the results it should. Leaving time, place and conditions out of account, they obstinately stick to one form of struggle. They fail to understand that in every country the mass revolutionary movement takes highly complex forms and that all the forms of struggle required have to be used simultaneously and complement each other; they fail to understand that when the situation changes it is necessary to replace

old forms of struggle by new ones, or to utilise the old forms but fill them with new content. Therefore, they very often cut themselves off from the masses and from potential allies, so falling into errors of sectarianism, and they just as often act recklessly, so falling into errors of adventurism.

If the leading body of a Party commits errors of dogmatism, it becomes unable to grasp the laws of the actual revolutionary movement. In the field of theory, it is bound to be lifeless, and in the field of tactics, it is bound to make all kinds of mistakes. A party of this kind cannot possibly lead the people's revolutionary movement in its country to victory.

During the struggle against dogmatism inside the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung placed stress on integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; he pointed out that the Marxist-Leninist attitude is to employ the Marxist-Leninist theory and method for systematic and comprehensive investigation and study of the environment. He said:

> With this attitude, one studies the theory of Marxism-Leninism with a purpose, that is, to integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the actual movement of the Chinese revolution and to seek from this theory the stand, viewpoint and method with which to solve the theoretical and tactical problems of the Chinese revolution. Such an attitude is one of shooting the arrow at the target. The "target" is the Chinese revolution the "arrow" is Marxism-Leninism. We Chinese Communists have been seeking this arrow because we want to hit the target of the Chinese revolution and of the revolution of the East. To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. "Facts" are all the things that exist objectively, "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and "to seek" means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw correct conclusions from it.(Mao Tse-tung, "Reform Our Study", Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, pp. 8-9.)

The history of the Chinese Communist Party, the history of the triumph of the Chinese revolution, is one of ever-closer integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Without such integration it is inconceivable that the Chinese revolution could have triumphed.

PRINCIPLE AND FLEXIBILITY

It is a well-known precept of Lenin's that "a policy based on principle is the only correct policy". Marxism was able to triumph over all sorts of opportunist trends and become predominant in the international working-class movement precisely because Marx and Engels persevered in policies based on principle. Leninism was able to continue to triumph over all sorts of revisionist and opportunist trends, to guide the October Revolution to victory and become predominant in the international working-class movement in the new era precisely because Lenin, and Stalin after him, carrying forward the cause of Marx and Engels, persevered in policies based on principle.

What does policy based on principle mean? It means that every policy we put forward and decide upon must be based on the class stand of the proletariat, on the fundamental interests of the proletariat, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and on the fundamental standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. The party of the proletariat must not confine its attention to immediate interests, veer with the wind and abandon fundamental interests. It must not simply submit to the immediate turn of events, approving or advocating one thing today and another tomorrow, and trading in principles as though they were commodities. In other words, the party of the proletariat must maintain its political independence, differentiating itself ideologically and politically from all other classes and their political parties—not only from the landlords and the bourgeoisie, but also from the petty bourgeoisie. Inside the party, the Marxist-Leninists must draw a line between themselves and both the Right and "Left" opportunists, who reflect various shades of non-proletarian ideology.

Only yesterday, some people put their signatures to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, expressing approval of the fundamental revolutionary principles set forth in these two documents, and yet today they are trampling these principles underfoot. Hardly had

they signed the Moscow Statement and agreed to the conclusion that the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have betrayed Marxism-Leninism than they turned round and treated the Titoite renegades as dearly beloved brothers. They concurred in the conclusion in the Statement 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"*, and yet soon afterwards they maintained that the destiny of mankind depended on "co-operation", "confidence" and "agreement" between the heads of the two powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. They concurred in the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, and yet soon afterwards they abandoned these principles and at their own Party congress publicly and wilfully condemned another fraternal Party and country. Though talking glibly about never allowing ideological differences between fraternal Parties to spread to the economic field and to state relations, these people have wantonly torn up numerous economic and technological contracts between fraternal countries, and have even gone to such lengths as virtually breaking off diplomatic relations with a fraternal country. They concurred in the conclusion in the Declaration and the Statement that revisionism is the main danger in the international working-class movement, and yet soon afterwards they began to spread the idea that "dogmatism is the main danger" far and wide. And so on and so forth. Is there any principle in these actions of theirs? What kind of principles are their policies based on?

While adhering to policies based on principle, the party of the proletariat must also exercise flexibility. In revolutionary struggle, it is wrong to refuse to adjust to changing circumstances or reject roundabout ways of advance. The difference between Marxist-Leninists and the opportunists and revisionists is that the former stand for flexibility in carrying out policies based on principle, while the latter practise a flexibility which is actually the abandonment of principled policies.

Flexibility based on principle is not opportunism. On the contrary, one can make opportunist mistakes if one does not know how to exercise the necessary flexibility and to suit the action to the moment, in the light of the specific conditions and on the basis of persevering in principle, and one will thus bring unwarranted losses to the revolutionary struggle.

Compromise is an important problem in the practice of flexibility.

Marxist-Leninists approach the question of compromise as follows: They never reject any necessary compromise that serves the interests of the revolution, namely, principled compromise, but they will never tolerate a compromise that amounts to betrayal, namely, unprincipled compromise.

Lenin well said:

> It is not without cause that Marx and Engels are considered to be the founders of scientific socialism. They were merciless enemies of all phrase-mongering. They taught us to pose the questions of socialism (including those of socialist tactics) in a scientific way. And in the seventies of the last century, when Engels had to analyse the revolutionary manifesto of the French Blanquists, refugees after the Commune, he said without mincing words that their boastful declaration "no compromises" was an empty phrase. One must not renounce compromise. The problem is to be able, through all the compromises which are sometimes necessarily imposed by force of circumstances even on the most revolutionary party of the most revolutionary class, through all such compromises to be able to preserve, strengthen, temper and develop the revolutionary tactics and organisation, the revolutionary consciousness, determination and preparedness of the working class and its organised vanguard, the Communist Party.(Lenin, "On Compromises", *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. Ed., Vol. 30, p. 458.)

How can a Marxist-Leninist Party which conscientiously seeks truth from facts reject all compromises indiscriminately? The editorial on *Leninism and Modern Revisionism* in the first issue of *Hongqi* for 1963 contains this passage:

> In the course of our protracted revolutionary struggle, we Chinese Communists reached compromises on many occasions with our enemies, internal and external. For example, we came to a compromise with the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique. We came to a compromise, too, with the U.S. imperialists, in the struggle to aid Korea and resist U.S. aggression.

It continues:

> It is precisely in accordance with Lenin's teachings that we Chinese Communists distinguish between different kinds of compromise, favouring compromises which are in the interests of the people's cause and of world peace, and opposing compromises that

> are in the nature of treachery. It is perfectly clear that only those guilty, now of adventurism, now of capitulationism, are the ones whose ideology is Trotskyism, or Trotskyism in a new guise.

As is well known, Trotsky played a most despicable role in connection with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as well as in the entire history of the Russian revolution and of Soviet construction. He opposed Lenin and Leninism on all the main problems. He denied that the socialist revolution and socialist construction could triumph first in one country. He lacked all principle on the question of revolutionary strategy and tactics, and this manifested itself now in "Left" adventurism, now in Right capitulationism. In the case of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, he first blindly pressed for an adventurist policy; then, in violation of Lenin's directive, he refused to sign the treaty at the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and at the same time made the traitorous statement to the German side that the Soviet Republic was preparing to end the war and demobilize. The German aggressors thereupon became more arrogant and laid down even more onerous terms. Such was Trotskyism in the matter of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Now certain people have arbitrarily lumped together the Cuban events and those of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk although the two were completely different in nature, and they have drawn an historical analogy in which they liken themselves to Lenin and brand those who opposed sacrificing the sovereignty of another country as Trotskyites. This is most absurd.

Lenin was perfectly right in wanting the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to be signed. Lenin's purpose was to win time to consolidate the victory of the October Revolution. In his "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" written in 1936, Comrade Mao Tse-tung strongly criticised "Left" opportunist errors. Referring to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsik, he said:

> After the October Revolution, if the Russian Bolsheviks had acted on the opinions of the "Left Communists" and refused to sign the peace treaty with Germany, the new-born Soviets would have been in danger of early death. (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. I.)

Events confirmed Lenin's foresight, and the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk proved to be a revolutionary compromise.

How about the Cuban events? That was a completely different story. In the Cuban events, the Cuban people and their leaders were

determined to fight to the death to defend the sovereignty of their fatherland; they displayed great heroism and high principle. They did not commit the error of adventurism, nor did they commit the error of capitulationism. But during the Cuban events certain people first committed the error of adventurism, and then committed the error of capitulationism, wanting the Cuban people to accept humiliating terms which would have meant the sacrifice of the sovereignty of their country. These persons have tried to cover themselves by using the example of Lenin's conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but this has turned out to be a clumsy sleight-of-hand, for they have actually uncovered themselves all the more clearly.

Comrade Liu Shao-chi explained the relation between principle and flexibility, on the basis of the experience of the Chinese Revolution, in the following remarks which he made at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of China:

> Our flexibility is based on definite principles. Flexibility without principle, concessions and compromises that go beyond principle, and ambiguity or confusion of principle, are all wrong. The criterion or measure for all changes in policy or tactics is Party principle. And Party principle is the criterion and the measure of flexibility. For example, one of our unchangeable principles is to fight for the greatest interests of the largest majority of the people. This unchangeable principle is the criterion and the measure by which the correctness of all changes in policy or tactics should be judged. All changes in keeping with this principle are correct while those conflicting with it are wrong. (Liu Shao-chi, "On the Party".)

This is our view on the relation between principle and flexibility, and we believe it to be the Marxist-Leninist view.

VIII. WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

"Workers of All Countries, Unite!" The great call made by Marx and Engels more than a century ago will for ever remain the guiding principle which the international proletariat must observe.

The Chinese Communist Party consistently upholds the unity of the international communist movement, the safeguarding of which it regards as its sacred duty. We reaffirmed our stand on this question in the editorial *of Renmin Ribao* on January 27, 1963:

> Are the ranks of the international communist movement to be united or not? Is there to be genuine unity or sham unity? On what basis is there to be unity – is there to be unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, or "unity" on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis? In other words, are differences to be ironed out and unity strengthened, or are differences to be widened and a split created?
>
> The Chinese Communists, all other Marxist-Leninists and all progressive mankind unanimously desire to uphold unity and oppose a split, to secure genuine unity and oppose a sham unity, to defend the common foundation of the unity of the international communist movement and oppose the undermining of this foundation, and to uphold and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

This is the unswerving position of the Chinese Communist Party on the question of the unity of the international communist movement.

After launching and organising a series of preposterous attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, certain people have suddenly begun to strike up the tune of "unity". But what they call unity consists of giving themselves permission to abuse others, while not allowing the others to reason with them. By "calling a halt to open polemics", they mean permission for themselves to attack others as they please, while the others are forbidden to make whatever reply is called for. While talking of unity, they continue to undermine unity; while talking of calling a halt to open polemics, they continue their open attacks. What is more, they say threateningly that unless those whom they attack keep their mouths shut, it will be "imperative to continue and even step up decisive struggle against them".

But when it comes, to the Tito clique, these people really seek unity. Their desire is unity with the Tito clique, not the unity of the international communist movement; they desire unity on the basis of modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique, or unity on the basis of the baton of certain people, and not unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In practice, therefore, their unity is a pseudonym for split. Using unity as a smokescreen, they are trying to cover up their actual splitting activities.

Revisionism represents the interests of the labour aristocracy, and hence also the interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Revisionist trends run counter to the interests of the proletariat, of the masses of the people and of all oppressed people and nations. Ever since the days of Bernstein, Marxism-Leninism has been repeatedly assailed by revisionist and opportunist trends, each in its day stirring up a commotion. But history has confirmed that Marxism-Leninism represents the highest interests of the largest number of people and is invincible. One after the other, all the revisionists and opportunists who challenged revolutionary Marxism-Leninism have collapsed in the face of the truth and have been spurned by the people. Bernstein was a failure and so were Kautsky, Plekhanov, Trotsky, Bukharin, Chen Tu-hsiu, Browder, and all the others. Those who are launching the new attacks on revolutionary Marxism-Leninism today are just as overbearing and arrogant; yet, if they continue to turn a deaf ear to all advice and persist in their wrong course, it can be said for certain that their end will be no better than that of the old revisionists and opportunists.

There are people who are working frantically to create a split by resorting to many dishonest tricks, spreading rumours, slinging mud and sowing dissension. But the overwhelming majority of the people of the world want unity in the international communist movement and are opposed to a split. The activities of certain people in creating a split, attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, and undermining the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, go against the desires of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world and are extremely unpopular. People can see through their tactics of sham unity and actual splitting. Historically, none of the splitters who betrayed Marxism-Leninism ever came to a good end. We have already advised those who are working to create a split to "rein in at the brink of the precipice", but certain people are unwilling to take our advice. They believe they are not yet at the "brink", and they are not ready "to rein in". Apparently they are very much interested in continuing their splitting activities. Let them go on creating trouble if they must. The masses, and history, will pass judgement on them.

Something very interesting is happening today on a wide scale in the international communist movement today. What is this interesting

phenomenon? The doughty warriors who claim to possess the totality of Marxist-Leninist truth are mortally afraid of the articles written in reply to their attacks by the so-called dogmatists, sectarians, splitters, nationalists, and Trotskyites whom they have so vigorously condemned. They dare not publish these articles in their own newspapers and journals. As cowardly as mice, they are scared to death. They dare not let the people of their own countries read our articles, and they have tried to impose a watertight embargo. They are even using powerful stations to jam our broadcasts and prevent their people from listening to them. Dear friends and comrades, who claim to possess the whole truth! Since you are quite definite that our articles are wrong, why don't you publish all these erroneous articles and then refute them point by point, so as to inculcate hatred among your people against the "heresies" you call dogmatism, sectarianism and anti-Marxism-Leninism? Why do you lack the courage to do this? Why such a stringent embargo? You fear the truth. The huge spectre you call "dogmatism", i.e., genuine Marxism-Leninism, is haunting the world, and it threatens you. You have no faith in the people, and the people have no faith in you. You are divorced from the masses. That is why you fear the truth and carry your fear to such absurd lengths. Friends, comrades! If you are men enough, step forward! Let each side in the debate publish all the articles in which it is criticised by the other side, and let the people in our own countries and the whole world think over and judge who is right and who is wrong. That is what we are doing, and we hope you will follow our example. We are not afraid to publish everything of yours in full. We publish all the "masterpieces" in which you rail at us. Then, in reply we either refute them point by point, or refute their main points. Sometimes we publish your articles without a word in answer, leaving the readers to judge for themselves. Isn't that fair and reasonable? You, modern revisionist masters! Do you dare to do the same? If you are men enough, you will. But having a guilty conscience and an unjust case, being fierce of visage but faint of heart, outwardly as tough as bulls but inwardly as timid as mice, you will not dare. We are sure you will not dare. Isn't that so? Please answer!

The Chinese Communist Party believes that there is a way to settle the differences. It is the way pointed out in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. As we are nearing the end of this article,

we should like to quote one of the important conclusions of the Moscow Declaration:

> After exchanging views, the participants in the meeting arrived at the conclusion that in present conditions it is expedient, besides bilateral meetings of leading workers and exchange of information, to hold, as the need arises, more representative conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties to discuss current problems, share experience, study each other's views and attitudes and concert action in the joint struggle for the common goals–peace, democracy and socialism.

We should also like to quote the paragraphs of the Moscow Statement dealing with the fundamental principles guiding the relations among fraternal Parties:

> At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.
>
> Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realisation. The interests of the communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every Communist Party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal Parties at their meetings.
>
> The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand ever closer unity of the ranks of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries; they demand of them unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world communist movement.
>
> A resolute defence of the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism.

All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other. The success of the working-class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist Parties. Every Party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working-class and communist movement as a whole.

The Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and coordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party, its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the Communist Parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the two major meetings – that of November 1957 and this Meeting – show that in present-day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience, enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

Since the incident over a year ago where one Party at its own congress publicly attacked another fraternal Party, we have appealed many times for the resolution of the differences between the fraternal Parties in accordance with the principles and procedures set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, as just quoted. We have pointed out many times that public and unilateral attacks on any fraternal Party are not helpful in resolving problems, and are not helpful to unity. We have constantly maintained that the fraternal Parties having disputes or differences ought to stop the public debate and return to the course of inter-Party consultation, and that in particular the Party which first launched the attack ought to take the initiative. Our opinion today remains the same.

In April 1962, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party stated to the fraternal Party concerned that we whole-heartedly supported the proposal made by several Parties that a meeting of the

fraternal Parties be convened, and that we believed it was appropriate to consider the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to discuss problems of common concern.

At that time, we said that the convening of a meeting of the fraternal Parties and the success of such a meeting would depend on the prior overcoming of many difficulties and obstacles and on the doing of a great deal of preparatory work.

At that time, we expressed the hope that the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries which had disputes would thenceforth take steps, however small, to help ease relations and restore unity, so as to improve the atmosphere and prepare the conditions for the convening of such a meeting and for its successful outcome.

At that time, we proposed that the fraternal Parties concerned should stop making public attacks.

At that time, we maintained that for some of the fraternal Parties to conduct such bilateral or multilateral talks as were needed to exchange opinions would also help to make such a meeting successful.

These views which we put before the fraternal Party concerned in April 1962 are entirely reasonable and fully conform with the provisions on the settlement of differences between fraternal Parties set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We have since explained these views many times, and we now do so again.

Recently, the leaders of certain Parties have expressed a certain degree of acceptance of our views. If this is sincere and if the deeds suit the words, that will certainly be very good. It is what we have always hoped for.

We hold that the ranks of the international communist movement must unite. They will certainly unite!

Let us proclaim:

Workers of all countries, unite!

All oppressed nations and all oppressed people, unite!

All Marxist-Leninists, unite!

A COMMENT ON THE STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

"*Renmin Ribao*"(People's Daily) Editorial, March 8, 1963.

On January 9 of this year, the Communist Party of the United States of America issued a statement publicly attacking the Communist Party of China. Certain comrades of the CPUSA have also made a number of other attacks on the Chinese Communist Party in recent months.

The CPUSA statement was particularly vicious in slandering the Chinese Communist Party for the position it took on the Caribbean crisis. It said that the Chinese Communist Party had advocated "a policy leading to thermonuclear war", and that "this pseudo-Left dogmatic and sectarian line of our Chinese comrades dovetails with that of the most adventurous U.S. imperialists and gives the latter encouragement".

What kind of talk is this? People cannot help being amazed that U.S. Communists should utter such shameful slanders.

The position of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people on the Caribbean crisis was very clear. We supported the five just demands of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, we were against putting any faith in Kennedy's sham "guarantee", and we were against imposing "international inspection" on Cuba. From the outset we directed the spearhead of our struggle against U.S. imperialism, which was committing aggression against Cuba. We neither advocated the sending of missiles to Cuba, nor obstructed the withdrawal of so-called offensive weapons. We opposed adventurism, and we also opposed capitulationism. We would like to ask: What was wrong with this correct position of ours? How can it be described as "a policy leading to thermonuclear war"? What was there about it that "dovetails" with the line of U.S. imperialism?

Source : A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1963.

It is not hard to see that there is a line which does dovetail with that of U.S. imperialism. On the question of the Caribbean crisis, certain leaders of the CPUSA direct the spearhead of their struggle, not against U.S. imperialism, the criminal aggressor against Cuba, but against the Chinese Communist Party, resolute supporter of Cuba. In this respect, aren't they really cheek by jowl with the most adventurous U.S. imperialists?

Since you describe the Chinese comrades, who resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, as being "pseudo-Left", we would like to ask: What do you consider to be the genuine Left? Can it be that those using the sovereignty of another country as a counter for political bargaining with U.S. imperialism are to be considered the genuine Left? To act in that way is indeed to be through-and-through pseudo-Left, or rather, genuinely Right.

It is no accident that certain leaders of the CPUSA have attacked the Chinese Communist Party on the question of the Caribbean crisis. This action is a reflection of their completely wrong understanding of U.S. imperialism and their completely incorrect class stand.

For a considerable period, certain leaders of the CPUSA, in their reports and statements, have been doing their utmost to prettify U.S. imperialism, to prettify Kennedy, the U.S. imperialist chieftain, and to affirm their loyalty to the U.S. ruling class.

They spoke highly of Kennedy's idea of the "New Frontier", which extends U.S. spheres of influence over all six continents, saying that "to speak of a New Frontier, as Kennedy does, is good". (Gus Hall's report to the National Committee of the CPUSA, *Political Affairs*, February 1961.)

They praised Kennedy's Inaugural Speech, which called on the people of the United States to make sacrifices to promote the cause of U.S. imperialism, saying that it was "a possible opening on the road to peace". (*The Worker*, January 29, 1961.)

They sang the praises of Kennedy's State of the Union message of 1961, where he proclaimed the dual tactics of counter-revolution in the words, "The American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left is held a bundle of arrows", and they said it was "welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the American people". (*The Worker*, February 5, 1961.)

They held that the Kennedy Administration's "main mass support" is "the working class, the Negro people and the peace forces", and they wished for "a shift in policy... in the direction of peace and democracy" on the part of the Kennedy government.(Policy Statement by Gus Hall, *The Worker*, July 16,1961.)

From Kennedy's 1962 State of the Union message, in which he announced the stepping up of armaments to realise the U.S. goal of world domination, they drew the conclusion that the Kennedy Administration "can be compelled to yield to the pressures from the people". (*Political affairs*, February 1962.)

They described Kennedy's action supporting the Rockefeller group in its attack on the Morgan group during the 1962 incident concerning steel prices as having "awakened anew the anti-monopoly tradition of Americans" and "rendered a great service". (*The Worker*, April 22, 1962.)

Commenting on Kennedy's 1963 State of the Union message in which he expressed the intention of using nuclear blackmail to establish "a world of order" led by the United States, they played up his statement that "we seek not the world-wide victory one nation or system but a world-wide victory of man" and described this deceitful rubbish as Kennedy's "recognition of world realities", which "most people were happy to hear" and which inspired "hopefulness". (*The Worker*, January 20, 1963.)

They said that they would "any day and every day" take an oath not to advocate using violence to overthrow the U.S. government. When someone asked, "If the Soviet Union attacked the U.S. whom would you support?", the answer was, "I would defend my country if I thought it was being attacked...."(*The Worker*, February 24, 1963.)

Statements of this sort by certain leaders of the CPUSA, prettifying U.S. imperialism and affirming their loyalty to it, have nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist conclusions about U.S. imperialism set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Presenting a scientific analysis of U.S. imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the greatest international exploiter, the centre of world

reaction, the chief bulwark of modern colonialism, the international gendarme, the main force of aggression and war, and the enemy of the people of the world.

Under the cover of "peace" and "disarmament" U.S. imperialism is stepping up arms expansion and war preparation. It is preparing for wars of all types, for all out nuclear war as well as for limited wars, and it is already waging "special warfare". In order to suppress and sabotage the national-democratic revolutionary movement and to promote neo-colonialism all over the world, and especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism is using dual counter-revolutionary tactics – using the dollar and armed force both alternately and simultaneously – and is employing the revisionist clique of Yugoslavia as its special detachment for this purpose. U.S. imperialism is voraciously plundering the wealth of many countries, not even sparing its own allies. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and rallied around itself all the most reactionary and decadent forces of the world. Today it is the most parasitic, most decadent and most reactionary of all capitalisms. It is the main source of aggression and war.

From the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, from its policies of aggression and war and from world realities, more and more people everywhere are coming to see ever more clearly that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of all oppressed people and nations, the common enemy of the people of the world and the chief enemy of world peace.

Some leaders of the CPUSA will probably say they do not deny that U.S. imperialism is perpetrating the crimes of aggression and war in various parts of the world. When they mention these criminal activities, however, they always hasten to add that these evils are not the work of the president of the United States, but of the "ultra-Rights", or are done by the president under the pressure of the "ultra-Rights". They have described the former U.S. president, Eisenhower, and the present president, Kennedy, as being "sober-minded", "realistic" and "sensible". These leaders of the CPUSA often speak of "two power centers in Washington, one in the White House, the other in the Pentagon", and speak of "the Pentagon generals and admirals and their coalition partners among the ultra-Rights, the Republican leaders and

Wall Street" as forces independent of the White House. We should like to ask: Do the leaders of the CPUSA still accept the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and admit that the U.S. state apparatus is the tool of monopoly capital for class rule? And if so, how can there be a president independent of monopoly capital, how can there be a Pentagon independent of the White House, and how can there be two opposing centres in Washington?

Let us consider, for instance, the present U.S. president, Kennedy. He is himself a big capitalist. It is he who ordered the armed invasion of Cuba in 1961, and who ordered the military blockade and war provocations against Cuba in 1962. It is he who has carried on the inhuman "special war" in southern Vietnam, who has used the "United Nations force" to suppress the national liberation movement in the Congo, and who has organised "special forces" in a frantic effort to crush the national-democratic revolutionary movement in various Latin American countries. Every year since he became president, Kennedy has greatly increased U.S. military spending. Kenney's 1963-64 budget calls for military expenditures of over $60 billion, or over 30 per cent more than the $45.9 billion for military expenditures provided in Eisenhower's 1959-60 budget. These facts show that the Kennedy Administration is still more adventurous in pursuing policies of aggression and war.

In trying so hard to portray Kennedy as "sensible", are not these CPUSA leaders serving as willing apologists for U.S. imperialism and helping it to deceive the people of the world?

The fact that certain leaders of the CPUSA are so eager to prettify U.S. imperialism and so eager to affirm their loyalty to the ruling class of the United States recalls to mind Browder's revisionism, which existed in the CPUSA for some time. This renegade from the working class, Browder, denied Lenin's basic thesis that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism, and denied that U.S. capitalism is imperialist in its nature, maintaining that it "retains some of the characteristics of a young capitalism" and would play a progressive role and be a force for world peace for a long time. Why don't these leaders of the CPUSA stop and consider: What is the difference between your present embellishment of U.S. imperialism and Browder's revisionism?

It is obvious that differences of principle exist in the international communist movement today as to how to appraise and how to deal with U.S. imperialism, the arch enemy of the people of the world.

We have always held that, basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism and taking things as they really are, we must constantly expose the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, constantly expose the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism, including its government leaders, and clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of the people of the world. We must ceaselessly carry on revolutionary propaganda among the masses of the people, arm them ideologically, enhance their revolutionary staunchness and vigilance, and mobilize them in waging the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

However, there are certain persons who, while calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, do their utmost not only to prettify U.S. imperialism, but also to stop others from unmasking it. They smear revolutionary propaganda against U.S. imperialism as being nothing but "curses", "vilification", "verbal weapons", "incantations", "cardboard swords", etc., etc. And they add, "Vituperation alone, however just, will not weaken imperialism". In the eyes of these persons, aren't all the revolutionary propaganda undertaken by Communists since the time of the *Communist Manifesto,* all the writings of Marx and Engels exposing capitalism, all Lenin's works exposing imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement jointly drawn up by the Communist Parties of the world – aren't they all only "cardboard swords"? these persons completely fail to understand that once the theory of Marxism-Leninism grips the masses of the people a tremendous material force is generated. Once armed with revolutionary ideas, the masses of the people will dare to struggle and to seize victory, and they will accomplish earth-shaking feats. What then is the purpose of these persons in opposing the exposure of imperialism and in opposing revolutionary propaganda of any kind? It can only be to prevent the people from waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Clearly, such a stand is completely contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

We have always held, moreover, that we must rely on the masses of the people to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and its running dogs. This is the basic lesson the Chinese people have drawn from their 120 years of struggle against imperialism and its running

dogs. It is also the common lesson which all oppressed nations and people of the world have drawn from their struggles against imperialism and its running dogs. The imperialists and the reactionaries in every country use every available means and method against the revolutionary people. It is therefore imperative for the revolutionary people of all countries to study and master every means and method of struggle that can hurt the enemy and protect and develop their own forces. Examples are: to oppose the counter-revolutionary united front of imperialism and its running dogs by a revolutionary united front of the masses against imperialism and its running dogs, to oppose dual counter-revolutionary tactics with dual revolutionary tactics, to counter a war of aggression with a war of self-defence, to counter negotiation with negotiation, to oppose counter-revolutionary propaganda with revolutionary propaganda, etc. That is what we mean by "tit for tat". Experience has demonstrated that only thus can we temper and expand the forces of the people, accumulate and enrich our revolutionary experience and win victory for the revolutionary cause. And only thus can we puncture the arrogance of imperialism, stop imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace.

Certain persons, however, deliberately misrepresent and attack our view that a tit-for-tat struggle has to be waged against imperialism, charging that we are opposed to negotiations with the imperialists. Following them, the CPUSA in its statement also misrepresents and attacks this view of ours without any valid grounds. Actually, these persons are not unaware that the Chinese Communist Party has consistently approved of negotiations between socialist and imperialist countries, including summit meetings of great powers, in order to settle international disputes peacefully and relax international tension. They are also aware that the Chinese government has made positive efforts and important contributions to this end.

Why then do these persons keep on distorting and attacking this correct stand of ours?

The basic reason is that there is a difference of principle between them and us on the question of the fundamental policy for fighting imperialism and defending world peace. We place our confidence in the great strength of the masses. We hold that in fighting imperialism and defending world peace we should rely mainly on the unity and

struggle of the people of all countries, and on the concerted struggle of the socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movements and all peace-loving forces. In contrast, these persons have no confidence in the masses and pin their hopes not on the unity and struggle of the masses, but mainly on the "wisdom" and "goodwill" of the imperialists and on talks between the heads of two great powers. They are infatuated with the idea of summit meetings of great powers and laud them as marking "a new stage", "a turning point in the history of mankind" and opening "a new stream in world history".

In their opinion, the course of history and the fate of mankind are determined by two great powers and two "great men". In their opinion, the statement that all countries are independent and equal irrespective of size is an empty phrase, and the hundred and more countries in the world ought to allow themselves to be ordered about by these two great powers. In their opinion, the statement that the masses are the makers of history is another empty phrase, and every matter under the sky can be settled if the two "great men" sit together. Isn't this great-power chauvinism? Isn't this the doctrine of power politics? Does this have anything in common with Marxism-Leninism? Actually, there is nothing new about this view, it has been copied from the renegade Browder. Browder said long ago that the "alliance" of the two greatest powers in the world "will be a great fortress for the collective security and progress of all peoples in the post-war world" and that "the future of the world" depended upon the "friendship, understanding and co-operation" of the two greatest powers.

With an ulterior purpose, the statement of the CPUSA referred to Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao. It said that the Chinese comrades were "correctly, not following the adventurous policy in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao that they advocate for others. Why this double standard approach?"

We know from what quarter they have learned this ridiculous charge. And we know, too, the purpose of the person who manufactured it.

Here we should like to answer all those who have raised this matter.

For us there never has been a question of a "double standard". We have only one standard, whether in dealing with the question of Taiwan, whether in dealing with the questions of Hongkong and Macao, or

whether in dealing with all international questions, and that standard is Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the interests of the Chinese people and of the people of the world, the interests of world peace and the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries. In international struggles we are opposed both to adventurism and to capitulationism. These two hats can never fit our heads.

Inasmuch as some persons have mentioned Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao, we are obliged to discuss a little of the history of imperialist aggression against China.

In the hundred years or so prior to the victory of the Chinese revolution, the imperialist and colonial powers – the United States, Britain, France, Tsarist Russia, Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain and Portugal – carried out unbridled aggression against China. They compelled the governments of old China to sign a large number of unequal treaties – the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, the Treaty of Aigun of 1858, the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858, the treaty of Peking of 1860, the Treaty of Ili of 1881, the Protocol of Lisbon of 1887, the treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, the Convention for the Extension of Hongkong of 1898, the Treaty of 1901, etc. By virtue of these unequal treaties, they annexed Chinese territory in the north, south, east and west and held leased territories on the seaboard and in the hinterland of China. Some seized Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, some occupied Hongkong and forcibly leased Kowloon, some put Macao under perpetual occupation, etc., etc.

At the time the People's Republic of China was inaugurated, our government declared that it would examine the treaties concluded by previous Chinese governments with foreign governments, treaties that had been left over by history, and would recognize, abrogate, revise or renegotiate them according to their respective contents. In this respect, our policy towards the socialist countries is fundamentally different from our policy towards the imperialist countries. When we deal with various imperialist countries, we take differing circumstances into consideration and make distinctions in our policy. As a matter of fact, many of these treaties concluded in the past either have lost their validity, or have been abrogated or have been replaced by new ones. With regard to the outstanding issues, which are a legacy from the past, we have always held that, when conditions are ripe, they should be settled

peacefully through negotiations and that, pending a settlement, the *status quo* should be maintained. Within this category are the questions of Hongkong, Kowloon and Macao and the questions of all those boundaries which have not been formally delimited by the parties concerned in each case. As for Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, they were restored to China in 1945, and the question now is the U.S. imperialist invasion and occupation of them and U.S. imperialist interference in China's internal affairs. We Chinese people are determined to exercise our sovereign right to liberate our own territory of Taiwan; at the same time, through the ambassadorial talks between China and the United States in Warsaw we are striving to solve the question of effecting the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. Our position as described above accords not only with the interests of the Chinese people but also with the interests of the people of the socialist camp and the people of the whole world.

Why is it that after the Caribbean crisis this correct policy of ours suddenly became a topic of discussion among certain persons and a theme for their anti-China campaign?

These heroes are apparently very pleased with themselves for having picked up a stone from a cesspool, with which they believe they can instantly fell the Chinese. But whom has this filthy stone really hit?

You are not unaware that such questions as those of Hongkong and Macao relate to the category of unequal treaties left over by history, treaties which the imperialists imposed on China. It may be asked: In raising questions of this kind, do you intend to raise all the questions of unequal treaties and have a general settlement? Has it ever entered your heads what the consequences would be? Can you seriously believe that this will do you any good?

Superficially, you seem to agree with China's policy on Hongkong and Macao. Yet, you compare it with India's liberation of Goa. Anyone with a discerning eye can see at once that your sole intention is to prove that the Chinese are cowards. To be frank, there is no need for the Chinese people to prove their courage and staunchness in combating imperialism by making a show of force on the questions of Hongkong and Macao. The imperialists, and the U.S. imperialists in particular, have had occasion to sample our courage and staunchness. Shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people, the finest sons and daughters of the

Chinese people fought for three years and shed their blood on the battlefields of Korea to repulse the U.S. aggressors. Don't you feel it "stupid" and "deplorable" on your part to taunt us on the questions of Hongkong and Macao?

We know very well, and you know too, that you are, to put it plainly, bringing up the questions of Hongkong and Macao merely as a fig-leaf to hide your disgraceful performance in the Caribbean crisis. But all this is futile. There is an objective criterion for truth, just as there is for error. What is right cannot be made to look wrong, nor can wrong be made to look right. To glory in your disgraceful performance will not add to your prestige. How can the correct policy of the Chinese people on the questions of Hongkong and Macao be mentioned in the same breath with your erroneous policy on the Caribbean crisis? How can such a comparison help you to whitewash yourselves? Our resolute defence of our sovereignty in the matter of Taiwan is completely consistent with our resolute support of the Cuban people in defending their sovereignty during the Caribbean crisis. How can this be described as having a "double standard"?

We say to these friends who are acting the hero, it is you, and not we, who really have a "double standard". With regard to the U.S. imperialists, one day you call them pirates and the next you say they are concerned for peace. As for revolutionary Cuba, you say that you support her five demands for safeguarding her independence and sovereignty, but on the other hand you try to impose "international inspection" on her. With regard to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, you speak of "fraternal China" and "friendly India" on the one hand, but on the other you maliciously attack China and support the Indian reactionaries in diverse ways. As for Hongkong and Macao, while you ostensibly speak for China, you are actually stabbing her in the back. Are you not applying a "double standard" in all your actions? Is this not a manifestation of dual personality?

The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people and the Communists and people of the United States are fighting on the same front against U.S. imperialism. We highly esteemed Comrade William Z. Foster, builder of the CPUSA and outstanding leader of the U.S. proletariat. We have not forgotten that the U.S. Communists represented by him warmly supported us Chinese people in the difficult years of

our revolution and laid the foundation for friendship between the Chinese and the U.S. Parties and between the Chinese and American peoples. U.S. Communists are now being savagely persecuted by the U.S. government; we have great sympathy for them in their difficult position. In a statement issued a year ago, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party condemned the U.S. government for its outrageous persecution of the U.S. Communists. The Chinese people also launched a mass movement in support of the U.S. Communist Party. But, for reasons beyond us, the leaders of the CPUSA did not think it worthwhile to inform its members and the people of the United States of the support given to the U.S. Party by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

The leaders of the CPUSA assert that they are conscious of their international obligations in the heartland of the world's most powerful and arrogant imperialism. We will of course be glad if they indeed have a correct understanding of their obligations. In the United States, there is a powerful working class, there are extensive democratic and progressive social forces, and there are many fair-minded and progressive people in the fields of science, art, journalism, literature and education. In the United States, there are large-scale workers' struggles, there is the ever growing struggle of the Negro people, and there is the movement for peace, democracy and social progress. In the United States, there is a social basis for a broad united front against monopoly capital and against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. And there are not a small number of genuine Communists, both inside and outside the Communist Party of the United States, who firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism and dogmatism. The leaders of the CPUSA can show that they really understand their international obligations and are fulfilling them, if they carry on and enrich the revolutionary tradition of Comrade Foster; if they identify themselves with the masses, rely on them and do arduous revolutionary work among them; if they combat the corrosive influence of the bourgeoisie and the poison of reformism in the working-class movement and eliminate the revisionist influence of the Lovestones and Browders from their ranks; and if they develop the revolutionary struggle of the American people against their imperialist ruling class and co-ordinate this struggle in the heartland of U.S. imperialism with

the international fight of all people against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people and the people throughout the world have the highest hopes for the working class and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the United States.

Today, the urgent task confronting the Communists of all countries is to unite the people of the whole world, including the American people, in the broadest possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States. The great slogan "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" inspires the people of the socialist countries and the proletariat of all countries, inspires the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, and rallies them all to fight shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States.

We Communists throughout the world must unite. We must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and direct the spearhead of our struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States. We must carry through to final victory the great cause of the people of all countries for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

CPC REPLY TO CPSU

March 9, 1963

We welcome your letter. We welcome the desire for unity expressed in it; we welcome the normal attitude of equality towards fraternal Parties as shown in it; we welcome your definite approval of the proposal to call a meeting of the representatives of all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world.

We ought to face the fact that at present there are serious differences in the international communist movement on a series of important questions of principle. As for the causes of these differences, which your letter says "can be explained by the different conditions in which this or that detachment of the world communist movement is working," the more important factor, in our opinion, is the question of how Marxism-Leninism is understood and what attitude is taken towards it, and the question of how the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement are understood, and what attitude is taken towards them.

The Chinese Communist Party is and always has been opposed to public exposure of differences between fraternal Parties before the enemy. We are even more strongly opposed to the inflammation of debate and the complication of matters by the use of such methods as the convening of Party congresses, the issuance of resolutions or statements by Party Central Committees and the publication of articles and speeches by Party and state leaders. We knew full well, and have said more than once, that such practices would gladden our enemy and create difficulties for our own ranks, and especially for the fraternal Parties in capitalist countries....

Two great historical currents of our time, the forces of socialism and the forces of the national and democratic revolutions in Asia, Africa

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Source : This is the extract from the letter, translated in Peking Review, No. 12, 1963.

and Latin America, are battering the wall of the reactionary rule of imperialism, headed by the United States of America....

In this situation, what is of decisive significance for the international cause of the proletariat as a whole is the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and the support for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this situation, the possibility of preventing a new world war and preserving world peace will increase with the further development of the strength of the socialist countries, the further development of the national liberation movement, of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people, of the movement in defence of world peace and, at the same time, with the full utilisation of the contradictions in the imperialist camp.

In this situation, what is necessary first of all is to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement....

The Moscow Declaration and Statement set forth the common line, course and policies for our common struggle....In our words and deeds, we Chinese Communists have unswervingly followed and maintained this correct line, this correct course and these correct policies. We are very glad that the Soviet comrades, too, have in their letter expressed their loyalty to these two programmatic documents.

With the purpose of eliminating differences and strengthening unity, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on April 7, 1962. In that letter, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party expressed its support for the proposal to convene a meeting of the fraternal Parties put forward by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the Communist Party of Sweden, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist Party of New Zealand, and explicitly proposed that a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries be convened to discuss problems of common concern. We are very glad that in its recent letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. also favours calling a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.... At that time, we advanced the following points:

First, the fraternal Parties and countries having disputes should take steps, however small, that will help ease relations and restore unity, so as to improve the atmosphere and prepare the conditions for the convening and the success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

Second, we support the proposal of the Workers' Party of Vietnam that public attacks should cease.

Third, where needed, certain fraternal Parties should hold bilateral or multilateral talks to exchange opinions.

Fourth, we sincerely hope that the Soviet comrades and the Albanian comrades will both take positive steps to remove their differences and restore normal relations between the two Parties, and the two countries. In this connection, it seems necessary for the Soviet comrades to take the initiative.

Fifth, according to the decision of the meeting of the fraternal Parties in 1957, the C.P.S.U. is responsible for convening meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, after consultation with the fraternal Parties.

At present, we still hold that the foregoing points are important for the success of a meeting of the fraternal Parties.

We are very glad that in its recent letter the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has also advanced valuable proposals for making the meeting of the fraternal Parties successful.

We agree with your view that "it is especially important to take immediate concrete practical steps to ensure our unity, to improve the climate in the relations between all fraternal Parties." [Omitted from Soviet letter – Ed. *Peking Review*]

In order to create a favourable atmosphere for the convening of the meeting of the fraternal Parties, we have decided that, apart from the articles which we have already published as replies, we will from now on temporarily suspend public replies in our newspapers and periodicals to the public attacks which were directed by name against the Chinese Communist Party by comrades of the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal Parties. It goes without saying that, basing ourselves on the principle of equality and reciprocity between fraternal Parties, we reserve the right to make public replies to all the statements of fraternal Parties

publicly attacking the Chinese Communist Party by name....

We welcome the proposal in your letter that talks be held between the Chinese and Soviet Parties. We hold that such talks constitute a necessary preparatory step for the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. In his conversation [February 23] with Comrade Chervonenko [Soviet Ambassador to China], Comrade Mao Tse-tung expressed the hope that Comrade Khrushchev, while making his visit to Cambodia, would stop over in Peking for talks between our two Parties and an exchange of views. If this is not convenient for you, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. can send to Peking a delegation headed by another responsible comrade, or we can send a delegation to Moscow....

We hold that the questions that need to be discussed in the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties are also the questions that need to be discussed at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, and that they are, first of all, the following: the question of strategy and tactics of revolution in the contemporary world, the question of opposing imperialism and defending world peace, the question of the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and people, the question of strengthening the power and unity of the socialist camp, the question of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, and other questions of common interest....

A MIRROR FOR REVISIONISTS

[Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao"(People's Daily) editorial published on March 9,1963. Subheads and emphases are ours. –Ed.]*

In the past 12 months, the revisionist clique headed by Dange have seized the leadership of the Communist Party of India by taking advantage of the large-scale campaign launched by the ruling groups of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords against China, against communism and against the Indian people. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people and embarked on the road of national chauvinism and class capitulationism, thus creating complete chaos in the Indian Communist Party. Their intention is to turn the Indian Communist Party into an appendage of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords and a lackey of the Nehru government.

AN INDENTURE TO SELL THEMSELVES

How low have Dange and company sunk? Let us first look at Dange's letter of greetings to Nehru, dated November 14, 1962, on the occasion of the latter's birthday.

Here is the full text:

> My dear Panditji,
>
> Allow me to convey our heartfelt congratulations to you on behalf of the Communist Party of India on your 73rd birthday.
>
> You have inspired and led heroically the Indian nation in its struggle for national freedom.
>
> In the post-independence period you have laid the foundations

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Source : Peking Review, March 15, 1963.

*Editor refers to editors of Peking Review.

of a new Indian nation pledged to the policies of planned development, democracy, socialism, peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

Today, in this hour of grave crisis created by the Chinese aggression, the nation has mustered around you as a man to safeguard its honour, integrity and sovereignty.

The Communist Party of India pledges its unqualified support to your policies of national defence and national unity.

May you live long to realise your ideals of building a prosperous and socialist India.

Yours sincerely,
S.A. Dange
Chairman, C.P.I.

This is not an ordinary courtesy letter. In his letter, (1) Dange completely sides with the Indian reactionaries and violently opposes socialist China; (2) Dange pledges the Indian Communist Party's support to the Nehru government's "policies of national defence and national unity" which are directed against China, against communism and against the Indian people, and what is more, he pledges, not support in general, but "unqualified support"; and (3) Dange places his reliance on Nehru, the representative of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, to bring about socialism in India.

This letter is the Dange clique's political oath of betrayal of the Indian proletariate; it is an indenture by which they sell themselves to the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords and the Nehru government.

Apologists and Hatchet Men of the Nehru Government

The Dange clique have revealed their revisionist features more and more clearly ever since the Nehru government provoked the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959. For the past three years or so, they have identified themselves with the stand of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords and served as the apologists and hatchet men of the Nehru government in the anti-China campaign.

(1) In complete disregard of the historical background and the actual situation with regard to the Sino-Indian boundary, the Dange clique have unconditionally supported the Nehru government in its territorial claims on China. With regard to the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, they assert that the illegal McMahon Line is a

"virtually demarcated border line" and that it constitutes the "border of India." With regard to the western and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary, they describe the Nehru government's unjustified claims as "correct."

(2) In complete disregard of the fact that the Indian ruling groups have deliberately provoked the border conflict to meet their internal and external political requirements, the Dange clique have tried to shift the responsibility for the border conflict on to China, alleging that China "has a wrong political assessment of the Indo-situation" and "hence this dispute was created."

(3) Instead of revealing the truth about the constant encroachments on China by Indian troops over the past three years and more, the Dange clique, following Nehru, have on a number of occasions most viciously slandered and attacked China to suit the wishes of the reactionary ruling groups of India. They have asserted that China "has committed a breach of faith," that China wants to "settle a border dispute with India by force of arms," that China "insists on the old maps of all their old emperors," that China is given to "a fanatic ambition to restore what it considers its historical geographical national-state form," that China "will lay down his life and fight against his neighbour and brother" "even for an inch of a hedge," that China has been "overcome by something of Bonapartism," that China has taken a "militarist and recalcitrant attitude" and "now threatens even world peace," and so on and so forth.

(4) Instead of condemning the Nehru government for its obstinate stand in perpetuating tension along the Sino-Indian border and spurning a peaceful settlement, the Dange clique have done their utmost to justify the Nehru government's attitude of rejecting negotiations. They have expressed their "full support" for the precondition which the Nehru government laid down for the resumption of negotiations.

(5) The Dange clique have shamelessly provided cover for the large-scale attacks launched by Indian troops against China. Seven days after the order issued by Nehru on October 12, 1962, to "free" Chinese territory of the Chinese frontier guards, who were safeguarding it, Dange issued a statement, talking about "intrusion by the Chinese forces to the south of the McMahon Line, thus violating Indian territory"

and saying that "we take the Indian Government's report as true in this respect."

(6) After the Nehru government had mounted a large-scale armed attack on China, the Dange clique clamoured for the "defence of the Motherland." On November 1 and December 2, 1962, and on February 12, 1963, they issued successive anti-China resolutions which pledged full support to the Nehru government's "policies of national defence and national unity," inveigled the people into making "greater voluntary sacrifices," supported the Nehru government in "buying arms from any country" and backed its policy of ganging up with U.S. imperialism.

It is only too clear that, **cloaked as Communists, the Dange clique have played a role which the Nehru government cannot play in deceiving the people, stirring up reactionary nationalist sentiment and undermining the friendship between China and India.** No wonder the Home Minister of the Nehru government said gleefully not long ago: "What better reply could be given to China than the leader of the Communist Party in this country, Mr. Dange, himself condemning the Chinese stand and upholding the view point of the government of India?"

The national chauvinism of the Dange clique runs counter not only to the interests of the Indian proletariat but also to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people, that is, to the national interests of India. Internally, the national chauvinism of the Dange clique serves the reactionary nationalist purposes of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords; externally, it serves the purposes of U.S. imperialism which is promoting neo-colonialism in India. Their chauvinistic policy is a policy that provides support for the Nehru government in repressing the Indian people and in hiring itself to imperialism at the cost of national independence. Their policy constitutes a betrayal of the international proletariat as well as a betrayal of the Indian people.

An Instrument of the Indian Ruling Class for Repressing the Working Class

From the very first day the Nehru government launched its massive armed attack, the Dange clique, going further and further, have unfolded a whole series of activities in support of the Nehru

government's "policies of national defence and national unity," and they have pursued their line of class capitulation even more thoroughly.

Here is a striking example. Four days after the all-out attack by the Indian forces on the Chinese border and after Nehru had called upon all workers "not to indulge in strikes," Dange, in his capacity as the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, rushed in with a letter to Nehru. He proposed that a tripartite conference of representatives of workers, employers and the government be held to discuss "the problems of the production front and defence." The Nehru government readily accepted his advice and lost no time calling such a tripartite meeting. The meeting adopted a unanimous resolution prohibiting the workers from engaging in strikes or slow-downs and urging them to work extra hours, contribute to the "National Defence Fund" and subscribe to "Defence Bonds."

By this action Dange directly assisted the Indian big bourgeoisie to sabotage the workers' movement, deprive the workers of their basic rights and intensify the exploitation and enslavement of the working people. This shameless action which Dange took as Chairman of the Communist Party of India and General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress proves that he has wholly turned himself into an instrument of the ruling class for repressing the working class and the working people.

NOTHING IN COMMON WITH PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM OR GENUINE PATRIOTISM

Here is another striking example. In November 1962, S.G. Sardesai, a member of the Dange clique on the Central Executive Committee of the Indian Communist Party, had a leaflet distributed, which reads in part:

> Our moral responsibility to defend our country when a socialist country attacks us is greater than that of our other compatriots, not less.
>
> It is our sincere and fervent appeal to the ruling party, the National Congress, as also to all other patriotic parties, that we must set aside all our differences at this crucial hour and unite under the common national flag. The only test and consideration at the moment must be national defence....
>
> ...We declare explicitly that even if we are excluded from the collective efforts for national defence, we shall still devote all our energy

to the same cause.... We shall carry it out without expecting the slightest reward, even if some of our own compatriots attempt to treat us as pariahs....

> The crucial need of the day, the acid test of our patriotism, is...to give monolithic support to Prime Minister Nehru, to strengthen his hands, and to carry out his behests. He is the country's supreme field marshal, its commander-in-chief.

Look! How perfect is the devotion of the Dange clique to Nehru! How disgustingly they fawn upon the Indian Congress Party! And what fanatical national chauvinism! **They are straining themselves to serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords of India and to drive the broad masses of the Indian people to take a stand against socialist China. Does this have anything in common with proletarian internationalism or with genuine Indian patriotism?**

CAT'S-PAWS OF THE INDIAN BIG BOURGEOISIE

Here is yet another striking example. In November 1962 in a report to the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Dange said:

> We do not lay down conditions for defending our country. Because the country belongs to the people. I do not hold the view that in a condition like ours, we should decide our behaviour by asking whether the country is ours or of the national bourgeoisie.
>
> ...We unconditionally support the war effort.... My unconditional support to Nehru government is there in the matter of defence.
>
> We have to stand by our nationalism....
>
> ...Under conditions of the national emergency, defence and near-war conditions require that the trade unions of the AITUC do modify temporarily their normal relations with the bourgeoisie, their functioning and approach to the questions of the working class.
>
> ...We as the working class say that for the time being, we suspend the question of strike, struggles and protecting our class interests by that method.
>
> Industrial truce is, in a sense, "class collaboration." But it is consciously accepted....
>
> The question of unstinted support to national bourgeoisie at this juncture of history was not a matter contradictory to the principles of working-class movement.

> So we support the war effort, we are with the national bourgeoisie.... Don't hesitate. The more you hesitate, the more you will be confused.

Here Dange, completely denying the class nature of the state, openly describes as belonging to the people a state which is under the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. He has completely gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie and has publicly called for unstinted support of the bourgeoisie. Completely abandoning the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle, he openly advocates class collaboration. Dange and company have thoroughly degenerated and become cat's-paws of the Indian big bourgeoisie.

SPLITTING THE PARTY WIDE APART

What is even more shocking is that, **while closing ranks with the Nehru government under the slogan of "national unity," Dange and company have used the power of the Indian ruling groups to push aside the people who disagree with them within the Indian Communist Party and to split the Party wide apart.** After China had effected a ceasefire and withdrawn her frontier guards on her own initiative, the Nehru government, acting on a list of names previously furnished to it, made nationwide arrests, throwing into gaol eight or nine hundred members and leading cadres of different levels of the Indian Communist Party, who are loyal to the cause of the proletariat and the people. While "calling on all members of the Party not to be provoked by the arrests but carry out the policies of the Party with calm and cool determination," the Dange clique exploited the situation and sent their trusted followers, on the heels of the police, to take over the leading organs of the Party committees in a number of states. **The purpose of these actions by the Dange clique was to reconstitute the Indian Communist Party and wreck the Indian revolutionary movement so as to serve the ends of the big bourgeoisie.**

Furthermore, Dange and company are assisting the Nehru government to hoodwink the people with its sham "socialism." They laud Nehru as "the symbol of national unity" and say, "When you have such a person at the head of the nation, and we [Dange and company] take our correct position inside the common front, the front grows into a leading force for future development. What future development? For socialism!"

The Moscow Statement clearly points out that Communists should expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans. But Dange and company have done nothing to expose Nehru's so-called socialism; on the contrary, they have tried to persuade the Indian Communists and the Indian people that Nehru is really pursuing a policy of socialism and should be given unstinted support. **They have publicly asked the Congress Party to co-operate with the Indian Communist Party in order to build socialism in India under the leadership of the Nehru government. We would like to ask: If the Dange clique believe that Nehru and his Congress Party can be depended upon to realise socialism, what need is there for a Communist Party controlled by Dange and company?**

SLIDING FARTHER AND FARTHER DOWN THE PATH OF REVISIONISM

The series of facts just cited make it evident that the Dange clique are sliding farther and farther down the path of revisionism. They have replaced the theory of class struggle by the slogan of class collaboration, and they have replaced proletarian socialism by bourgeois socialism. They are devotedly defending the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, and have cast to the winds the revolutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people. They are giving unconditional support to the Nehru government in its policy of hiring itself to U.S. imperialism and have totally abandoned the task of fighting imperialism. They are trampling underfoot the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and are acting as buglers for Nehru's anti-China campaign. For proletarian internationalism they have substituted bourgeois chauvinism. **In brief, the Dange clique have already gone so far in their degeneration that they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and they are sinking deeper and deeper into the swamp of class capitulationism and national chauvinism.**

This is not the first time in history that revisionists like Dange and company have turned up in a Communist Party.

TWO MIRRORS

Since World War II, revisionist trends have afflicted the

Communist Parties of a number of countries. Renegades from Marxism-Leninism, like Browder and Gates in the United States, Larsen in Denmark and Shojiro Kasuga in Japan have appeared in a good many Parties. And it is not only in Communist Parties of capitalist countries that such renegades have made their appearance; in Yugoslavia where the proletariat once held power, there emerged the revisionist Tito clique which betrayed Marxism-Leninism. It is important for Communists throughout the world to draw lessons from the damage these traitorous cliques have inflicted on the cause of communism.

The Tito clique provides a mirror. It reveals how a group of renegades following a revisionist line corrupt a Party and cause a socialist country to degenerate into a capitalist country.

The Dange clique provides another mirror. It reveals how the leaders of a Communist Party in a capitalist country take the road of revisionism, slide down it and end up as the servants and the tail of the bourgeoisie.

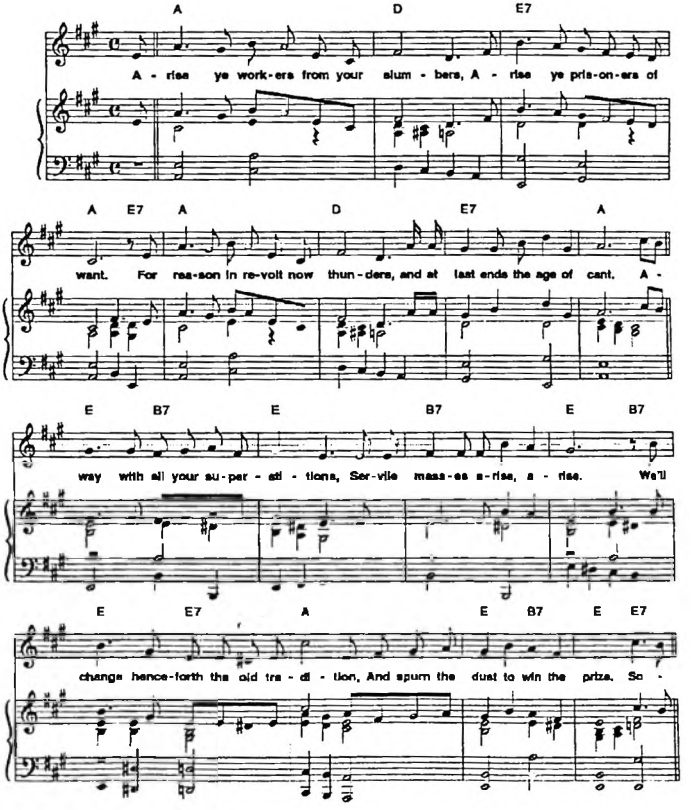
GENUINE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL INTERESTS

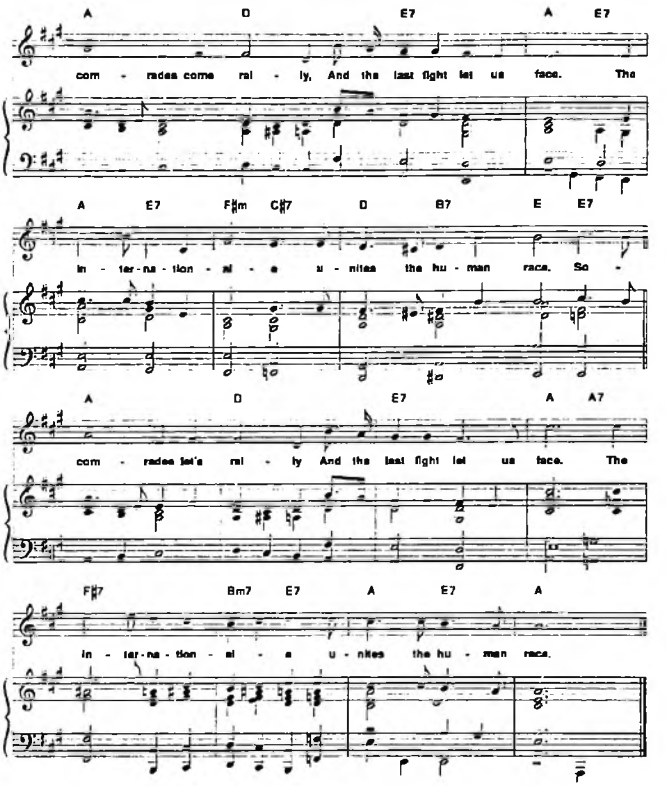
Today, the Indian Communists and the Indian people find themselves in a most difficult situation. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have a deep concern and profound sympathy for the Indian Communists who are persisting in their struggle for the communist cause, and for the Indian proletariat and the Indian people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition. No reactionaries, no revisionists can block the advance of the Indian people. Relying on the proletariat and the broad masses of the people, the forces of Marxism-Leninism will in the end overcome all difficulties and develop and expand through complex and tortuous struggles. **History will prove that those who are firmly upholding truth and justice and firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are the genuine representatives of the interests of the Indian people and the Indian nation. India's future is in their hands.**

Today, the relations between China and India are also passing through a difficult period. The Indian reactionaries and revisionists are trying hard to undermine the friendship between the peoples of China and India. The imperialists are also doing their best to fish in troubled

waters and to sow dissension. But there is every reason not to underestimate the strength of the great friendship which exists between the two peoples and has a long tradition. Compared with the great strength of this friendship, the Indian reactionaries and the Dange revisionist clique are a handful of pygmies. **In the last analysis, nobody can undermine the friendship between the peoples of China and India or the friendship between the Chinese Communists and the Indian Communists.**

THE INTERNATIONALE





Words by Eugene Pottier (1871)
Music by Pierre Degeyter (1888)

अन्तरराष्ट्रीय प्रकाशन से प्रकाशित पुस्तकें

1. **महान बहस :** 100.00

   अन्तरराष्ट्रीय कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन की आम कार्य दिशा पर हुए विचारधारात्मक वाद-विवाद के मुख्य दस्तावेज

2. **नेपाल में लोकयुद्ध : संभावनाएँ और चुनौतियाँ** 20.00

   नेपाल में लोकयुद्ध के विकास और वर्तमान स्थिति से परिचित कराने वाले महत्वपूर्ण लेखों का संग्रह

3. **चीन की महान सर्वहारा सांस्कृतिक क्रान्ति : इतिहास ने जब करवट बदली** 30.00

   (लेखक - विलियम हिण्टन)

4. **माओ की आत्मकथा एवं लम्बा अभियान** 25.00

   (एडगर स्नो द्वारा लिये गये साक्षात्कार पर आधारित)

5. **दर्शन कोई रहस्य नहीं :** किसानों ने अपने अध्ययन को व्यवहार में कैसे उतारा 25.00

   सांस्कृतिक क्रान्ति के दौरान चीन में हुए एक अभिनव प्रयोग की कहानी

6. **द्वन्द्ववाद के जरिए जनता की सेवा :** 15.00

   सांस्कृतिक क्रान्ति के दौरान विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में कार्यरत मजदूरों द्वारा जनता की सेवा के लिए द्वन्द्ववाद का प्रयोग करके अर्जित की गयी उपलब्धियों की कहानी

7. **राजसत्ता और क्रान्ति :** महान सर्वहारा सांस्कृतिक क्रान्ति के कुछ दस्तावेज ; 25.00
   इसमें शामिल हैं ; 'चीनी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की नवीं राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस में प्रस्तुत रिपोर्ट'; सर्वहारा अधिनायकत्व की विजय अमर रहे–पैरिस कम्यून की शताब्दिक जयन्ती की स्मृति में'; महान सर्वहारा सांस्कृतिक क्रान्ति के बारे में चीनी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की केन्द्रीय कमेटी का फैसला'; 'महान सर्वहारा सांस्कृतिक क्रान्ति अमर रहे'और 'एक युगान्तरकारी दस्तावेज– "सरकुलर" के प्रकाशन की दूसरी जयन्ती के उपलक्ष में'।

8. **चीनी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के भीतर दो लाइनों के संघर्ष का इतिहास :** 20.00
   इसमें शामिल है : हमारा अध्ययन और वर्तमान परिस्थिति (अप्रैल 1944) और इसका परिशिष्ट ; हमारी पार्टी के इतिहास से सम्बन्धित कुछ सवालों के बारे में प्रस्ताव' तथा 'चीनी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की पचासवीं जयन्ती की स्मृति में' (जुलाई 1971)।

9. **कला साहित्य और संस्कृति के बारे में माओ के विचार :** 13.00
   इसमें शामिल हैं: येनान की कला-साहित्य गोष्ठी में भाषण और 'सांस्कृतिक कार्य में संयुक्त मोर्चा'।

10. माओ त्से-तुङ की तीन रचनाएँ : 6.00

इसमें शामिल हैं : 'नारमन बेथ्यून की स्मृति में' ; 'एक मूर्ख बूढ़ा जिसने पहाडों को हटा दिया' और 'जनता की सेवा करो'।

11. नौजवान आन्दोलन के बारे में : 5.00

इसमें शामिल हैं: '4 मई आन्दोलन' और 'नौजवान आन्दोलन की दिशा'।

12. व्यवहार और अन्तरविरोध के बारे में माओ की दो रचनाएं : 15.00

इसमें शामिल हैं : माओ के दो प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक निबन्ध: 'व्यवहार के बारे में' और अन्तरविरोध के बारे में' जिनमें क्रमशः ज्ञान के मार्क्सवादी सिद्धान्त और भौतिकवादी द्वन्द्ववाद का क्लासिकीय निरूपण हुआ है।

13. माओ त्सेतुङ की चार रचनाएँ : 15.00

इसमें शामिल हैं : 'अपने अध्ययन मे सुधार करो'; पार्टी की कार्यशैली में सुधार करो' ; 'घिसे-पिटे पार्टी लेखन का विरोध करो' और 'नेतृत्व के तरीके से सम्बन्धित कुछ सवाल'।

14. समाकलीनों की नजर में स्तालिन : 25.00

स्तालिन के बारे में फैलाये गये भ्रमो और दुष्प्रचारो का तथ्याधारित खण्डन प्रस्तुत करने वाली पुस्तक

15. Turning point in China : 35.00

An essay on the cullural Revolution by William Hinton

16. Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR : 60.00

By Martin Nicolaus

अन्तरराष्ट्रीय प्रकाशन

अन्तरराष्ट्रीय प्रकाशन मार्क्सवाद के क्रान्तिकारी सिद्धान्तों के प्रचार-प्रसार के लिए समर्पित है। हमारा उद्देश्य पूरे क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन की आवश्यकताओं का ध्यान रखते हुए मार्क्सवाद के क्लासिकीय ग्रन्थों और विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन के दुर्लभ दस्तावेजों को देश के पाठकों के लिए उचित मूल्य पर उपलब्ध कराना है। आज जब प्रामाणिक मार्क्सवादी साहित्य की अनुपलब्धता के कारण क्रान्तिकारी व्यवहार से जुड़े हुए संगठनों और कार्यकर्ताओं को अनेक दिक्कतों का सामना करना पड़ता है, हमारा उद्देश्य है कि उपयोगी और दुर्लभ मार्क्सवादी कृतियों और दस्तावेजों को आम जनता, प्रगतिशील बुद्धिजीवियों और क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन के कार्यकर्त्ताओं तक पहुँचाया जाये। मार्क्सवाद के क्रान्तिकारी विज्ञान को जन-जन तक पहुँचाने की इस मुहिम में हम क्रान्तिकारी शिविर के सभी संगठनों और व्यक्तियों को अपना सहयोगी और सहयात्री समझते हैं। हमारे द्वारा कम मूल्य और प्रामाणिक रूप में प्रकाशित ऐसी पुस्तिकाएँ, जिनमें सर्वकालिक विचारधारात्मक महत्व के ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेजों को स्थान दिया गया था, विशेष रूप से लोकप्रिय हुई हैं। हमने अंग्रेजी में भी पुस्तकों का प्रकाशन आरम्भ किया है।

विचारधारात्मक प्रचार-प्रसार की समकालीन आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति की दिशा में अपना छोटा सा कदम बढ़ाते हुए हम पूरे क्रान्तिकारी शिविर से आलोचना, सुझाव और सहयोग की आशा करते हैं।

The song of the First and Second International, it was written by a transport worker after the Paris Commune was crushed by the French government. The song was later used as the first Soviet Union National Anthem and Anthem of the (Third) Communist International, until 1944 when the latter was disolved.

Writer: Eugène Pottier - Paris, June 1871 Music: Pierre Degeyter – 1888

The International

Arise ye workers from your slumber
Arise ye prisoners of want
For reason in revolt now thunders
And at last ends the age of cant.
Away with all your superstitions
Servile masses arise, arise
We'll change henceforth the old tradition
And spurn the dust to win the prize.

Refrain:
So comrades, come rally
And the last fight let us face
The Internationale unites the human race.

No more deluded by reaction
On tyrants only we'll make war
The soldiers too will take strike action
They'll break ranks and fight no more
And if those cannibals keep trying
To sacrifice us to their pride
They soon shall hear the bullets flying
We'll shoot the generals on our own side.

No saviour from on high delivers
No faith have we in prince or peer
Our own right hand the chains must shiver
Chains of hatred, greed and fear
E'er the thieves will out with their booty
And give to all a happier lot.
Each at the forge must do their duty
And we'll strike while the iron is hot.

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