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FOREWORD

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THE KHRUSHCHEV REVISIONISTS' FEAR OF CONTRADICTIONS

[Following is a translation of an article by Mao K'uang-sheng (3029 0400 3932) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 8, 31 July 1965, pages 34-41.]

The traitorous path of the Khrushchev revisionists, similar to the path of all traitors in the history of the workers' movement, is served by a traitorous philosophy. There is one outstanding feature in this traitorous philosophy, and that is the fear of contradictions. They most fear class struggle and revolution, and consequently, in their philosophy, they dread a discussion of contradictions. They exhaust every sort of sophistry and deceptive tactic in an attempt to conceal and obliterate the basic contradictions in the world today and the class contradictions in Soviet society; they deny the necessity of solving these contradictions by means of revolution and class struggle. Their philosophers vociferously tout the viewpoint of the fusion and reconciliation of contradictions. They oppose the revolutionary dialectic of Marxism-Leninism and make a vain attempt to defend the Khrushchev revisionist line theoretically, so as not to take responsibility for betraying the people, the revolution, and for their despicable submission to U.S. imperialism. Therefore, exposure and criticism of the Khrushchev revisionists' fear of contradictions are essential for analyzing the reactionary nature of this revisionism.

1.

The laws of contradictions of things are the basic laws of the universe. This law prevails universally in the world of nature, in human society, and in human thought. The unity and struggle of opposites which are in contradiction push forward the movement and development of things. The dialectic of Marxism-Leninism is rooted on the foundation of scientifically observing and analyzing contradictions.

Our party employs the view of the universe of dialectical materialism as the tool for observing the destiny of the world, and it points out the basic contradictions of the present world to be: The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp; the contradiction between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries; the contradiction between the oppressed nationalities and imperialism; the contradiction between imperialist countries themselves and between monopoly capital cliques. Of these various contradictions, the contradiction between the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and imperialism, headed by the U.S., is the primary one in the world today. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the areas where the world's contradictions are concentrated, the major areas of the world's revolutionary storms which are directly attacking imperialism. Our party has made an overall concrete class analysis of the nature and struggles brought about by these contradictions; and it has put forward a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist general line for the international communist movement. In its "Proposal for a General Line for the International Communist Movement," the CCP Central Committee summed up this general line as: "The proletarians of the world must unite, the proletarians of the world must unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations to oppose imperialism and the reactionaries of every country, to strive for world peace, for national liberation, for people's democracy, and for socialism, to consolidate and enlarge the socialist camp, to realize gradually the total victory of the world's proletarian revolutions, and to establish a new world with no imperialism, no capitalism, and no systems of exploitation."

The Khrushchev revisionists have completely discarded the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary dialectic, and in particular the theory of contradictions which serves as the core of the dialectic. They ignore the various basic contradictions existing objectively in the world today, and vigorously oppose the revolutionary struggles on the part of the world's proletariat and peoples which these contradictions have brought forth.

The Khrushchev revisionists in actuality deny the existence of the contradiction between the oppressed nationalities and imperialism, and still more refuse to acknowledge that this contradiction is the primary one in the present world. They vigorously propagate to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America the "theory of the dissolution of colonialism." They claim that "the national liberation movements have entered the full stage of having eliminated the colonial system;" (1) at present, "the central problem of the majority of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is to strive to achieve economic independence and social progress;" "the pressing business of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is to struggle for disarmament," (2), and so on. They vigorously whitewash the neo-colonialists which are representing imperialism; they claim that they "possess much foresight," and, five minutes before they are beaten, they "will withdraw from their colonies." (3) Moreover, they claim that the money saved in disarmament can be used to "aid" the backward countries, and that "a new era in the economic development of Asia, Africa, and Latin America can be opened." (4) In this fashion, imperialism, headed by the U.S., is no longer an exploiter and aggressor; it not only wants to "peacefully coexist" with the oppressed nationalities, but it has also become the "savior" which helps these peoples create a new life. Where in all this is any mention of the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism? What necessity is there for the oppressed nations?

struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism? It is just no wonder that they viciously curse the national liberation movements.

The Khrushchev revisionists in fact deny the existence of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within capitalist countries. They use the pretext of the strength of the world socialist forces, propagate the illusion of "peaceful transition" to the peoples in capitalist countries, and thus refute the path of the October Revolution. They insistently proclaim that "due to basic changes on the world's stage, a new prospect has appeared for the transition to socialism by the nations and peoples." (5) And that is, "in a number of countries at present, a predominant force for overcoming reactionaries has developed, and under these conditions, the reactionary classes come to understand that resistance is hopeless, and they have no recourse except to surrender to the revolutionary peoples." (6) This means that the basic nature of the monopoly bourgeoisie in capitalist countries has changed, that the proletariat no longer needs to engage in revolutionary struggle, that they will present political power to the proletariat on a silver platter and then automatically withdraw from the stage of history. Thus, with the stroke of a pen, the Khrushchev revisionists wipe out the obligation of revolutionary struggle on the part of the proletariat and other working peoples in capitalist countries in opposing monopoly capital and other reactionaries.

The Khrushchev revisionists in fact deny the existence of the contradictions between imperialist countries and between monopoly capital cliques. They insist that the increase in the might of the socialist system has altered relations between the imperialist countries, and they vociferously proclaim the "integration" of imperialism. They claim that after World War Two the "tendency" on the part of contradictions between imperialist countries and monopoly capital cliques "to become united was greatly increased." If in the past the imperialists had engaged in war and adventures in their efforts to seize markets, raw materials, and markets for investments, now they "were adopting common action." This means that the contradiction firmly entrenched in the imperialist camp itself, which brought about sharp sharp internal struggles, no longer existed. This is equivalent to saying that U.S. imperialism is no longer the major enemy of the peoples of the world, that the revolutionary peoples no longer need to employ the enemy's internal contradictions. This touts the unity and strength of the imperialist forces, attempts to frighten the oppressed nations and peoples, and creates a basis for a capitulationist line.

Although the Khrushchev revisionists pay lip service to the existence of contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, it must be pointed out that it is precisely in this point that the craftiness and danger of the Khrushchev revisionists are manifested. Their purpose in doing this is: On the one hand, they attempt to use the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps in a subjective, simple way to replace the other basic contradictions in the world today, and they deny the struggles engendered by these other contradictions; on the other hand, they extract and discard the overall class content contained in this contradiction, and vigorously tout that "the two differing social systems of socialist and capitalism can coexist peacefully for a long time." (7) By means of "peaceful competition, first of all economic competition, the

divergences and contradictions between them can be resolved." (8) Moreover, they intentionally further define "peaceful co-existence" between the two systems of socialism and capitalism as "overall cooperation" between the "two great world powers", the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Whether in the past or the present, they have incessantly and vociferously proclaimed the "strength" of the U.S. and the Soviet Union; they have propagated their "common interests" and their "special responsibility for maintaining world peace." They say something to the effect that the U.S. and the Soviet Union "in many aspects determine the general situation in the world's relations," (9) that as long as they "join together for peace, there will be no war," (10), that "no one can complicate the world situation." (11). They even go so far as to say that as long as the heads of the U.S. and the Soviet Union "reach agreement, the international problems which determine the destiny of mankind will be resolved." (12)

It can be seen that in the eyes of the Khrushchev revisionists, "U.S.-Soviet cooperation" is to direct the world and to determine man's fate; there is just no significance in the contradictions between the socialist and imperialist camps, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the oppressed peoples and nationalities and the imperialists, between imperialist countries themselves, and so forth. "U.S.-Soviet cooperation" is the be-all and end-all; other things aren't worthy of note. This then is the moving spirit of the general line of so-called "peaceful co-existence" which the Khrushchev revisionists have consistently fashioned.

In their discussion of Soviet social conditions, the Khrushchev revisionists vigorously try to obliterate the class contradictions and class struggle existing in Soviet society. They say: "Socialism has achieved complete and final victory in the Soviet Union;" the exploiting classes "have long since been eliminated;" Soviet society has formed a "new historical integral entity" which possesses "a common economic base," "a common social class structure," "and a common world view;" the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary; the Soviet state has become a "state of all the people;" the party of the proletariat is no longer necessary, and the CPSU has become a "party of all the people," and so on and on.

However, this just won't hold water, and no matter how moving these lies may be, they cannot conceal the truth of facts. The iron-clad facts are: Class contradictions and class struggle exist in the Soviet society today. In the Soviet Union today, a bourgeois special privilege stratum has grown up. The Khrushchev revisionists, political representatives of this stratum, under the signboard of the "state of all the people," have eliminated the Soviet Union's dictatorship of the proletariat; under the signboard of the "party of all the people," they have led the CPSU on to the dangerous path of starting to change its basic character. If we pierce through their so-called "overcome capitalism by means of peaceful economic competition," and "catch up with the major capitalist countries," we see that they are attempting to transform the Soviet Union into a capitalist society modelled on the U.S.

The Khrushchev revisionists' line of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition", "peaceful transition," "the state of all the people," and "the party of all the people" is a thorough counter-revolutionary line.

Their purpose in pushing this line is to defend imperialist and reactionary rule in the world and to effect a restoration of capitalism in socialist countries. This line completely rejects the revolutionary struggles engaged in by the world's proletariat, by the oppressed peoples and nationalities. In effect it is an attempt to "fuse together" and "unify" the peoples of the world, including the Soviet people, under the counter-revolutionary "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism.

2.

Since the Khrushchev revisionists have put into effect politically a thoroughly capitulationist line of betraying the people, the revolution, and socialism, it was also necessary that they oppose the revolutionary dialectic of Marxism-Leninism philosophically. In order to provide a "theoretical" basis for the Khrushchev revisionist line, their theoreticians have turned out innumerable philosophical works and articles, vigorously distorting and opposing the revolutionary dialectic of Marxism-Leninism, and in particular usurping the position of the theory of the laws of contradictions by loudly propagating the theory of the fusion of contradictions.

The Khrushchev revisionist theoreticians insist that the opposing class contradictions, which presently exist in human society objectively, are not opposing by nature. They say: "The opposing contradictions in the development of society are not only no longer the primary or universal form of contradictions in human society, but they are no longer the form of contradiction which determines the movement in the development of human society. New contradictions, of a non-opposing nature which are truly in accord with human nature, are more and more the motive force for the development of society, and they have entered into the life of human society." (13)

They further explain: "If the replacement of the form of the unity of opposing natures suggests that opposites are splitting apart more and more, that the relations between the two are weakened, that the opposing natures of the two are deepened, and if this splitting and falling apart of unity is taken as being complete, it should be seen that the replacement of the form of the unity of opposing natures is manifested in opposites' moving closer together, in their relations being consolidated, in the gradual disappearance of the differences between the two," "in the gradual loss of their nature of being opposites." (14)

How clever! They discuss back and forth their so-called "non-opposing contradictions" and in the end describe this as the "fusion" of opposites, "the unanimous result of the direction of the development of opposites." (15) Of course, the resolution of these "contradictions" simply lies in "combining (fusing) opposites so as to overcome opposites," (16) and the struggle between opposites is completely superfluous. In this way, they subvert and transform the core of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary dialectic -- the law of contradictions -- into the theory of the fusion of opposites.

In actuality, the theory of the so-called fusion of opposites which they have subjected concocted will not hold water. Marxist-Leninist dialectic tells us that the unified nature of any contradiction is conditional and relative, while the struggle nature of any contradiction is always

unconditional and absolute. All contradictions must pass through struggle before they can be resolved. If the struggle nature of contradictions is denied, or if the absoluteness of struggle is denied, then this is a basic denial of contradictions. In class society, such contradictions as those between the exploiting class and the exploited class and between the oppressing people and the oppressed people have originally been opposing contradictions concerned with a life-and-death issue. When this type of contradiction has developed to a certain stage, it will result in war and revolution. In his "On Contradiction," comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "It is extremely important to recognize this situation. It enables us to understand that in class society, war and revolutionary war are unavoidable, and without this the leaps in the development of society cannot be completed; the reactionary ruling class cannot be overthrown, nor can the people seize political power. Communists must expose the deceptive propaganda of the reactionaries who claim that social revolution is not necessary and not possible; they must firmly hold to the Marxist-Leninist theory of social revolution." (17)

The Khrushchev revisionists, on the one hand, talk loudly with the most vicious, foremost enemy of the peoples of the world, U.S. imperialism, about the "fusion" of opposites, and they describe this executioner, both hands of whom are covered with the fresh blood of the world's peoples, as a peaceful heavenly emissary with whom the socialist countries can cooperate. On the other hand, in every way possible they revile the world's Marxist-Leninists, and in particular, the CCP and the Chinese people, nonsensically claiming that they "want to realize socialism by means of a hot nuclear war", that "they are enthusiastic for war as a fighting cock," that they want to bring about a "U.S.-Soviet clash," that they want to push mankind into "a nuclear holocaust," and so on. In the minds of the Khrushchev revisionists, the "aggressor" in the world is not imperialism, headed by the U.S., but rather the Chinese people and the revolutionary peoples of the whole world. Have they not in this manner put themselves in a completely opposite position to the revolutionary peoples of the world? From this the peoples of the world can all the more clearly see the reactionary nature of the theory of the fusion of contradictions which they propagate. Thus, after all, their so-called "non-opposing contradictions" are nothing more than an attempt to obliterate the contradiction between the enemy and us, an attempt to defend their traitorous behavior in taking the enemy as a friend.

The Khrushchev revisionist theoreticians wildly proclaim that under the social conditions of socialism, "changes have occurred" in the universal law of the Marxist-Leninist dialectic, that the "formula of the law of unity and struggle between opposites is outdated." They insist that contradictions in socialist society are "contradictions which are in the state of being extinguished," that they "gradually disappear completely." Therefore, we must not say that contradictions constitute the moving force in the development of socialist society; "the unity and unanimity of society" are the "most important moving forces." (18) In this, there is not only a fusion of opposites, but the opposites not longer even exist. With regard to Marxist-Leninists who firmly use the law of contradictions to observe and resolve contradictions in socialist society, they engage in vicious

attacks, nonsensically claiming that this is a "characteristic" of not understanding socialist society, that this is "to handle contradictions in a metaphysical way." (19) They hold that "vociferously proclaiming the absoluteness of the struggle between opposites is ridiculous and laughable," that "this constitutes baseless worship of contradictions," (20) that this constitutes "a petty bourgeois apotheosis of contradictions," (21) and the like. It can be seen that in the eyes of the Khrushchev revisionists and their theoreticians, "contradictions" are most unfortunate, a most terrifying monster!

In sum, the Khrushchev revisionists always vainly hope to circumvent contradictions, vainly believe that if there were no contradictions in the world, or if they were all reconciled, the world would be a most beautiful place! Then they would, "with their minds at ease", be able to embrace and snuggle up to U.S. imperialism and realize their dream of controlling the world through U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

However, regardless of the subjective wishes of the Khrushchev revisionists, human society always advances in accordance with the objective laws revealed by the Marxist-Leninist dialectic.

The Marxist-Leninist dialectic holds that, whether in capitalist society, in socialist society in the transition from capitalism to communism, in the classless communist society, contradictions universally exist and eternally exist; it is simply that under different conditions the nature of contradictions varies. If there were no contradictions or the struggle of the two sides of contradictions, there would be no development and human society would not advance -- this is an unimaginable situation.

It is doubtless true that socialist society is incomparably superior to capitalist society. However, this is not to claim, as the Khrushchev revisionists do, that there are no longer class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society.

In his great work, "On the Correct Handling of Internal Contradictions Among the People," comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "There are two types of social contradictions facing us, one is the contradiction between us and the enemy, and the other is the internal contradiction among the people. These contradictions have a completely different nature." He also tells us: "The reactionaries in socialist countries link up with the imperialists, use the internal contradictions among the people, foment trouble and cause dissension, in an attempt to realize their plots." (22) Consequently, in socialist society, the task of the Marxist-Leninist political party in the ruling position is to correctly recognize and handle these essentially different contradictions, to constantly push forward the socialist revolution and construction, and to guarantee the victorious transition from socialism to communism.

The Khrushchev revisionists use the pretext of the "special features" of the socialist system to deny contradictions and struggle in socialist society, and their purpose in this is to conceal class struggle in the socialist era, to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to prepare the way for a restoration of capitalism.

3.

The Khrushchev revisionists' fear of contradictions has deep class

and historical roots.

The fear of contradictions is a chronic malady suffered by all reactionary ruling classes in history. All reactionary rulers dream of maintaining their ruling position forever, and most fear that they will be overthrown by the masses. Consequently, they are very much afraid of arriving at the political conclusion of revolution from out of the movement of contradictions seen in the analysis of things. In every way possible, they try to deny and conceal contradictions, and claim that contradictions are a most irregular "sickness". Thus they describe the dark society which they rule as being the most normal, most rational society. They reject all scientific thought which exposes contradictions as being "strange doctrines", and they view the revolutionary struggle undertaken by the masses against their exploitation and rule as being a "crime against heaven." The more decadent and backward they become, the greater becomes their fear of contradictions, and the more cruel become their methods of oppression against the people and the revolution. Thus the greater becomes their need, in the realm of thought and theory, to concoct every sort of sophistry and pernicious doctrine so as to conceal contradictions, to conceal the truth and essence of the class struggle.

Everyone knows that the reactionary bourgeoisie is an old hand at concealing contradictions, deceiving the people, and attacking revolution, and this is so because their class interests are completely opposite to those of the working peoples. Even at the time of their opposition to the feudal system, the bourgeoisie was, on the one hand, exposing the contradictions in feudal society, and on the other hand, using every sort of method to conceal and obliterate their contradictions with the laboring peoples. At that time, their ideologists raised such empty slogans as "liberty, equality, fraternity," and vigorously propagated such notions as "the theory of human nature," "humanism," and "love of mankind". They pasted on to the exploitation system of capitalism the label of "no contradictions", and attempted to deny class contradictions in capitalist society, to conceal the bourgeoisie's exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of working peoples. However, the bourgeois ideologists were in the long run sorely beset and clumsy. Despite the subjective wishes of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist system continually created grave-diggers for itself, and this fact could not be obliterated. After capitalism had developed into the imperialist stage, the capitalist world was permeated with class contradictions, and national contradictions sharpened. This created the source of the world's revolutionary storms. In the face of the revolutionary tides stirred up by the peoples of the world, and in particular at the time of the widespread dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and its deep penetration of people's hearts, the teaching of the bourgeoisie and the propaganda of the capitalist "gospel" were less and less serving any function. In order to destroy and wipe out the revolutionary struggles by the proletariat and the world's peoples, to rescue capitalism from extinction, the imperialists were forced to find helpers. And they found their agents within the ranks of the workers' movement -- the revisionists.

In this great era when world capitalism and imperialism are headed towards extinction, when socialism and communism are headed towards triumph,

Khrushchev revisionism was born to meet the needs of the policies of U.S. imperialism. Internally, the Khrushchev revisionists represent the interests of the bourgeois special privilege stratum within Soviet society. In actuality, this stratum makes up only a few percent of the population of the Soviet Union. They have usurped the leadership of the CPSU and the state, seized the fruits of the labor of the Soviet working people, and are leading parasitic, decadent bourgeois lives. They stand in basic opposition with the masses of the Soviet people, with the masses of communist party members, and cadres. The contradiction between them and the Soviet People is a class contradiction, opposing in nature and irreconcilable. Therefore, the Khrushchev revisionists are frightened to death of class contradictions and class struggle, frightened to death of the sound of the truth and the sound of Marxism-Leninism. People should "live in peace and unity", not "live in contradictions" (23) -- this is their motto.

Domestically, in order to safeguard their economic interests and political rule, and to further swallow up the fruits of the labor of the Soviet people and to bring about a restoration of capitalism, the Khrushchev need to conceal and obliterate class contradictions and class struggle in Soviet society and to deceive and benumb the Soviet people. In this regard, apart from using such hypocritical theories as "all the people" and "supra-class", which are taken from the armory of the bourgeoisie, they have in particular hung up the signboard of "communism". With regard to many important questions domestically, they have spewed forth much seductive verbiage, ballyhooed many deceptive slogans, and heaped up promise after promise which they have never fulfilled and which they never intend to fulfill.

Internationally, in order to their plot of mutually controlling the world along with U.S. imperialism, the Khrushchev revisionists have not only betrayed the revolution, but also hope to suppress and control the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world and not to allow them to rise up in revolution. In order to oppose and exterminate the revolutions undertaken by the peoples of the world, they have also felt the need, similar to the imperialists, to find helpers. Thereupon, they banded together with the U.S. imperialists to effect their evil purposes. The more victorious and more developed become the revolutionary struggles of the world's proletariat and peoples, the stronger becomes the revolutionary strength of Marxism-Leninism, the more troubled and ill at ease they become. And thus the more they need to conceal contradictions and to deceive the people so as to tighten their connection with the U.S. imperialists, and to destroy and oppose the revolutions of the world's peoples. This was the case in regard to the Congo, and this is the case in regard to Vietnam. Recently, when U.S. imperialism further expanded its aggressive war in Vietnam in order to save itself from defeat, when all the peoples of the world unanimously condemned U.S. imperialism's barbarous aggression in Vietnam and actively aided the Vietnamese people's armed struggle, Khrushchev successors undertook a dual approach: On the one hand, they made a few gestures about "aiding Vietnam", and on the other hand, they chimed in with U.S. imperialism's plot for "peaceful negotiations". They drew the Vietnamese question into the sphere of their so-called "peaceful co-existence" and "U.S.-Soviet cooperation to solve the problems of the world," in an attempt to extinguish the

revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. They have also supported the U.S. in its use of the U.N.'s so-called "special peace-keeping committee", an attempt to establish a permanent U.N. armed force with the goal of suppressing and destroying the peoples' revolution in the place of U.S. imperialism.

There is another important reason why the Khrushchev revisionists' fear of contradictions has appeared at this time, and that is their fear of nuclear weapons.

They have been frightened to death by nuclear weapons and have completely submitted to U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail; they have not only discarded struggle, but also want to blackmail the world's people into abandoning struggle and revolution. Everywhere they spread terror of nuclear warfare, claiming that "atomic bombs do not respect class principles," that they "cannot differentiate between the location of the imperialists and the working peoples." (24) "It will annihilate all living things", destroy our own planet. After the appearance of nuclear weapons, mankind has been living in "a powder keg filled with hot nuclear weapons;" (25) "the situation is like that of a sword hanging over the head of a condemned man, and the man might just as well lie there and wait for he doesn't know when the sword will fall and cut off his head." (26) In their opinion, all Marxist-Leninist principles of revolution have lost the significance of the "era."

Marxism-Leninism holds that the masses are the creators of history, that the destiny of mankind is held in the hands of the masses. Regardless of the killing power and destructive force of nuclear weapons or any other new weapons, these weapons in the final analysis are controlled by man and the class struggle, and subject to the laws of class struggle. They cannot extinguish or alter the laws of class struggle. Therefore, despite the fact that the Khrushchev revisionists are frightened out of their wits before the "mushroom-shaped cloud" and have thus completely abandoned the principles of class analysis and class struggle, the world's proletariat and revolutionary peoples will not because of this cease their struggles and cease revolution.

Let all the modern revisionists, the imperialists, and the reactionaries tremble before the laws of contradictions! A folk saying puts it this way: Demons fear the rays of the sun, but the sun will not stop rising in the east just because of the demons' curses. Despite the deathly fear of contradictions on the part of imperialists, the reactionaries, and the Khrushchev revisionist "gentlemen", it will always be objectively and universally true that contradictions constitute the moving force in the development of things. The constant arising and overcoming of contradictions is the ever-new dialectical process in the universe. In the process of constantly exposing and resolving contradictions, the world's Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples are growing to maturity all the better, are stepping up the development of the revolutionary movements of the world's proletariat. The great ideals of communism will certainly be realized in the entire world!

Footnotes:

(1) Report "On the CPSU Program" given by Khrushchev in October 1961 at the 22nd party congress.

- (2) Reply by Khrushchev on 21 December 1963 to the editorial boards of Algerian and national newspapers concerning the question of national liberation movements.
- (3) Khrushchev's "Summing Up Report" at the 22nd party congress in October 1961.
- (4) Speech by Khrushchev at the U.N. General Assembly on 18 September 1959.
- (5) Khrushchev's "Summing Up Report" at the 20th party congress in February 1956.
- (6) Edited by K'u-hsi-ning: "The Principles of Marxism-Leninism," published by the Three Unities Bookstore, 1960, page 603.
- (7) Speech by Khrushchev on 12 June 1954 at the 10th Czechoslovakian party congress.
- (8) Reply by Khrushchev on 21 February 1958 to a question by a Mexican reporter of the Chih-shang Paper.
- (9) Reply by Khrushchev on 31 December 1962 to the English Daily Express.
- (10) Discussion between Khrushchev and New York Times reporter Su-tzu-chu-ko on 5 September 1961.
- (11) Speech by Khrushchev on 8 September 1961 at the meeting of the Soviet-Indian Friendship Association.
- (12) Statement by Gromyko on 13 December 1962 to a meeting of the Supreme Soviet.
- (13) See Moscow University Academic Journal, 1960, No. 4.
- (14) "On Defining the Unity of Opposites," the Soviet Union's Philosophy and Science, 1963, No. 5.
- (15) "Form of Dialectical Unity in the Development of Society," the Soviet Questions of Philosophy, 1961, No. 7.
- (16) "The CPSU 22nd Party Congress and Tasks for Scientific Research within the Realm of Philosophy," Ibid. 1962, No. 3.
- (17) The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 1, People's Publishing House, 2nd edition, 1952, page 322.
- (18) Same as footnote number 15.
- (19) Same as footnote number 16.
- (20) "Question of Dialectics in Growth of Socialism into Communism," Communist (Soviet), 1960, no. 13.
- (21) Same as footnote number 16.
- (22) On the Correct Handling of Internal Contradictions Among the People, People's Publishing House, 1957, pages 1,8.
- (23) Mutual Relations in the Sphere of Dialectical Materialism, published by Leningrad University, 1956.
- (24) CPSU Central Committee Open Letter to all levels of party organizations and all party members, 14 July 1963.
- (25) Speech by Khrushchev on 12 December 1962 to a meeting of the Supreme Soviet.
- (26) Speech by Khrushchev on 22 January 1958 to a meeting of Byelorussian advanced agricultural workers.

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