

**Workers of all countries, Unite!**

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

**THE  
DOCUMENTS  
OF THE  
GREAT DEBATE**

(FEBRUARY 1956 – JUNE 1963)

IN THREE VOLUMES

**VOLUME-2**



**ANTARASHTRIYA  
PRAKASHAN**

*First Edition*  
December, 2005

*Published by*  
Buddhesh Mani  
**for Antararashtriya Prakashan**  
127, New Avas Vikas Colony  
Saharanpur - 247 001

*Distributed by*  
Gargi Vikraya Patal  
127, New Avas Vikas Colony  
Saharanpur - 247 001

*Printed in India at*  
M.K. Process  
New Delhi

ISBN 81-87784-34-2

**Price : Rs. 300.00 (Set)**

## **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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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**





# CONTENTS

## VOLUME - 2

### Publisher's Note

<b>Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers"</b>	1
October 27, 1958	
I	3
II	9
III	19
<b>Khrushchov's Twenty First Congress Speech</b>	24
January 27, 1959	
<b>Khrushchov's Speech in Peking</b>	26
September 30, 1959	
<b>Declaration of Member- States of the Warsaw Treaty</b>	29
February 04, 1960	
<b>K'ang Sheng's Speech to the Warsaw Treaty Powers' Meeting</b>	44
February 04, 1960	
<b>Long live Leninism</b>	52
Editorial Department of <i>Hangqui</i> , April 16, 1960	
I	52
II	59
III	69
IV	77
V	87
VI	94
<b>Forward Along the Path of Great Lenin!</b>	97
Editorial Department of <i>Renmin Ribao</i> , April 22, 1960	
<b>Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!</b>	122
Report Delivered at the Meeting Held by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Peking on April 22, 1960 to Commemorate the 90 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin, <i>Lu Ting-Yi</i> , April 22, 1960	

<b>Kuusinen's Speech at the Lenin Anniversary Meeting</b>	141
April 22, 1960	
Policy of Friendship with the Peoples who have cast off the Yoke of Colonialism	142
Struggle for Peace and Peaceful Co-existence	144
The Country of the Implementation of Lenin's Great Idea	148
<b>Working Class Must Wage Firm Struggle Against Revisionism, Workers' Movement Should Stand in the Anti-Imperialist Front</b>	151
Summary of the Speech made by <i>Liu Ning-I</i> at the WFTU General Council Meeting, June 07, 1960	
<b>On the Question of War and Peace</b>	160
Speech delivered by <i>Liu Chang-Sheng</i> at the General Council Meeting of the WFTU, June 08, 1960	
<b>Fighting Weapon of Communist Parties</b>	165
June 10, 1960	
<b>The Ideological Weapon of Communism</b>	168
June 12, 1960	
<b>Khrushchov's Bucharest Speech</b>	172
June 21, 1960	
<b>The Chinese Communist Party Greet the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party</b>	182
<i>Comrade Peng Chen's</i> Address, June 22, 1960	
<b>The Bucharest Communiqué</b>	188
June 24, 1960	
<b>Holding High the Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Banner of the Moscow Declarations</b>	191
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, June 29, 1960	
<b>Problems of War and Peace in Present Day Conditions</b>	201
August 07, 1960	
Has the Nature of Imperialism Changed?	203
Lenin on War and Peace in the Epoch of Imperialism	205
The General line of our Foreign Policy	207
Do not Slacken Vigilance	209
<b>A Threat to Cut off Aid ?</b>	212
August 16, 1960	
<b>Outstanding Factors of Our Times</b>	213
August 26, 1960	

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

<b>The Struggle for Peace is the Primary Task</b> August 30, 1960	216
<b>Lenin's Theory of the Socialist Revolution and Present Day Conditions</b> 1960	219
<b>The Path of the Great October Revolution is the Common Path of the Liberation of Mankind</b> October 31, 1960	225
<b>A Basic Summing-up of Experience Gained in the Victory of the Chinese People's Revolution.</b> November 02, 1960	229
<b>Hold High the Red Banner of the October Revolution. March from Victory to Victory</b> November 07, 1960	238
<b>Kozlov's Anniversary Speech</b> November 07, 1960	239
<b>Communiqué of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties</b> November 1960	246
<b>STATEMENT :</b> Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960	248
Main Content of our Epoch.	249
New Stage in Development of Socialist System	255
On Struggle for Peace and Peaceful Co-existence	262
Victories of National Liberation Movements	271
New Opportunities in the New Period	277
Unity and Consolidation of World Communist Movement.	286
<b>APPEAL :</b> Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960	292
<b>Reject the Revisionist Theses of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Anti-Marxist Stand of Khrushchov's Group! Uphold Marxism-Leninism.</b> Speech by <i>Enver Hoxha</i> at the Moscow Meeting, November 16, 1960	299
<b>Unity Under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism</b> November 23, 1960	361

<b>Give Full Play to the Revolutionary Sprit of the Moscow Declaration</b>	363
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, November 21, 1960	

## **VOLUME - 1**

### **Publisher's Note**

<b>Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Twentieth Party Congress</b>	1
<i>N.S. Khrushchov</i> , February 14, 1956	
<b>International Position of the Soviet Union</b>	2
The Steady Economic Advance in the USSR and the People's Democracies	3
The Economic Situation in the Capitalist Countries and the further aggravation of the Contradictions of Capitalism	7
The Imperialist Policy of Lining up Aggressive Blocs and Fanning the "Cold War". The Struggles of the Peoples for Relaxation of International Tension	14
Disintegration of the Imperialist Colonial System	18
The Soviet Union in the Struggle for the Consolidation of Peace and International Security	23
Some Fundamental Questions of Present-Day International Development	30
<b>The Party</b>	39
Consolidation of Communist Party's Ranks and the Strengthening of its Leading Role in the Soviet State	39
Party Organisational Work	44
Questions of Ideological Work	54
<b>Speech at the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU</b>	65
<i>D.T. Shepilov</i> , Secretary of the CC of CPSU, February 16, 1956	
<b>Speech at the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU</b>	87
<i>G.M. Malenkov</i> , February 17, 1956	
<b>Speech at the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU</b>	111
<i>L.M. Kaganovich</i> , February 18, 1956	
<b>Report on the Directives of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU for     the Sixth Five Year Plan for the Development of the USSR     (1956-1960)</b>	141
<i>N.A. Bulaganin</i> , February 21, 1956	
Principal Aims of the Sixth Five Year Plan	146
Economic Development of the USSR in the Sixth Five-Year Plan	152

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

Higher Labour Productivity and better Management	192
Higher Material and Cultural Standards	194
Economic Development in the Union Republics and Geographical Distribution of Productive forces	200
<b>On the Cult of the Individual and its Consequences</b>	210
<i>N.S. Khrushchov, February 25, 1956</i>	
<b>On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat</b>	272
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, April 05, 1956	
<b>On Overcoming the Cult of Individual and its Consequences</b>	286
Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, June 30, 1956	
<b>The 1957 Moscow DECLARATION</b>	308
Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties of the Socialist Countries, held in Moscow, November 14-16, 1957	
<b>Peace Manifesto</b>	323
November 16, 1957	
<b>More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of Proletariat</b>	331
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, December 29, 1956	
<b>Modern Revisionism Must Be Repudiated</b>	361
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, May 05, 1958	
<b>Resolution on the Moscow Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.</b>	367
May 23, 1958	
<b>Yugoslav Revisionism – Product of Imperialist Policy</b>	376
<i>Chen Po-ta, June 01, 1958</i>	
<b>Modern Revisionism Must be Fought to the End</b>	389
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, June 04, 1958	
<b>Yugoslav Revisionism Exactly Suits the Needs of US Imperialism</b>	397
<i>K'ang Sheng, June 14, 1958</i>	
<b>In Refutation of Modern Revisionism's Reactionary Theory of the State</b>	406
<i>Wang Chia-Hsiang, June 16, 1958</i>	
<b>The More They Try to Hide, the More They are Exposed</b>	420
On Tito's Speech of June 15, <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator, June 16, 1958	
<b>The Internationale</b>	

**VOLUME - 3**

**Publisher's Note**

<b>Khrushchov's Report on the Moscow Conference</b> January 06, 1961	1
Prospects for the World Specialist System	4
Prevention of War is the Question of Questions	5
Local Wars	7
National Liberation Wars	8
Peaceful Co-existence	11
Abolition of Colonialism and the Newly Independent Countries	12
Some Ideological Questions of the Communist Movement	16
Soviet Leadership of the Communist Camp	18
<b>Chinese Communist Party Resolution on the Moscow Conference</b> January 18, 1961	22
<b>Workers of all Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy</b> <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, December 15, 1960	28
<b>Statement of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China</b> At the 12 <sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia December 4-8, 1962	43
<b>The Differences between Comrade Togliatti and Us.</b> <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, December 31, 1962	47
I	49
II	55
III	58
IV	62
V	68
VI	72
VII	75
<b>Speech of Greetings Delivered at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the Germany</b> <i>Wu Hsia-Chuan</i> , Head of Delegation, January 18, 1963	81
<b>Message of Greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany</b> January 18, 1963	91
<b>Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement</b> <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, January 27, 1963	93

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

<b>The CPSU letter to the CPC</b>	107
February 21, 1963	
<b>Whence the Difference? A reply to Thorez and Other Comrades</b>	110
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, February 27, 1963	
<b>More on the Differences between Comrade Togliatti and Us</b>	135
Editorial Department of <i>Hangqui</i> , March 04, 1963	
Introduction	135
The Nature of the Present Great Debate among Communists.	137
Contradictions in the Contemporary World	142
War and Peace	171
The State and Revolution	195
Despise the Enemy Strategically, Take Him Seriously Tactically.	228
A Struggle on Two Fronts	244
Workers of all Countries, Unite!	263
<b>A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the USA</b>	270
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, March 08, 1963	
<b>The CPC Reply to the CPSU</b>	283
March 09, 1963	
<b>A Mirror for Revisionists</b>	287
<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, March 09, 1963	
<b>The Internationale</b>	

100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105  
106  
107  
108  
109  
110  
111  
112  
113  
114  
115  
116  
117  
118  
119  
120  
121  
122  
123  
124  
125  
126  
127  
128  
129  
130  
131  
132  
133  
134  
135  
136  
137  
138  
139  
140  
141  
142  
143  
144  
145  
146  
147  
148  
149  
150  
151  
152  
153  
154  
155  
156  
157  
158  
159  
160  
161  
162  
163  
164  
165  
166  
167  
168  
169  
170  
171  
172  
173  
174  
175  
176  
177  
178  
179  
180  
181  
182  
183  
184  
185  
186  
187  
188  
189  
190  
191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200

201  
202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214  
215  
216  
217  
218  
219  
220  
221  
222  
223  
224  
225  
226  
227  
228  
229  
230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239  
240  
241  
242  
243  
244  
245  
246  
247  
248  
249  
250  
251  
252  
253  
254  
255  
256  
257  
258  
259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
300

301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308  
309  
310  
311  
312  
313  
314  
315  
316  
317  
318  
319  
320  
321  
322  
323  
324  
325  
326  
327  
328  
329  
330  
331  
332  
333  
334  
335  
336  
337  
338  
339  
340  
341  
342  
343  
344  
345  
346  
347  
348  
349  
350  
351  
352  
353  
354  
355  
356  
357  
358  
359  
360  
361  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
369  
370  
371  
372  
373  
374  
375  
376  
377  
378  
379  
380  
381  
382  
383  
384  
385  
386  
387  
388  
389  
390  
391  
392  
393  
394  
395  
396  
397  
398  
399  
400



## COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG ON "IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS"

*"Renmin Ribao"* (People's Daily) Editorial Department  
October 27, 1958

How to assess the forces of revolution and the forces of reaction in their true light is still a major problem in China and in the world as well. Many people invariably fail to figure this out. Imperialism and its running dogs in all countries are like the setting sun in the western sky; whereas socialism and the national revolutionary movements which it supports are like the rising sun in the eastern sky. This is characteristic of our times. The days when the imperialists could ride roughshod are gone for ever and they are on their last legs. It is the reactionaries that should fear the revolutionary forces, and not vice versa. At present, there are quite a few people who still fail to see this, who still cherish superstitions and illusions, who still stand in awe of the imperialists in general and the U.S. imperialists in particular. As far as this problem is concerned, they still remain in a state of passivity. All progressives and all Marxists and revolutionaries must do some persuading among them so that the broad masses can have revolutionary confidence and determination, have revolutionary farsightedness and firmness. This is an indispensable spiritual condition for speeding up the triumphant advance of the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung often tells us that in considering a problem one must grasp its essentials and must not be misled by the superficial phenomena. During the last three decades and more, at every crucial moment in the class struggle in our country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung

has always made a penetrating analysis of the state of the struggle on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, and showed that all reactionaries are doomed to perish and that the revolutionary cause is bound to triumph. He uses "paper tiger" to illustrate that imperialism and all reactionary forces appear to be powerful but are actually weak; he uses the old saying "a single spark can start a prairie fire" to illustrate the new-born forces growing up day by day in the course of revolution, and on the basis of this estimation, works out his strategic plans. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's idea that the forces of revolution are invincible and that the reactionary forces, temporarily powerful, are bound to come to grief, has armed the Chinese communists, educated and inspired the Chinese people and led us to our great victories. This wise conclusion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers," has already been borne out by the victory of the Chinese revolution and it will be further borne out by the successful development of the cause of revolution in china and the entire world.

The editorial department of the magazine *Shijie Zhishi* (World Culture) recently collected and published excerpts from the articles, speeches and interviews of Comrade Mao Tse-tung to date on the theme that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." This is of great political significance. It is very useful to the people's fight against aggression and oppression by the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists. We publish here the material it has collected, with the addition of some important related materials and some stylistic changes and re-paragraphing.

The whole article remains divided into three parts. The first part deals with the point that imperialism and all reactionaries representing the moribund forces have no future, and that their momentary rampancy is only an indication of the last kicks of their deathbed struggle. The second part points out that imperialism and all reactionaries are outwardly strong and internally dried up, and there is every reason for the revolutionaries to slight them, but they deserve our full attention in the course of every concrete struggle. The third part describes the essential features of the current international situation, in which the East wind prevails over the West wind and the forces of socialism have outstripped the imperialist forces. Although most of these articles, speeches and interviews were published previously and only a small

part has not been published before, although they range over a period of twenty years and are published in the form of a collection, they still read like a fresh and integrated political essay. That is because the fundamental contradiction between imperialism and its running dogs on the one hand, and the peoples of all lands on the other, has not yet been solved, and because U.S. imperialism especially is baring its teeth and threatening world peace with an atomic war – a tense situation which exercises the minds of the oppressed and menaced people who urgently demand the solution of this contradiction. That is why the readers are naturally interested in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's discussion on this question of being or not being paper tigers, which is the primary and major issue in the manifold problems relating to the solution of this contradiction.

## I

In *On New Democracy*, a work of historic significance published in January 1940, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that capitalism has reached the stage of decay and death while communism is "sweeping the world with the momentum of a landslide and the power of a thunderbolt":

"Communism is at once the complete proletarian ideological system and a new social system. Different from any other ideological system or social system, it is the most complete, the most progressive, the most revolutionary and the most rational system since human history began. The ideological system and social system of feudalism have a place only in the museum of history. The ideological system and social system of capitalism have also become museum-pieces in one part of the world, in the Soviet Union, while in other countries they resemble 'a person on the brink of death sinking fast like the sun setting beyond the western hills,' and they too will soon be relegated to the museum. On the other hand, the communist ideological system and social system enjoy perpetual youth and are sweeping the world with the momentum of a landslide and the power of a thunderbolt."

In *On New Democracy*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung further pointed out that the unrestrained violence of all reactionaries representing the dying forces indicates that they are engaged in deathbed struggles:

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

“The unrestrained violence of all these dark forces of reaction, domestic and foreign, has brought calamity to our nation, but this very violence indicates that, while the dark forces have still some strength left, it is their final struggle and that the mass of the people are approaching victory. This is true of China, of the East and of the whole world.”

On June 17, 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in an address delivered at a memorial meeting for Chinese revolutionary martyrs that the more reactionary the reactionaries become, the nearer they are to their doom:

“All reactionaries attempt to stamp out revolution by mass murder and they think that the more people they massacre, the weaker the revolution will become. But, contrary to this wishful thinking of reaction, the facts are that the more people the reactionaries massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution becomes and the nearer the reactionaries are to their doom. This is an irresistible law.”

On November 6, 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. celebrating the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the October Revolution:

“The socialist system will replace the capitalist system in the end. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries try to prevent the wheel of history from advancing, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph. ‘Lifting a rock only to have his own toes squashed’ is a Chinese saying to describe the action of some fools. The reactionaries of every country are just such fools. Their varied persecution of revolutionary people can only end in arousing the people to wider and more intensive revolution. Didn’t the various persecutions of the revolutionary people by the Russian tsar and Chiang Kai-shek serve precisely to stimulate the great Russian and Chinese revolutions?”

In a speech entitled “New-Democratic Constitutional Government” delivered in Yen-an on February 20, 1940 before the Association for Advancing the Establishment of Constitutional Government, Comrade Mao Tse-tung exposed Chiang Kai-shek’s deceptive propaganda about the establishment of a constitutional government and showed that in the end “their (the reactionaries’) schemes always backfire.”

“The die-hards in the world may be die-hards today, tomorrow and even the day after tomorrow, but they cannot be die-hards for ever; they will have to change in the end. Take Wang Ching-wei, for instance; after being a die-hard for a long time, he could not keep in playing the die-hard any longer in the anti-Japanese arena and had to fall into the arms of Japan. Take Chang Kuo-tao as another example; he was also a die-hard for long time, but he, too took to his heels after we held a number of meetings to wrestle with him. The die-hards are hard but not hard unto death; after playing the die-hard for some time, in the end they have to change, to change into something so filthy as to be beneath contempt, like a heap of dog’s dirt. There are some who have admitted their mistakes and changed for the better after we had wrestled with them and won them over. At any rate, it is certain that the die-hards will change. They always have a number of schemes in hand, schemes to reap profits at the expense of others, to act the double-dealer, and so on. But their schemes always backfire. They always start by doing harm to others but end by ruining themselves. We once said that Chamberlain was ‘lifting a rock only to have his own toes squashed,’ and we were right. Chamberlain was formerly bent on picking up Hitler as a rock to squash the toes of the people of the Soviet Union, but on that day in September last year, when war broke out between Germany on the one side and England and France on the other, the rock in Chamberlain’s hand dropped on his own toes. It is still hurting him. There are many similar instances in China as well. Yuan Shih-kai wanted to squash the toes of the common people, but he finally got his own squashed and died after having been emperor for a few months. Tuan Chi-Jui, Hsu Shih-chang, Tsao Kun, Wu Pei-fu and others all wanted to repress the people, but were all overthrown by the people in the end. Anyone who tries to reap profits at the expense of others will come to a bad end.”

On April 24, 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered his famous political report *On Coalition Government* to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China. In the section headed “Our specific Programme” Comrade Mao Tse-tung warned against the attempt of the Kuomintang reactionaries to carry out anti-popular conspiratorial activities by convoking a “national assembly,” and predicted that by implementing this reactionary line “they are putting a noose round their own necks” and are heading to their own disaster. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The measures which our anti-popular heroes are going to adopt in accordance with their line of disunity, will lead them to disaster. They are putting a noose round their own necks which will never be loosened, and this noose is the 'national assembly.' They planned to use the so-called 'national assembly' as a magic wand, first, to counter the proposal for a coalition government, second, to maintain the dictatorship, and third, to find some justification for a civil war. History, however, will by its own logic take a course contrary to their wishes, and they are 'lifting a rock only to have their own toes squashed.' "

In a commentary "On the Danger of the Hurley Policy" that he wrote for the *Hsinhua News Agency* on July 12, 1945, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the U.S. policy towards China had created the crisis of civil war in China; he warned that the U.S. policy which was hostile to the Chinese people would plunge the U.S. government and people into "endless trials and tribulations":

"From the lips of the selfsame Hurley, the Kuomintang government represented by Chiang Kai-shek suddenly became the Beauty while the Chinese Communist Party became the Beast; he even bluntly declared that the United States would cooperate only with Chiang Kai-shek and not with the Chinese Communist Party. This, of course, is not just Hurley's personal view but the view of a group in the U.S. Government; it is a wrong and dangerous view.... If Hurley's policy continues, the U.S. Government will fall hopelessly into the deep, stinking cesspool of Chinese reaction; it will place itself in opposition to the hundreds of millions of awakened or awakening Chinese people, and become a hindrance to the Anti-Japanese War at present and to world peace in the future.... One thing is certain however: if Hurley's policy, which aids and abets the anti-popular forces in China in opposition to such vast numbers of Chinese people, is to continue, it will place a crushing burden on the government and people of United States and plunge them into endless trials and tribulations; this is a point that should be brought home to the people of the United States."

In his concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China on June 11, 1945, "How the Foolish Old Man Removed the Mountains," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"This U.S. Government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek and opposing the Communist Party shows the aggressiveness of the American reactionaries. But all schemes on the part of reactionaries,

domestic or foreign, to prevent the Chinese people from achieving victory are doomed to failure. In the world today democracy is the main current and reaction against democracy is only a little eddy. Reaction is attempting to sweep away the movement of national independence and people's democracy, but this little eddy can never become the main current."

The reactionaries are bound to collapse and the revolution is bound to triumph. In his concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung called on the people to be confident in the certain victory of the revolution. He cited the ancient Chinese fable, "How the Foolish Old Man Removed the Mountains," to show that as long as the revolutionary people have confidence, do not fear the reactionaries and have the determination to persist in the struggle to the end, the revolution will certainly triumph:

"To popularise the line of the Congress is to inspire the whole Party and whole people with confidence that the victory of the revolution is certain. First of all, we must inspire the vanguard of the revolution so that, resolute and ready for self-sacrifice, they will overcome all difficulties in the struggle for victory. This, however, is not enough; we must also inspire the mass of the people throughout the country so that they too will wholeheartedly join us in the common struggle for victory. We must instill into them the belief that China belongs to the Chinese people and not to the reactionaries. In ancient China there was a fable called 'How the Foolish Old Man Removed the Mountains.' It is the story of an old fellow in North China in ancient times, known as the foolish Old Man of the North Mountain. His house faced south and its doorway was blocked by two big mountains, Taihang and Wangwu. With great determination, he led his sons to dig away the mountains with pickaxes. Another greybeard known as the Wise Old Man watched their attempts and laughed, saying: 'What fools you are to attempt this! To dig away two huge mountains is utterly beyond the capacity of you and your sons.' The Foolish Old Man replied: 'when I die, there are my sons; when they die, there will be their sons, and so on to infinity. As to those two mountains, high as they are, they cannot become higher but, on the contrary, with every bit dug away they will become lower and lower. Why can't we dig them away?' He thus refuted the Wise Old Man's mistaken view and resolutely went on digging day after day. His

perseverance finally touched the heart of God in heaven who sent down two celestial beings to carry the mountains away on their backs. Today there are two big mountains lying like a dead weight on the Chinese people: imperialism and feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to remove them. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we too may touch the heart of God in heaven. This God is none other than the mass of the Chinese people. And if they rise and dig together with us, why can't we dig away these two mountains?"

In the commentary "On the White Paper" that he wrote for the *Hsinhua News Agency* on August 11, 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a very penetrating analysis of the two entirely different logics governing the development of the reactionary forces and the people's forces. He also pointed out that advanced people must organise forces to struggle against the reactionaries and that they must educate, unite and win over all those people who are still wavering and vacillating so as to isolate the reactionaries completely:

"The logic of the imperialists is different from that of the people in the following way. Disrupt, fail, disrupt again, fail again, till their doom—that is the logic of imperialism and all reactionaries in the world. They will certainly not go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. We say: 'Imperialism is very vicious.' That is to say that its fundamental nature cannot be changed. Till their doom, the imperialist elements will never lay down the butcher's knife, nor will they ever become Buddhas.

"Struggle, fail, struggle again, fail again, struggle again, till victory—that is the logic of the people. They too will certainly not go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The revolution of the Russian people was based on this law, and the revolution of the Chinese people is also based on this law.

"Class struggle—some classes are victorious and some classes are eliminated. That is history. That is the history of several thousand years of civilization. The interpretation of history from this viewpoint is called historical materialism. The contrary viewpoint is historical idealism.

"The method of self-criticism can only be used among the people. It is vain to hope that the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries can be persuaded into being good-hearted and repentant. The only way is to organise forces to struggle against them, as for example, our People's Liberation War, our agrarian revolution, exposing imperialism, 'netting'



them, defeating them and punishing their criminal acts, and 'only permitting them to behave themselves properly and not allowing them to speak or act wildly.' Only then is there hope to deal with the foreign imperialist countries in conditions of equality and mutual benefit. Only then is there hope to educate – so as to turn bad people into good people – landlord class elements, bureaucratic bourgeois class elements, and Kuomintang reactionaries and their accomplices who have been disarmed and who have surrendered and, as far as possible, turn them into good people. Many Chinese liberal elements, namely, old democratic elements, supporters of the so-called 'democratic individualism' upon whom Truman, Marshall, Acheson and Leighton Stuart are pinning their hopes and are always striving to win over, are frequently in a state of passivity and frequently incorrect in their view of problems – they are frequently incorrect in their view of the American rulers, of the Kuomintang, of the Soviet Union and also of the Chinese Communist Party. That is because they do not use or are against using the method of historical materialism to examine problems.

"Advanced people, communists, all democratic parties and groups, conscious workers, young students, and progressive intellectuals have the duty to unite the middle strata, middle-of-the-roaders, backward elements of various strata and all people who are still wavering and vacillating within People's China (these people will continue to waver for a long time, they will waver again after being firm, and will waver whenever they encounter difficulties), to give them well-intentioned help, to criticise their wavering, to educate them and win them over to the side of the broad mass of the people and not let imperialism drag them to its side, to tell them to shed their illusions and prepare for struggle. Do not think that work is no longer needed after victory. Work, much more work and patient work, has to be done before these people can be genuinely won over. Once they are won over, imperialism will be isolated completely, Acheson's tricks will not work."

## II

In the editorial "The Turning-Point in World War II" that he wrote for the *Yenan Jiefang Ribao* (Liberation Daily) on October 12, 1942, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analysed the essential nature of the

reactionary forces which are outwardly strong but inwardly weak, and reminded the revolutionary people not to be misled by superficial phenomena. He wrote:

“In the history of mankind all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably exert themselves to give a dying kick at the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a while by this display of strength cloaking actual exhaustion and fail to grasp the essential point that their enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory. The rise of the fascist forces and the war of aggression they waged for some years are precisely an example of such a dying kick, while in the war the dying kick took the form of the attack on Stalingrad. At this turning-point in history many people in the world anti-fascist front are misled by the ferocious appearances of fascism and fail to see its real substance.”

The reactionaries are always boasting of their seemingly powerful military strength. Among the people themselves, there are a certain number who, in varying degrees, entertain a fear of the military strength of the reactionaries. This is the viewpoint that “weapons decide everything.” In his well-known treatise *On the Protracted War* written in May 1938, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a profound criticism of this viewpoint:

“...The so-called theory of ‘weapons decide everything’... is a mechanistic theory of war, a subjectivist and one-sided view. Our view is contrary to this; we see not only weapons but also the power of man. Weapons are an important factor in war but not the decisive one; it is man and not material that is decisive. The contest of forces is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also one of the power and morale of man. Military and economic power must be controlled by man.”

In August 1946, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave an interview to the American journalist Anna Louise Strong and expressed his famous view point that all reactionaries are paper tigers. Following is the full text of the interview:

“Strong asks: Do you think there is hope for a political and peaceful settlement of the Chinese question in the near future?”

“Mao answers: That depends on the attitude of the government of the United States. If the American people hold back the hands of the

American reactionaries that are helping Chiang Kai-shek fight the civil war, there is hope for peace.

“Q. Suppose the United States gives Chiang Kai-shek no more aid than it has already done, how long can Chiang Kai-shek keep on fighting?

“A. Over a year.

“Q. Can Chiang Kai-shek possibly last that long economically?

“A. Yes, he can.

“Q. What if the United States makes it clear that it will give Chiang Kai-shek no more aid from now on?

“A. At present, there is no sign as yet to indicate that the United States Government and Chiang Kai-shek have any desire to stop the war at an early date.

“Q. How long can the Communist Party keep going?

“A. As far as our desires are concerned, we don't want to fight even for a day. But if the circumstances force us to fight, we are able to fight to the finish.

“Q. Suppose the American people ask why the Communist Party fights the war, what should I answer?

“A. Because Chiang Kai-shek wants to massacre the Chinese people and the people have to defend themselves if they want to survive. This the Americans can understand.

“Q. What do you think of the possibility that the United States will go to war against the Soviet Union?

“A. The propaganda about an anti-Soviet war consists of two aspects. On the one hand, U.S. imperialism is really preparing a war against the Soviet Union; the current talk about an anti-Soviet war and other anti-Soviet propaganda are the political preparation for an anti-Soviet war. On the other hand, this propaganda is a smokescreen put up by the U.S. reactionaries to cover up the many real contradictions U.S. imperialism is now facing. These are the contradictions between the U.S. reactionaries and the American people and the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and other capitalist countries and colonial and semi-colonial countries. At present the U.S. slogan of waging an anti-Soviet war actually means the oppression of the American people and the expansion of its aggressive forces in the capitalist world. As

you know, Hitler and his partners, the Japanese warlords, used the anti-Soviet slogan for a long time as an excuse for enslaving the people in their own countries and carrying out aggression against other countries. Now the U.S. reactionaries are doing precisely the same thing.

“To start a war, the U.S. reactionaries must first launch an attack against the American people. They are already attacking the American people. They have been oppressing the American workers and democratic elements politically and economically, and are preparing to institute fascism in the United States. The American people should rise to resist the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and I believe they will.

“Between the United States and the Soviet Union there stretches a vast territory, consisting of many capitalist countries and colonial and semi-colonial countries on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa; before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack against the Soviet Union is out of the question. In the Pacific, the U.S. now controls more than all of the former British spheres of influence. It controls Japan, Kuomintang-ruled China, half of Korea and the South Pacific; it has long dominated Central and South America; it also seeks to control the entire British Empire and Western Europe. Under various pretexts the United States is conducting large-scale military preparations and establishing military bases in many countries. All the naval bases they have established and are preparing to establish all over the world, the U.S. reactionaries say, are directed against the Soviet Union. True, these military bases are directed against the Soviet Union. But, at present, it is not the Soviet Union but those countries where military bases are established which suffer U.S. aggression first. 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 U.S. reactionaries will one day find themselves opposed by the people throughout the world.

“Of course, I do not mean to say that the U.S. reactionaries do not intend to attack the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the defender of world peace, the powerful factor in obstructing the establishment of world domination by the U.S. reactionaries. With the Soviet Union in existence, the ambitions of the U.S. and world reactionaries cannot be realised at all. That is why the U.S. reactionaries hate the Soviet Union intensely and are actually dreaming of wiping out this socialist country. But, today, not long after the end of World War II, all the high-pitched

loose talk about a U.S.-Soviet war by the U.S. reactionaries and the foul atmosphere they create cannot but make one take a look at their real aims. It turns out that under the anti-Soviet slogan, they are frantically attacking the American workers and democratic elements and turning all the countries which are the objects of U.S. expansion abroad into U.S. appendages. I think the American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite to repel the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their lackeys in various countries. Only victory in this struggle can avert a third world war; it cannot be averted otherwise.

“Q. This is an excellent explanation. But suppose the United States uses the atom bomb? And suppose the United States bombs the Soviet Union from its bases in Iceland, Okinawa and China?

“A. The atom bomb is a paper tiger with which the U.S. reactionaries try to terrify the people. It looks terrible, but in fact is not. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass destruction, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people, not by one or two new weapons.

“All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, they are frightening, but in reality their strength is not so great. From the long-term point of view, the really powerful strength lies not with the reactionaries, but with the people. Before the February 1917 Revolution in Russia, which side in Russia was really strong? Superficially, the tsar at the time was powerful; but he was swept away by one blast of the February Revolution. In the final analysis, the strength of Russia was on the side of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. The tsar was only a paper tiger. Wasn't Hitler once considered very powerful? But history proved him to be a paper tiger. So were Mussolini and Japanese imperialism. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the democracy and freedom-loving people of all countries are more powerful than expected.

“Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are also paper tigers. Speaking of U.S. imperialism, people seem to feel that it is exceedingly powerful, and the Chinese reactionaries are using the 'power' of the United States to frighten the Chinese people. But the U.S. reactionaries, like all reactionaries in history, will be proved to be

not strong at all. In the United States, there are people of another kind who really have strength – they are the American people.

“Take the situation in China for instance. What we rely on is only millet plus rifle, but history will finally prove this millet-plus-rifle stronger than Chiang Kai-shek’s aircraft plus tanks. Although many difficulties still confront the Chinese people, although the Chinese people will suffer hardships for a long time under the joint attacks of U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries, one day these reactionaries will fail and we shall win. The reason is none other than the fact that the reactionaries represent reaction, while we represent progress.”

On December 25, 1947, Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered the report “The Present Situation and Our Tasks” at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. In this report, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

“Having soberly appraised the international and domestic situations on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese Communist Party is convinced that all the attacks of the reactionaries at home and abroad not only must be, but also can be, defeated. When the sky seemed overcast, we pointed out that the darkness was only temporary, that the storm would quickly blow over and the light of day would soon shine forth. When Chiang Kai-shek’s gang of bandits launched the nation-wide counter-revolutionary war in July 1946, they thought that the People’s Liberation Army could be defeated in three to six months. They calculated that with a regular army of two million, more than one million irregulars and another million in the military establishments and armed units in the rear, they had a total armed strength of more than four million; that they had spent adequate time in completing their preparations for the offensive; that they had regained control of the big cities; that they held areas embracing a population of more than 300 million; that they had taken over all the equipment of the one million invading Japanese troops; and that they had obtained huge military and financial aid from the U.S. Government. Furthermore, they thought that the People’s Liberation Army had been worn out in the eight years of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and was far inferior to the Kuomintang army in number and equipment; that the population of the Chinese liberated areas was only a little more than

100 million;\* and that in most of those areas the reactionary feudal forces had not yet been cleaned up, the agrarian reform not yet universally and thoroughly carried out and the rear of the People's Liberation Army was thus not yet consolidated. On this basis Chiang Kai-shek's gang of bandits, ignoring the Chinese people's desire for peace, finally tore up the ceasefire agreement concluded between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in January 1946 and the resolutions adopted by the Political Consultative Conference of all parties, and launched an adventurist war. We said then that the enemy's superiority in military strength was but transient and was a factor that could produce only temporary effects, and the aid from U.S. imperialism was likewise a factor that could produce only temporary effects, while the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek's war and the support or opposition of the people are factors which would have constant effects. In this respect, the people's Liberation Army enjoys superiority. By its patriotic, just and revolutionary nature, the war waged by the People's Liberation Army is bound to gain the support of the people throughout the country. Here lies the political foundation for victory over Chiang Kai-shek. Our experience in the eighteen months of war has fully confirmed this judgment."

.....

"Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique ventured to launch the nation-wide anti-popular civil war in 1946 because they not only counted on their own military superiority but principally upon what they regarded as the most powerful invincible force in the world – U.S. imperialism with the atom bomb in its hand. On the one hand, they thought that U.S. imperialism could meet their military and financial needs with a steady flow of supplies, and on the other, they fondly dreamed of an 'inevitable war between the United States and the Soviet Union' and 'the inevitable outbreak of a third world war.' Such reliance on U.S. imperialism is a common characteristic of the reactionary forces in every country of the world since the conclusion of World War II. It is a reflection of the

---

\* The population census at that time was inaccurate and generally put the population of the country at 450 million. After liberation, the accurate census showed that China had a population of 600 million – Note of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) Ed.

serious blow dealt to world capitalism in World War II, of the weakness of the reactionary forces in all countries, their panic and their loss of confidence and of the great strength of the revolutionary forces of the world, which make the reactionaries of all countries feel that there is no way out except to rely on the aid of U.S. imperialism. But is post-war U.S. imperialism really as powerful as Chiang Kai-shek and the reactionaries of other countries imagine? Can it really send them a steady flow of supplies? No so. The economic power of U.S. imperialism, increased during World War II, faces unstable and daily shrinking domestic and foreign markets. A further shrinking of the markets will lead to an economic crisis. The wartime boom the United States is enjoying is only a temporary phenomenon. Its strength is only superficial and transient. The crisis daily menaces U.S. imperialism like a volcano, U.S. imperialism is just sitting on the volcano. Pressed by this situation, the U.S. imperialists have drawn up their plan for enslaving the world and, running amuck like wild beasts into Europe, Asia and other areas and mustering the reactionary forces in all countries – the human dregs cast off by their people – have organised an imperialist, anti-democratic camp to oppose all the democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union and to prepare for war, in the hope that some day in the remote future they may launch a third world war and defeat the forces of democracy. This is a wild scheme. All the democratic forces of the world must and certainly can defeat it. The strength of the world anti-imperialist camp exceeds that of the imperialist camp. It is we who enjoy superiority, not the enemy.”

In the article “Revolutionary Forces of the World Rally to Combat Imperialist Aggression,” which he wrote for the journal *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* in November 1948, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that “it would be a very big mistake to overestimate the strength of the enemy and to underestimate the strength of revolution.”

“After the victory in World War II, U.S. imperialism, which has taken the place of fascist Germany, Italy and Japan, together with its stooges in various countries, are frantically preparing for anew world war and are menacing the whole world. This reflects the extreme decay of the capitalist world and its fear of impending doom. This enemy still has strength. Therefore, all the revolutionary forces within each country



and the revolutionary forces of all countries must be united. An anti-imperialist united front headed by the Soviet Union must be formed and a correct policy pursued, otherwise, victory cannot be achieved. The foundation of this enemy is weak. It is collapsing internally, is divorced from the people and is confronted with an inextricable economic crisis. Therefore, it can be defeated. It would be a very big mistake to overestimate the strength of the enemy and to underestimate the strength of revolution.”

On January 18, 1948, in the directive “Concerning Several Important Questions in the Present Party Policy” which he wrote for the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to be issued within the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us that as a whole and strategically we should slight the enemy, while at the same time we should be attentive to the art of struggle and in regard to each individual part and in each concrete struggle, we should take full account of the enemy.

“We are against overestimating the strength of the enemy. For example, the fear of U.S. imperialism, the fear of going to fight in the Kuomintang-controlled area, the fear of abolishing the comprador feudal system distributing the land of the landlords and confiscating bureaucratic capital, the fear of protracted war, etc. All these are incorrect. Capitalism through out the world and the role of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique in China are already rotten, without any future. We have reasons to slight them. We are certainly able and have the confidence to defeat all the enemies of the Chinese people at home and abroad. But in regard to each individual part and in each concrete struggle (whether military, political, economic or ideological), we must never slight the enemy; On the contrary, we should take full account of the enemy, concentrate all our efforts on the fight. Only in this way can victory be achieved. While we correctly point out that as a whole and strategically we should slight the enemy, we must never slight the enemy in regard to each individual part as well, and in each concrete struggle. If as a whole we overestimate the enemies’ strength and consequently do not dare to overthrow them and do not dare to gain victory, we shall be committing the mistake of Right opportunism. If in regard to each individual part and in each concrete struggle we are not careful, are not attentive to the art of struggle, do not concentrate all

our efforts on the struggle and do not pay attention to winning over all the allies whom we should win over (middle peasants, independent industrialists and merchants, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and the intellectuals in general, the general run of public functionaries, the professionals and the enlightened gentry), we shall be committing the mistake of 'Left' opportunism."

On November 18, 1957, in his speech at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"In 1946 when Chiang Kai-shek launched his attacks against us, many of our comrades and people throughout the country were very much worried: Could the war be won? I myself was also worried about this. But of one thing we were confident. At that time an American journalist named Anna Louise Strong came to Yen-an. We discussed many questions in our talks, including Chiang Kai-shek, Hitler, Japan, the United States, the atom bomb, etc. I said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries were merely paper tigers. The reason was that they were divorced from the people. You see, wasn't Hitler a paper tiger? Wasn't Hitler overthrown? I also said that the tsar was a paper tiger, the Chinese emperor was a paper tiger, Japanese imperialism was a paper tiger. You see they were all down and out. U.S. imperialism has not yet fallen and it has the atom bomb. I believe it will also fall. It is also a paper tiger. Chiang Kai-shek was very powerful. He had more than four million regular troops. At that time we were in Yen-an. What was the population of Yen-an? Seven thousand. How many troops did we have? We had 900,000 guerrillas, all divided by Chiang Kai-shek into scores of bases. But we said Chiang Kai-shek was only a paper tiger and we would certainly defeat him. In order to struggle against the enemy, we have formed the concept over a long period, namely, that strategically we should slight all enemies, and tactically we should take full account of all enemies. That is also to say, we must slight the enemy as a whole but take full account of him so far as each and every concrete question is concerned. If we do not slight the enemy as a whole, we shall be committing the mistake of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two people. In their time they already said that capitalism throughout the world would be overthrown. But on concrete questions

and on questions concerning each and every particular enemy, if we do not take full account of the enemy, we shall be committing the mistake of adventurism. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy can only be annihilated bit by bit. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is true of eating a meal. Strategically, we slight the eating of a meal; we can finish the meal. But when actually eating, we do it a mouthful at a time. It would be impossible for you to swallow the entire feast in a single mouthful. This is called one by one solution. And in military literature, it is called smashing the enemy one by one."

### III

Speaking at the Moscow meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries, on November 18, 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung analysed the international situation at that time and pointed out that the socialist forces have surpassed the imperialist forces and that the East wind has prevailed over the West wind. He said:

"I am of the opinion that the international situation has now reached a new turning-point. There are two winds in the world today: the East wind and the West wind. There is a Chinese saying: 'Either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind.' I think the characteristic of the situation today is the East wind prevailing over the West wind. That is to say, the socialist forces are overwhelmingly superior to the imperialist forces."

Addressing Chinese students studying in the Soviet Union on the day before he made the above-mentioned speech, that is on November 17, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The direction of the wind in the world has changed. In the struggle between the socialist camp and capitalist camp either the West wind prevails over the East wind or the East wind prevails over the West wind. The whole world now has a population of 2,700 million, of which the various socialist countries account for nearly 1,000 million, the independent, former colonial countries make up more than 700 million, and the capitalist countries now struggling for independence or for complete independence and capitalist countries with neutral tendencies

have 600 million. The population of the imperialist camp is only about 400 million; moreover, they are divided internally. 'Earthquakes' may occur there. At present, it is not the West wind which is prevailing over the East Wind but the East Wind that is prevailing over the West wind."

On November 6, 1957, speaking at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The imperialists pin their hope on war, in addition to staking their fate on the oppression of the peoples at home and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But what can they expect from war? In the past half century, we have experienced two world wars. After World War I, the Great October Socialist Revolution took place in Russia. And after World War II, more revolutions took place in eastern Europe and in the East. If the imperialist warriors are determined to start a third world war, there is no other result they can achieve but brining about the complete destruction of the world capitalist system."

On February 27, 1957, Comrade Mao Tse-tung delivered his speech *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* at the 11<sup>th</sup> enlarged session of the Supreme State Conference. In Part 10 of his speech, under the sub-heading "Can Bad Things Be Turned into Good Things?", he said:

"People in all countries of the world are now discussing whether or not a third world war will break out. In regard to this question, we must be psychologically prepared, and at the same time take an analytical view. We stand resolutely for peace and oppose war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards all disturbances: firstly, we are against it; secondly, we are not afraid of it. The First World War was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second World War was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism; then there will not be much room left in the world for the imperialists, while it is quite likely that the whole structure of imperialism will utterly collapse.

“Given specific conditions, the two aspects of a contradiction invariably turn into their respective opposites as a result of the struggle between them. Here, the conditions are important. Without specific conditions, neither of the two contradictory aspects can transform itself into its opposite. Of all the classes in the world the proletariat is the most eager to change its position; next comes the semi-proletariat, for the former possesses nothing at all, while the latter is not much better off. The present situation in which the United States controls a majority in the United Nations and dominates many parts of the world is a transient one, which will eventually be changed. China’s situation as a poor country denied her rights in international affairs will also be changed – a poor country will be changed into a rich country, a country denied her rights will be changed into a country enjoying her rights – a transformation of things into their opposites. Here, the decisive conditions are the socialist system and the concerted efforts of a united people.”

On June 28, 1950, when U.S. imperialism openly launched the aggressive war against Korea and invaded China’s territory of Taiwan by armed force, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the following statement in his address to the Eighth Meeting of the Central People’s Government Council:

“The Chinese people have already affirmed that the affairs of the various countries throughout the world should be run by the peoples of these countries, and that the affairs of Asia should be run by the peoples of Asia and not by the United States. U.S. aggression in Asia will only arouse widespread and resolute resistance by the peoples of Asia. Truman stated on January 5 this year that the United States would not interfere in Taiwan. Now he has proved his own statement to be false, and has torn to shreds all the international agreements regarding non-interference by the United States in the internal affairs of China. The United States has thus openly exposed its own imperialist face and this is beneficial to the people of China and of all of Asia. There is no reason at all for U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam or other countries. The sympathy of the people throughout China, as well as of the broad mass of the people everywhere in the world, is on the side of the victims to aggression, and most

decidedly not on the side of U.S. imperialism. The people will neither be bought by imperialism nor cowed by it. Imperialism is outwardly strong but feeble within, because it has no support among the people. People throughout China and the world! Unite and prepare fully to defeat any provocation by U.S. imperialism."

On February 14, 1955, at a banquet given by the Soviet Embassy in Peking celebrating the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"With the cooperation between our two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, I am convinced that the aggressive plans of imperialism will be smashed.

"We can all see that with the great cooperation between China and the Soviet Union, there are no aggressive plans of imperialism which cannot be smashed. They will certainly be smashed thoroughly. Should the imperialists start a war of aggression, we, together with the people of the whole world, will certainly wipe them off the face of the earth."

On September 8, 1958, at the Supreme State Conference, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"The present situation is favourable for the people the world over who are fighting for peace."

"The general trend is that the East wind prevails over the West wind."

"U.S. imperialism invaded China's territory of Taiwan and has occupied it for the past nine years. A short while ago it sent its armed forces to invade and occupy Lebanon. The United States has set up hundreds of military bases in many countries all over the world. The Chinese territory Taiwan, Lebanon, and all U.S. military bases on foreign territories are like nooses tied round the necks of the U.S. imperialists. The Americans themselves, and nobody else, made these nooses, and they themselves put them round their own necks and handed the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in these places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become."

"The U.S. imperialists have been creating tension in all parts of the world in attempts to achieve their aggressive ends and to enslave

the peoples of various countries. The U.S. imperialists calculate that they will always benefit from tense situations, but the fact is that the tense situations created by the United States have led to the opposite of what the Americans wish. They serve, in effect, to mobilise the people of the world to oppose the U.S. aggressors.”

“If the U.S. monopoly capitalist group is bent on carrying out its policy of aggression and war, the day will certainly come when humanity will hang it by the neck. A similar fate awaits the accomplices of the United States.”

On September 29, 1958, Comrade Mao Tse-tung returned to Peking after a tour of inspection in several Yangtse valley provinces.

In an interview with a correspondent of *Hsinhua News Agency* he said:

“Imperialism will not last long because it has been consistently doing all sorts of evil things. It makes a point of grooming and backing up reactionaries against the people in various countries. It seizes and occupies by force many colonies and semi-colonies and establishes many military bases. It threatens peace with atomic warfare. In this way, imperialism has forced more than 90 per cent of the people of the world to rise against it or prepare to fight it. Imperialism is still alive and kicking, still blustering its way in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The imperialists are still oppressing the people of their own countries in the West. But such a situation has to be changed. It is the task of the people of the world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, especially by U.S. imperialism.”

## KHRUSHCHOV'S TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS SPEECH

The conclusion drawn by the Party's 20<sup>th</sup> Congress to the effect that war is not fatally inevitable has been fully justified. At present we have even more grounds for reaffirming the correctness of this deduction. There now exist enormous forces capable of rebuffing the imperialist aggressors and inflicting defeat upon them in the event of their unleashing world war.

What new things on the international arena will be introduced by the fulfilment of the economic plans of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries of Europe and Asia? As a result of this, real possibilities will be created for doing away with war as a means of solving international issues. Indeed, when the U.S.S.R. becomes the world's foremost industrial power, when the C.P.R. becomes a mighty industrial power, while all socialist countries taken together will produce more than half the world's industrial output, the international situation will change radically. The successes of the countries of the socialist camp will undoubtedly exert a tremendous influence on the consolidation of the peace-loving forces throughout the world. One need not doubt that by that time the States championing the consolidation of peace will be joined by new countries, freed of colonial oppression.

The idea of the inadmissibility of war will take still deeper root in the consciousness of nations. The new correlation of power will be so obvious that even the most obdurate imperialists will clearly realise

---

This is the extract of Khrushchov's Twenty First Congress Speech.

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

[Translated in *Supplement to the Summary of World Broadcasts (Part)*. "Twenty-first Congress of the C.P.S.U.," No. 1: First Day's Proceedings, January 30, 1959, issued by the B.B.C., London.] – A note from the above source.



the hopelessness of any attempt to launch a war against the socialist camp. Relying on the might of the camp of socialism, the peace-loving peoples will then be able to force the bellicose imperialist circles to renounce plans for another world war.

Thus, even before the complete victory of socialism on earth, while capitalism still remains in part of the world, there will be an actual possibility of excluding world war from the life of society. Some people may say: "But capitalism will remain, and therefore adventurers who could start a war will remain also." This is correct and should not be forgotten. While capitalism exists, there will always be some people to be found who, contrary to reason, may want to plunge into a hopeless enterprise. But by this they will only speed up the downfall of the capitalist system. Any attempt at aggression will be cut short and the adventurers will find themselves where they should be ....

## KHRUSHCHOV'S SPEECH IN PEKING

Comrades! Socialism brings to the people peace – that greatest blessing. The greater the strength of the camp of socialism grows, the greater will be its possibilities for successfully defending the cause of peace on this earth. The forces of socialism are already so great that real possibilities are being created for excluding war as a means of solving international disputes.

In our time the leaders of governments in some capitalist countries have begun to show a certain tendency towards a realistic understanding of the situation that has emerged in the world.

When I spoke with President Eisenhower – and I have just returned from the United States of America – I got the impression that the President of the U.S.A. – and not a few people support him – understands the need to relax international tension.

Perhaps not every bourgeois leader can pronounce the words “peaceful co-existence” well, but they cannot deny that two systems exist in the world – the socialist and the capitalist. The recognition of this fact ran like a red thread through all the talks; this was repeatedly spoken about by the President and other leaders. Therefore we on our part must do all we can to exclude war as a means of settling disputed questions, and settle these questions by negotiations.

The leaders of the capitalist countries cannot but take account of such a decisive factor of modern times as the existence of the powerful world camp of socialism. There is only one way of preserving peace – that is the road of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. The question stands thus: either peaceful co-existence or war with its catastrophic consequences. Now, with the present relation of

---

This is the extract of Khrushchov's Speech, in Peking on September 30, 1959, Published in *Peking Review*, No. 40, 1959.

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

forces between socialism and capitalism being in favour of socialism, he who would continue the "cold war" is moving towards his own destruction. The "cold war" warriors are pushing the world towards a new world war in the fires of which those who light it will be the first to get burnt.

Already in the first years of the Soviet power the great Lenin defined the general line of our foreign policy as being directed towards the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. For a long time, the ruling circles of the Western Powers rejected these truly humane principles. Nevertheless the principles of peaceful co-existence made their way into the hearts of the vast majority of mankind.

The leaders of many capitalist states are being forced more and more to take account of realities, and to recast their international relations because in our century it is impossible to resolve questions of relations between two systems successfully other than on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence. There is no other way.

We are convinced that the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist states, defending peace on earth, will continue to gain new victories. No small efforts will have to be exerted to achieve this. But it is well worth fighting for such a high aim with unsparing efforts.

Comrades! The socialist countries have achieved great successes in developing their economies and as a consequence have created mighty potential forces on the basis of which they can successfully continue their advance. They have the means to defend themselves from the attacks of the imperialist aggressors if these should attempt by interference in our countries' affairs to force them to leave the socialist path and return to capitalism. That old time has gone never to return.

But we must think realistically and understand the contemporary situation correctly. This, of course, does not by any means signify that if we are so strong, then we must test by force the stability of the capitalist system. This would be wrong: the peoples would not understand and would never support those who would think of acting in this way. We have always been against wars of conquest. Marxists have recognised, and recognize, only liberating, just wars; they have always condemned, and condemn, wars of conquest, imperialist wars. This is one of the characteristic features of Marxist-Leninist theory.

It is not at all because capitalism is still strong that the socialist countries speak out against war, and for peaceful co-existence. No, we have no need of war at all. If the people do not want it, even such a noble and progressive system as socialism cannot be imposed by force of arms. The socialist countries therefore, while carrying through a consistently peace-loving policy, concentrate their efforts on peaceful construction, they fire the hearts of men by the force of their example in building socialism, and thus lead them to follow in their footsteps. The question of when this or that country will take the path to socialism is decided by its own people. This, for us, is the holy of holies....

## DECLARATION OF MEMBER-STATES OF THE WARSAW TREATY

Moscow, February 4, 1960

The member-states of the Warsaw Treaty note with satisfaction that a definite change for the better has become noticeable in the international situation since the last conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in May 1958. For the first time after many years of the cold war, relations that are normal for peacetime are beginning to be established between the states belonging to the antagonistic groupings, tension has been markedly reduced and prospects are opening up for a strengthening of mutual confidence. The world has now entered on a period of negotiations concerning a settlement of the principal international issues in dispute, with the aim of establishing a lasting peace, and the advocates of the cold war are sustaining a defeat.

The important changes that have taken place in recent years in the correlation of forces in the world arena underlie this improvement in the international situation.

These have been years of rapid expansion of the economic power of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the other Socialist countries and of their further rallying within the framework of a united Socialist camp. These have been years marked by very great achievements of the Soviet Union in science and technology. The putting of the first artificial earth satellite into orbit, the launching of a rocket to the surface of the Moon and the fathoming of the mystery of the

---

This is the full text of the Warsaw Treaty Powers' Declaration.

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

[Text as published in *Soviet News* (London: Soviet Embassy), No. 4207, February 5.]— A note from the above source.

reverse side of the Moon, which is never seen from the Earth – such are the magnificent results of these achievements by the world's first Socialist state which have raised mankind to a new level in its struggle to understand and conquer the forces of nature.

And lastly, recent years have been marked by another upsurge in the activity of all countries of the Socialist camp aimed at consolidating peace, and also by the further enhancement of the international role of the peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have liberated themselves from colonial and semi-colonial dependence.

As a result, the correlation of forces in the world is changing more and more in favour of those who are coming out for the discontinuance of the race in nuclear rockets and other armaments, for the ending of the cold war, and for peaceful co-existence among all states, irrespective of their social systems and ideologies. A situation has taken shape in which any attempt by any aggressive state to resort to arms in order to solve international disputes, to take the road of war, would lead to the immediate and complete routing of the violator of peace.

The opinion is increasingly gaining ground in the minds of the peoples, and in the minds of many political leaders and statesmen, including those in the West, that, given the present level of weapons of mass destruction and the means for their immediate delivery to any point on the Earth, war in general can no longer be a means of solving international disputes, that the only feasible way is to build relations between states on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

The participants in the conference note with profound satisfaction the increasing importance of such a form of contacts between states as meetings and discussions between the leading statesmen of various countries of the East and the West. These contacts, the development of which the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty have always advocated, are, as experience shows, of great positive significance.

The historic visit to the United States of Nikita Khrushchov, the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and his talks with Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the President of the United States, have played an outstanding role in this respect. As a result of this visit the ice of the cold war was broken in the relations between the two strongest Powers in the world – the U.S.S.R. and the United States – and a new stage was opened in the development of international relations as a whole. An

important contribution to the improvement in the international climate was also made, as is well known, by the discussions between the leaders of the Soviet and British Governments that were held at the time of the visit to Moscow by Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

The participants in the conference expressed the hope that Nikita Khrushchov's forthcoming visit to France and the visit to the U.S.S.R. of Signor Gronchi, the President of the Italian Republic, will lead to a further strengthening of the mutual relations between states, and above all between the states of Europe, and will promote the strengthening of world peace.

It is the common and wholehearted desire of the participants in the conference that President Eisenhower's visit to the Soviet Union next summer should lead to a further development of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States towards friendship and cooperation, which would be an important guarantee of the inviolability of peace throughout the world.

The exchange of visits between statesmen, which has been stepped up in recent years, has become a stable factor making for a *rapprochement* between the states of the Socialist camp and the peace-loving independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The friendly meetings and talks of the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic and other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty with the leaders of such countries as India, Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia, Afghanistan, the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Guinea and others, promote the concrete successful development of peaceful co-existence in vast regions of the world. All participants in the conference express their determination to continue strengthening and developing friendship with the peace-loving states of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the basis of equality and mutual respect, in the interests of peace.

The improvement in the international situation is already bearing fruit in many spheres of international relations.

Late in 1959 an important agreement on the peaceful uses of the Antarctic was concluded between twelve states, including the U.S.S.R.,

the United States, the United Kingdom and France, under which a vast though still uninhabited continent is completely removed from the sphere of war preparations in any form, including the staging of nuclear tests, and has been endorsed as a zone of peaceful exploration and scientific cooperation between states. Another useful step in the right direction is the decision taken by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1959, to set up a permanent United Nations committee for the peaceful exploration of outer space, among the members of which are seven Warsaw Treaty states: Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia.

At the same time, the participants in the conference note that the consolidation of peace is still being stubbornly resisted by influential forces in the Western countries. These are either circles which do not see behind the profits they are receiving from the manufacture of armaments the mortal danger that would threaten them in the event of war, or politicians so stuck in the ice of the cold war that they cannot conceive of normal peaceful relations between states.

The N.A.T.O. countries are not only continuing to maintain inflated armies, but are actually increasing the numerical strength of those armies, paying particular attention to the West German Bundeswehr, which is commanded by former Nazi generals and officers. The Bundeswehr has been equipped with rocket weapons. The Federal Republic of Germany has been enabled to start the manufacture of these weapons. Moreover, measures are being taken towards equipping the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons. It is a fact that the session of the N.A.T.O. Council, held in December 1959, discussed plans for further increasing the size of the armed forces of the states belonging to that military *bloc*.

Parallel with the strengthening of West German militarism, there has been a marked revival of the militarist forces in Japan and the further involvement of that country in military preparations, as is shown by the recent signing of a new military treaty between Japan and the United States.

The continuation of the arms race by the members of N.A.T.O., and also S.E.A.T.O., C.E.N.T.O. and their allies, can in no way be justified by considerations of defence. It shows that the opponents of peaceful co-existence have not laid down their arms.

This is also borne out by the systematic propaganda of mistrust



and hatred between states with different social systems which is still being conducted by influential political and military leaders in the West and by a section of the Press. The opponents of the consolidation of peace do not want talks on the settlement of international disputes and are seeking to prevent agreement from being reached even where possibilities for it have become apparent.

But no efforts by the advocates of the cold war can alter the fact that awareness of the need for peaceful co-existence is becoming the decisive factor in the development of international relations in our time. The balance of forces in the world is in favour of the peaceable states, and the forces of peace are greatly superior to the forces of war. All this provides favourable conditions for reaching the goals for which the Warsaw Treaty states have been striving consistently all along: the relaxation of international tension and the development of friendly cooperation between all countries.

Naturally, the greatest importance is attached to the problem of disarmament. This is the main problem of international life in our day. The question of whether it will be possible to rule out completely the possibility of a new war, which in the present conditions would lead to the death of hundreds of millions of people and the annihilation of whole states, depends on its solution.

The interests of mankind require that rocket nuclear weapons, with their tremendous destructive potential, should never be allowed to be used.

And the surest way to achieve this is the destruction of all types of armaments, of all weapons of war, that is to say, the general and complete disarmament of all states. That is why the proposal for such disarmament, submitted by the Soviet Union in the United Nations, is in keeping with the most vital interests of mankind. From this stems the great influence which this proposal of the U.S.S.R. is exerting on the peoples. Very significant is the unanimity with which the United Nations approved the idea of general and complete disarmament at the last, 14<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly. The fact that this decision was adopted on the basis of a draft resolution jointly prepared by two such powers as the U.S.S.R. and the United States is also gratifying.

In order to make agreement on disarmament a reality for the first

time in history, it is necessary, above all, to proceed from words to practical deeds. This is the most important historical task of the present generation. The Warsaw Treaty countries, having exchanged views at the present conference concerning the prospects for the impending disarmament talks, have come to the conclusion that the situation at the present time is more favourable than ever before for fruitful disarmament talks between countries of the East and West.

The disarmament proposal submitted by the Soviet Government in the United Nations reflects the common position of the Warsaw Treaty countries, of all the Socialist states. All the countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation declare their desire to become parties to the future agreement on general and complete disarmament.

The states represented at this meeting feel satisfaction that the first country to take practical steps towards implementing this United Nations resolution was a country belonging to the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, the Soviet Union, which has unilaterally decided to reduce its armed forces by 1,200,000 men. The strength of the Soviet armed forces will now be below the level which the Western Powers themselves suggested in 1956 for the Soviet Union and the United States, and also below the actual strength of the American armed forces, even though the United States has a much smaller territory and much shorter frontiers than the U.S.S.R. The reduction of the Soviet armed forces by one-third in conditions in which Western military blocs are proceeding with the arms race is an act of good will which should impel the other states to take reciprocal steps in the sphere of disarmament and to reply to trust by trust.

Some people in the West are always ready to misconstrue, to misrepresent any good deed, any good initiative in international relations. This is what the opponents of disarmament are doing now when they allege that the new reduction of the Soviet armed forces is not a step towards disarmament, but rearmament. Only deliberate bad faith can explain such irresponsible contentions in face of practical steps in the sphere of disarmament.

Who does not realise that only states which have no aggressive intentions can unilaterally reduce their armed forces?

In present conditions there is no need for big armies and military bases on foreign soil for the defence of a country. Would a state

harbouring predatory plans voluntarily carry out a reduction in its armed forces? It is clear that even if those armed forces were reorganised with the aim of increasing their combat power, it would not be in its interests to cut their numerical strength.

The states represented at the conference regard the Soviet Union's decision on another big reduction of its armed forces, taken in agreement with the other countries of the Socialist camp, as a common contribution by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation to the cause of disarmament, as an initiative facilitating agreement between the states of the East and West on general and complete disarmament.

The states united in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation are consistently and unswervingly carrying through a policy aimed at ending the arms race. Since its inception, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has cut the total strength of the armed forces of its member-states by 2,596,500 men, and the present unilateral reduction of the strength of the Soviet armed forces will bring this figure up to 3,796,500 men.

Can the N.A.T.O. states claim the credit for similar measures, the importance of which for strengthening peace is obvious to all? Unfortunately, N.A.T.O. measures up to the present time have been directed towards stepping up war preparations and accumulating armed forces and armaments.

The member-states of the Warsaw Treaty consider it necessary to emphasise the positive example set by the German Democratic Republic, which has voluntarily reduced the strength of its armed forces to 90,000 men and refrained from introducing compulsory military service. This attitude which has been adopted by the German Democratic Republic and is prompted by a desire to do its utmost to facilitate a relaxation of tension has the full support of all states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Of great importance for the cause of peace and the national future of Germany is the fact that the German Democratic Republic is proving by its policy that Germany, if she renounces nuclear arming and the policy of revenge, revision of frontiers and militarism, can live in peace and prosperity and have a worthy place in the family of nations.

The states represented at the conference call upon the member-states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and especially on those among them who have the greatest military strength, to respond to the unilateral reduction of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. by reducing

their own armed forces, and to follow the example set by the Soviet Union.

The participants in the conference are proceeding on the basis of the assumption that the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals should be thoroughly examined in the 10-Power committee which is to begin its work on March 15 this year. In this connection they agreed that the governments of the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria, that is to say the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation which belong to the 10-Power committee, shall instruct their representatives on that committee to facilitate in every way fruitful work by the committee and press for the early drafting of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Of course, a successful and speedy solution to the problem of general and complete disarmament calls for efforts not only on the part of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Such efforts are also called for on the part of the Western Powers. The participants in the conference express the hope that the Western Powers will also make their contribution to an early solution of the disarmament problem.

A mutual and honest desire for agreement will make it possible to avoid the repetition of a situation in which efforts to agree on disarmament are drowned in floods of speeches and resolutions.

An effective system of international control over general and complete disarmament is necessary for the successful implementation of such disarmament. Control, divorced from practical steps in the sphere of disarmament, could be used in the present situation for purposes diametrically opposed to disarmament: to search for a breach in the defence systems of other countries and to collect information facilitating the drawing up of plans for an attack on this or that country. That is why the states which have no aggressive intentions show a natural concern for the amount of international control to correspond to the real extent of the disarmament of the states. In conditions of general and complete disarmament the states will have no reason to fear each other. Every possibility will exist there for any check, for any inspection. If disarmament is general and complete, control will also be all-embracing and complete.

The states represented at the conference consider it necessary to re-emphasize their interest in an agreement on disarmament such as

would provide complete confidence that no side would violate disarmament commitments or would have the possibility of rearming in secret.

The member-states of the Warsaw Treaty note it as a positive fact that for a long time not a single atomic or hydrogen bomb has been exploded in any part of the world. However, though nuclear explosions are not being staged for the time being, there is no international agreement banning them. The peoples do not want just a truce on the nuclear test front; they expect that such tests will be ended once and for all. Anxiety is also created by certain attempts to go back on the positive practical achievements towards the discontinuance of nuclear tests.

If the tests were really resumed by one of the sides, that might set off a kind of chain reaction as a result of which our planet would again become the arena for competition in holding nuclear weapon tests, with all the hazardous consequences this would entail. It would also be difficult to reconcile this with the resolution of the United Nations, which unanimously urged the parties to the Geneva talks – the U.S.S.R., the United States and the United Kingdom – not to resume nuclear weapon tests and to expedite the conclusion of an international agreement on this question.

The Soviet Government's decision not to resume nuclear tests in the future, if only the Western Powers do not resume such test explosions, provides favourable conditions for concluding a treaty on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests. The states represented at this conference express the hope that all parties to the Geneva talks will exert the greatest possible efforts to secure in the near future the cessation of all kinds of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, on the surface, underground and under water.

The participants in the conference had a thorough exchange of views on the German question.

The states represented in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation have experienced more than once what German aggression brings to the peoples. It is the common concern of all these states that German militarism should never again imperil the security of Germany's neighbours and world peace, and this makes them determined to come out in favour of signing a peace treaty with Germany. The liquidation of the remnants of the Second World War and the conclusion of a peace

treaty are imperative for the peaceful development of the whole of Germany and for making the peoples confident that firm barriers have been set up against the outbreak of another war in Europe.

At a time when the German Democratic Republic is expressing its complete readiness to enter into negotiations and conclude a peace treaty at any moment, the other German state the Federal Republic of Germany – is opposing the conclusion of such a treaty. An abnormal and unprecedented situation has emerged in which the conclusion of a peace treaty is refused by a state which is a successor of the defeated side – the aggressor who surrendered unconditionally fifteen years ago.

The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is designed to obstruct successful talks between the powers and a settlement of outstanding international problems. Attempts are also being made to cancel out the results which have already been achieved during the negotiations, for instance, the narrowing of the gap in the views of the sides on some questions which was achieved by the parties to the views of the sides on some Geneva Foreign Ministers' conference in 1959.

Why does the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany so stubbornly resist the conclusion of a peace treaty? It does so above all because the peace treaty is called upon to consolidate the situation that has arisen as a result of the war, including the German state frontiers and the government of the Federal Republic is against this. Only one conclusion is possible; the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany expects that an opportune moment may arise for altering the frontiers established in Europe as a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany. In the present conditions, however, this means a policy of preparing a new war, for none of the states on whom the Federal Republic is attempting to make territorial claims will ever surrender its lands, as the government of the Federal Republic should realise. All reasonable people understand that these frontiers are inviolable.

The Warsaw Treaty states declare with the utmost determination that these calculations of the West German Government are doomed to failure. The German Democratic Republic, as an impregnable bastion of peace, is barring to German militarists the road to new aggressive gambles. The Warsaw Treaty states declare that they support the measures taken by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to safeguard peace against the revenge-seeking policy of the Adenauer

government. The joint might of the Socialist camp is a firm guarantee against encroachment on the independence of the German Democratic Republic, or a new seizure of Poland's Western lands, or a violation of the integrity of the Czechoslovak frontiers.

The participants in the conference express confidence that the plans of the West German revenge-seekers will not be supported by the present allies of the Federal Republic of Germany either.

It is the deep conviction of the participants in the conference that the population of the Federal Republic, too, thirsting as they are for peace, cannot and will not support the plans of the West German revenge-seekers. The participants in the conference are convinced that the population of Western Germany deserves a better fate than that of being a tool in the hands of the violators of peace. In the past, the Germans were driven repeatedly to this by the greedy imperialist policy of their rulers, and time and time again the German people had to pay a heavy price.

The conclusion of a peace treaty, the renunciation of all ideas of revenge or revision of frontiers, the renunciation of the policy of Germany's re-militarisation and atomic arming – such is the best road towards ensuring the security of all European nations and the peaceful future of the German nation. This road is being consistently followed by the German Democratic Republic. If the Federal Republic of Germany, too, were to take to this road, that would be its most convincing contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and facilitating general and complete disarmament.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is turning down the proposal for a peace treaty because it does not want to allow the question of West Berlin to be settled on the basis of it being transformed into a free city. The Government of the Federal Republic is going so far as to demand that West Berlin, which lies within the territory of the German Democratic Republic, be incorporated in Western Germany, and since this cannot be done, it prefers to preserve there the occupation regime which enables it to use West Berlin as a seat of unrest and military danger.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany opposes a peaceful settlement with Germany because it does not want the question

of Germany's unity to be settled peacefully by means of talks between the two German states and the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Going in the face of all common sense, it does not want to see that for over ten years there have existed two German states which have chosen different paths of development. Disregarding the vital interests of the German people, the government of the Federal Republic of Germany is rejecting the only possible way to the reunification of the country – that of talks with the G.D.R., which has been repeatedly offered by the Government of the German Democratic Republic. The Government of the Federal Republic is thereby demonstrating its hostility to the cause of German unity.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany does not want to hear of a peace treaty because it is afraid lest the conclusion of that treaty might put an end to the present situation in Western Germany which enables it to bring people to trial merely for having the courage to stand by their progressive convictions and come out in defence of the national rights of the German people and the interests of peace. All the actions of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany show that it is clearing the way, step by step, for the establishment in Western Germany of a regime that should look like a democratic regime but which, in actual fact, would be close to the regime which plunged the world into a murderous war and led the German people to an unparalleled national catastrophe. Could the brazen Nazi and anti-Semitic outrages of the Fascist elements in Western Germany, which the world has recently witnessed, have occurred if conditions were different? Recently the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany did not scruple to take under its wing the organisers of those disgraceful demonstrations, and some West German officials, in the best Nazi tradition, have tried to lay the blame for those demonstrations on the Communists.

All this can only increase the people's mistrust of the policy of the Federal Republic. Under these circumstances, an even more active struggle for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany becomes a necessity.

The countries represented at the present conference stand for peaceful cooperation and good-neighbourly relations with all states,



including the Federal Republic of Germany, and they are sparing no efforts to achieve such cooperation in practice.

The Warsaw Treaty states are striving for a peaceful settlement with Germany, together with the other allied and associated Powers which took part in the war against Germany. This means the conclusion of a peace treaty which, in the existing conditions, can only be signed by both German states. At the same time, they cannot agree that the solution of these questions be postponed indefinitely, which can only encourage the militarist and revenge-seeking forces of Western Germany.

If the efforts towards the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states do not meet with support and if the solution of this question comes up against attempts at procrastination, the states represented at the present conference will have no alternative but to conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, together with the other states that are ready for this, and solve on this basis the question of West Berlin as well.

The states represented at the present conference reaffirm their inflexible desire for an improvement in the relations between countries of the East and West, for the strengthening of confidence between them, and for the development of all forms of international cooperation.

They continue to stand for the unhampered development of international trade, for the strengthening of contacts between statesmen, public leaders and organisations, and for exchanges of achievements in the fields of culture, science and technology, which enrich the peoples of all countries.

The ending of war propaganda, subversive appeals and attempts to threaten by the use of force would be of great importance for improving the international climate and eliminating suspicion in international relations.

As regards the Warsaw Treaty countries, war propaganda has been outlawed on their territories, and they are ready, for their part, to take further measures to have the atmosphere of mutual suspicion and sharp polemics in the relations between states superseded by goodwill and trust.

With the present noticeable relaxation of international tension, the proposal for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the two groups of states, the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Treaty

Organisations, which has still not met with a positive solution, acquires even greater importance than in the past years. Convinced that the task of concluding a non-aggression pact between N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, far from losing its topicality, is becoming steadily more important, the participants in the conference consider it necessary to declare that this offer still stands and that they are ready at any time to sign a non-aggression pact with the N.A.T.O. states.

The conclusion of bilateral non-aggression pacts between states belonging to different military groupings and the establishment in Europe of zones free from atomic and hydrogen weapons could also play a not inconsiderable part in improving the international situation.

The participants in the conference welcome with great satisfaction the agreement between the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France to hold a summit meeting in Paris in May this year. The governments of the Warsaw Treaty countries have long pressed for such a meeting to be held, regarding it – as was pointed out in their Declaration of May 24, 1958 – as “the most important means in the existing situation of safeguarding mankind against a military calamity and turning the course of international developments towards the consolidation of peace.”

The Warsaw Treaty states consider that the forthcoming meeting of the heads of government should discuss such important and urgent questions as the problem of general and complete disarmament; the question of a German peace treaty, including the establishment of a free city of West Berlin; the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests; and East-West relations. Proceeding on the basis of the conviction that any international problem, however complex it may seem, can be settled given reasonable consideration for the interests of the parties and a general desire for peace, the participants in the conference express the hope that the heads of government will succeed in finding the correct ways to a successful solution of the aforementioned questions in the interests of strengthening universal peace, and that the forthcoming summit meeting will be a turning point in East-West relations.

Now, on the eve of crucial talks between statesmen of the East and the West, on the eve of a meeting at the summit, it is especially important, in the opinion of the Warsaw Treaty countries, that all states should do everything in their power to create a situation facilitating the

success of the coming talks. The states represented at the present conference declare that they will act precisely in this direction and urge all other countries to promote the success of East-West talks and to refrain from any steps capable of complicating these negotiations.

The governments of the Warsaw Treaty countries note with satisfaction that their untiring efforts aimed at the termination of the arms race, the elimination of dangerous seats of international conflicts, and the ending of the cold war, are meeting with ever wider support from the peoples of the world and are yielding positive results. They are unanimous in believing that in our time the states do not and cannot have any greater or nobler task than that of contributing to the establishment of lasting peace on earth.

## K'ANG SHENG'S SPEECH TO THE WARSAW TREATY POWERS' MEETING

*Comrade Chairman,*

*Dear Comrades:*

In the capacity of an observer of the People's Republic of China, I have the honour to attend this regular conference of the Political Consultative Committee of member states of the Warsaw Treaty. We are convinced that the convening of this conference will make new contributions to further relaxing the international situation and encouraging the people of the world in their struggle against the expansion of armaments and war preparations and for a lasting peace. We wish the conference success.

The current international situation continues to develop in a direction favourable to peace. There have appeared certain tendencies towards relaxation of the international tension created by imperialism. Comrade Nikita Khrushchov made a successful visit to the United States. Prompted by the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace and the peace-loving people and countries of the world, an East-West summit conference will soon be convened. As to the disarmament question, a certain measure of agreement has also been reached on procedural matters. The Chinese people and all other peace-loving people and countries the world over rejoice at this. The emergence of such a situation is not accidental. This is the result of repeated struggles waged by the Socialist forces, the national revolutionary forces and the forces of peace and democracy against the imperialist war forces, the result of the East wind prevailing over the West wind.

---

This is the full text of K'ang Sheng's speech as published in *Peking Review*, No. 6, 1960.

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

The incomparable strength and the firm unity of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and its outstanding and effective efforts in the cause of peace are the decisive factors in this tendency towards easing the international situation. We are happy to see that construction in all the Socialist countries is gathering speed and their material strength greatly enhanced. The Soviet Union, particularly, has scored brilliant achievements in carrying out its enormous Seven-Year Plan. The Soviet success in successive launchings of man-made earth satellites and cosmic rockets marks the fact that in the most important fields of science and technology, the Soviet Union has left the United States far behind. The balance of world forces has undergone further, huge change favourable to peace and Socialism thereby greatly fortifying the will to struggle, and confidence in victory, of the people throughout the world.

The unswerving struggle carried out by the powerful world forces of peace has caused repeated setbacks to the U.S. imperialists' "position of strength" and "brink of war" policies. Not only is the United States becoming increasingly isolated politically as the days go by, but militarily, its forces are dispersed and it is lagging behind in new weapons; economically, too, its situation is becoming increasingly difficult. In these circumstances, and particularly under pressure of the strong desire for peace of the people everywhere, the U.S. ruling circles were obliged to make some peace gestures. Of course it is better to talk peace than to talk war. Nevertheless, even the U.S. ruling circles themselves do not try to hide the fact that the change in their way of doing things is aimed at numbing the fighting spirit of the people of the world by means of the "strategy to win victory by peace," wrecking the unity of the peace forces of the world and disintegrating the Socialist camp; they are even dreaming of a so-called "peaceful evolution" in the Socialist countries. These wild ambitions of the U.S. ruling circles will, of course, not be realised. While being obliged to make certain peace gestures, the U.S. ruling circles are still pushing ahead vigorously with their arms expansion and war preparations, making a strenuous effort to develop inter-continental ballistic missiles, setting up and expanding missile bases in various places, claiming to be ready at any time to resume nuclear weapons tests, and actively trying to

strengthen and patch up military *blocs* in an attempt to gain time to improve their inferior military position.

U.S. President Eisenhower's State of the Union Message recently gave the clearest indication that the new tricks of the United States are designed to gain precisely what it failed to obtain by its old tricks. The actions of the United States prove fully that its imperialist nature will not change. American imperialism still remains the arch enemy of world peace. All those throughout the world who are working sincerely for peace must maintain their vigilance against U.S. double-dealing. If our Socialist camp and the people of all countries in the world continue to strengthen unity, continue to fortify our strength and thoroughly smash all the intrigues and schemes of the enemy of peace, U.S. war plans can be set back even further and even checked, and the cause of defence of peace will certainly win still greater victories.

At the present time universal disarmament is an important question relating to the defence of world peace. Since World War II, the Soviet Union has time and again made positive proposals for disarmament, the banning of atomic weapons and the ending of nuclear weapons tests. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have, on their own initiative, reduced their armed forces. Not long ago, the Soviet Union proposed general and complete disarmament at the U.N. General Assembly. It later adopted a law at the Supreme Soviet session, again slashing its armed forces unilaterally by 1.2 million men. These facts convincingly demonstrate the sincerity of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries for peace and their confidence in their own strength.

Although U.S. imperialism dare not oppose disarmament in so many words, it has always in fact sabotaged universal disarmament. Whenever certain U.S. proposals were accepted by the Soviet Union, the United States always concocted new pretexts for a retreat from its original position, creating all kinds of difficulties and preventing by every means the reaching of agreement on the disarmament question. U.S. actions prove that it will not abandon its policy of the arms race. Therefore, the struggle for universal disarmament is a long-term and complicated struggle between us and imperialism.

The Chinese government and the Chinese people have always stood for universal disarmament, and actively supported the proposals concerning disarmament made by the Soviet Union and other Socialist

countries. Since 1951, the Chinese Government has on its own initiative again and again reduced its armed forces. The present Chinese armed forces are less than half their original size. We shall continue to work tirelessly for universal disarmament together with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. We hope that the countries concerned will reach agreement on this question of universal disarmament. The Chinese Government has never hesitated to commit itself to all international obligations with which it agrees. But U.S. imperialism, hostile to the Chinese people, has always adopted a discriminatory attitude against our country in international relations. Therefore, the Chinese Government has to declare to the world that any international disarmament agreement and all other international agreements which are arrived at without the formal participation of the Chinese People's Republic and the signature of its delegate cannot, of course, have any binding force on China.

The German question has a particularly important place among outstanding international issues. Its solution has a bearing not only on the security of Europe but also on the peace of the world. The permanent division of Germany and the speeded-up revival of West German militarism are an important component part of the U.S. imperialist policy of war and aggression. The recent frenzied war cries of Adenauer and the rampant anti-semitic activities started by the West German Fascist forces are the outcome of U.S. instigation and support. The governments of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have time and again put forward reasonable proposals for settlement of the German question. But all these proposals have been rejected by the United States and West Germany. In its efforts to come to agreement with the Western Powers on the conclusion of a German peace treaty and on ending the occupation regime in West Berlin, the Soviet Union has made many concessions, whereas the Western Powers have to date made no appropriate response. The Chinese Government and people will steadfastly support the basic stand taken by the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic on the solution of the German question, and the struggle of the German people for the reunification of their motherland on the basis of peace and democracy.

While intensifying its efforts to re-arm West Germany, U.S. imperialism is reviving Japanese militarism in the East, and has signed

a Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance with the Kishi Government, its close follower. The Chinese Government has issued a statement strongly condemning this act of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries which threatens the peace and security of Asia. The Soviet Government, too, has sent a memorandum to the Japanese Government, pointing out that the treaty seriously endangers the interests of the Soviet Union, China and many other countries in the Asian and Pacific regions. The people of all lands, including the Japanese people, are unanimous in their firm opposition to this further step of military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The Chinese Government and people hold that West Germany and Japan, which are supported energetically by U.S. imperialism, have become two sources of serious war danger. All peace-loving peoples and countries of the world must maintain a high state of vigilance against this, and exert every effort to prevent the militarism of these two countries from violating world peace.

In other parts of Asia, U.S. imperialism also continues to create international tension. The Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea on their own initiative long ago, but U.S. forces are still hanging on in South Korea and are trying hard to obstruct Korea's peaceful reunification. The United States, supporting the reactionary forces in Laos, undermined the Geneva agreements and the Vientiane agreements and provoked civil war in Laos. At the Sino-American ambassadorial talks, China has persistently advocated the principle of settling dispute between China and the United States by means of peaceful negotiation and without resort to force or threat of force. But the United States has all along refused to reach agreement with China in accordance with this principle and up till now is occupying our territory of Taiwan. The U.S. navy and air force have been constantly making military provocations against our country despite our repeated warnings. Therefore, the Chinese people and all the people of the world must unite still more closely and resolutely smash U.S. schemes for new wars and aggression in Asia.

The foreign policy of our Socialist countries has always firmly adhered to the principle of peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems. We Socialist countries will never encroach upon others, but neither will we tolerate encroachment by others. Lenin



said that to achieve peaceful co-existence, no obstacle would come from the Soviet side. Obstacles could come only from imperialism, from the side of American (as well as any other) capitalists. We will continue to adhere to Lenin's principle of peaceful co-existence. Our efforts to carry out this principle have won the support of increasing numbers of people. But if the imperialist reactionaries mistake this for a sign of weakness and dare to impose war on us, then they will only be inviting their own destruction.

The Chinese people have always sympathised with and supported the national and democratic movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and striven for long-term, friendly relations with the nationalist countries in Asia and Africa on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence jointly initiated by our country with India and Burma. To realise their ulterior aims, the imperialists have tried by every means to undermine our country's unity with these countries. One of their chief tricks to undermine this unity is to use the border issue and the over-seas Chinese issue, which are legacies of history, to sow discord and cook up anti-Chinese plots in a vain attempt to isolate China. The reactionary forces in certain Asian countries also make use of these issues to try to undermine the friendship between the people of their countries and the Chinese people. They attempt to use the anti-Chinese campaign to divert the attention of the people of their countries from domestic issues and to create pretexts for suppressing the democratic, progressive forces in their own countries. In our relations with certain Asian nationalist countries, there once appeared small patches of dark cloud, but the sun cannot be overshadowed for long and friendship between our people and the people of these countries will certainly be maintained and developed.

Recently the Indonesian Government and our Government have exchanged the instruments of ratification of the treaty concerning the question of dual nationality, set up a joint committee to implement the treaty and started talks on questions relating to the return of overseas Chinese to their homeland. A certain period of time is needed for an overall settlement of the overseas Chinese question and there may still be some twists and turns. But, if both sides treasure their friendship, persist in peaceful consultations and seriously carry out the agreements

already reached, the overseas Chinese question can be solved justly and reasonably.

China and Burma have always had friendly relations. Recently, the Prime Minister of Burma Ne Win visited our country and signed with the Chinese Premier the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and an agreement between the two Governments on the boundary question. This not only signifies that friendly relations of the two countries have entered a new stage, but also sets a new example for friendship and solidarity among the Afro-Asian countries. The Sino-Burmese border question is a complicated one left over by history. The imperialist reactionaries used this question to sow dissension and cause division. But both Chinese and Burmese Governments sincerely desire peace and friendship, so the two parties were able to reach agreement in principle speedily and pave the way for an overall, thorough settlement of this question. The Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression offers striking proof that the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence have certainly not "outlived themselves" or "become defunct" as certain reactionary elements and instigators of war allege, but, on the contrary, are showing their great vitality with increasing clarity. These facts thoroughly give the lie to the slanders of the imperialists and all reactionaries about China's "aggression." They amply prove that China's sincerity in abiding by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence can stand the test of time and history. Those who attempt to isolate China have failed to do so. On the contrary, they have isolated themselves.

Strengthening the unity of the countries of the Socialist camp is a matter of the utmost importance. Our unity is built on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries held in 1957 ushered in a new historic period in our unity. The Declaration adopted at this meeting is the charter of solidarity of our Socialist camp. The imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries in all countries are always dreaming that changes in their favour will occur within our countries and splits will occur in the unity between our countries. The greater the difficulties they come up against, the more they hope to save themselves from their doom by sabotage within our countries and by undermining the unity between our countries.

However, in face of our great unity, their futile calculations can never be realised. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always taken the safeguarding of the unity of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union as their sacred international duty. They have always regarded an attack against any socialist country by the imperialists and all reactionaries as an attack against China. They have always considered that the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia are renegades to the Communist movement, that revisionism is the main danger in the present Communist movement and that it is necessary to wage a resolute struggle against revisionism. This stand of ours is firm and unshakeable. Working for the cause of peace and socialism, we Socialist countries will certainly extend further support and help to each other. As long as the Socialist camp is united, the unity of the peoples of the world has a firm nucleus and the victory of our cause has a reliable guarantee.

The present situation is extremely favourable to us. Let us hold aloft the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism and Communism and march victoriously towards our great goal!

## **"LONG LIVE LENINISM!"**

by THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT  
of "*Hongqi*" (Red Flag)

### **I**

April 22 of this year is the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. 1871, the year after Lenin's birth, saw the heroic uprising of the Paris Commune. The Paris Commune was a great, epoch-making revolution, the first dress rehearsal of universal significance in the proletariat's attempt to overthrow the capitalist system. When the Commune was on the verge of defeat as a result of the counter-revolutionary attack from Versailles, Marx said:

If the Commune should be destroyed, the struggle would only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are perpetual and indestructible; they will present themselves again and again until the working class is liberated. ("Speech on the Paris Commune," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 1<sup>st</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XIII, Part 2, p. 655.)

What is the most important principle of the Commune? According to Marx, it is that the working class cannot simply take hold of the existing state machine, and use it for its own purposes. In other words, the proletariat should use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military and bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and establish the proletarian dictatorship to replace the bourgeois dictatorship. Anyone familiar with the history of the struggle of the

---

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

[*Hongqi* (Red Flag) is the fortnightly magazine published by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. This article appeared in its No. 8 issue, April 16, 1960, in commemoration of the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the birth of Lenin. Translated in Peking Review, No. 17, 1960] – A note from above source.

proletariat knows that it is precisely this fundamental question which forms the dividing line between Marxists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other, and that after the death of Marx and Engels it was none other than Lenin who waged a thoroughly uncompromising struggle against the opportunists and revisionists in order to safeguard the principles of the Commune.

The cause in which the Paris Commune did not succeed finally triumphed forty-six years later in the Great October Revolution under Lenin's direct leadership. The experience of the Russian Soviets was a continuation and development of the experience of the Paris Commune. The principles of the Commune continually expounded by Marx and Engels and enriched by Lenin in the light of the new experience of the Russian revolution, became a living reality for the first time on one-sixth of the earth. Marx was perfectly correct in saying that the principles of the Commune are perpetual and indestructible.

In their attempt to strangle the new-born Soviet State, the imperialist jackals carried out armed intervention against it, in league with the Russian counter-revolutionary forces of that time. But the heroic Russian working class and the people of the various nationalities of the Soviet Union drove off the foreign bandits, wiped out the counter-revolutionary rebellion at home and thus consolidated the world's first great Socialist Republic.

Under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of the October Revolution, a new world revolution began, with the proletarian revolution playing the leading role. A new era dawned in human history.

Throughout the October Revolution, the voice of Lenin quickly resounded throughout the world. The Chinese people's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4 Movement in 1919, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it, "came into being at the call of the world revolution of that time, of the Russian Revolution and of Lenin." ("On New Democracy," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1954, Vol. III, p. 146.)

Lenin's call is powerful because it is correct. Under the historical conditions of imperialist era, Lenin revealed a series of irrefutable truths concerning the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin pointed out that the oligarchs of finance capital in a small number of capitalist powers, that is, imperialists, not only exploit the

masses of people in their own countries, but oppress and plunder the whole world, turning most countries into their colonies and dependencies. Imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist policy. World wars are started by the imperialists because of their insatiable greed in struggling for world markets, sources of raw materials and fields for investment, and to redivide the world. So long as capitalist imperialism exists in the world, the source and possibility of war will remain. The proletariat should guide the masses of people to an understanding of the sources of war and to struggle for peace and against imperialism.

Lenin asserted that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic or decaying, moribund capitalism, that it is the final stage in the development of capitalism and therefore is the eve of the proletarian revolution. The emancipation of the proletariat can only be arrived at by the road of revolution, and certainly not by the road of reformism. The liberation movement of the proletariat in the capitalist countries should ally itself with the national liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries; this alliance can smash the alliance of the imperialists with the feudal and comprador reactionary forces in the colonies and dependent countries, and will therefore inevitably put a final end to the imperialist system throughout the world.

In the light of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin came to the conclusion that, because capitalism developed extremely unevenly in different countries, socialism would achieve victory first in one or several countries but could not achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. Therefore, in spite of the victory of socialism in one or several countries, other capitalist countries will still exist, and this will give rise not only to friction but also to imperialist subversive activities against the socialist states. Hence the struggle will be protracted. The struggle between socialism and capitalism will embrace a whole historical epoch. The socialist countries should maintain constant vigilance against the danger of imperialist attack and do their best to guard against this danger.

The fundamental question of all revolutions is the question of state power. Lenin showed in a comprehensive and penetrating way that the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution is the proletarian dictatorship. The proletarian dictatorship established by

smashing the state machine of the bourgeois dictatorship by revolutionary means, is an alliance of a special type between the proletariat and the peasantry and all other working people; it is a continuation of the class struggle in another form under new conditions; it involves a persistent struggle, both sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the resistance of the exploiting classes, against foreign aggression and against the forces and traditions of the old society. Without the proletarian dictatorship, without its full mobilisation of the working people on these fronts to wage these unavoidable struggles stubbornly and persistently, there can be no socialism, nor can there be any victory for socialism.

Lenin considered it of prime importance for the proletariat to establish its own genuinely revolutionary political party which completely breaks with opportunism, that is, a Communist Party, if the proletarian revolution is to be carried through and the proletarian dictatorship established and consolidated. This political party is armed with the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Its programme is to organise the proletariat and all oppressed working people for class struggle, to set up proletarian rule and passing through socialism to reach the final goal of communism. This political party must identify itself with the masses and attach great importance to their creative initiative in the making of history; it must closely rely on the masses in revolution and must do the same in socialist and communist construction.

These truths were constantly set forth by Lenin before and after the October Revolution. The world reactionaries and philistines of the time thought these truths of Lenin terrifying. But we see these truths winning victory after victory in the practical life of the world.

In the forty years and more since the October Revolution, tremendous new changes have taken place in the world.

Through its great achievements in socialist and communist construction, the Soviet Union has transformed itself from an economically and technically very backward country in the days of imperial Russia into a first-rate world power with the most advanced technology. By its economic and technological leaps the Soviet Union

has left the European capitalist countries far behind and left the United States behind, too, in technology.

The great victory of the anti-fascist war in which the Soviet Union was the main force broke the chain of imperialism in Central and Eastern Europe. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution broke the chain of imperialism on the Chinese mainland. A new group of socialist countries was born. The whole socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has one-quarter of the earth's land space and over one-third of the world's population. The socialist camp has now become an independent world economic system, standing opposite the capitalist world economic system. The gross industrial output value of the socialist countries now accounts for nearly 40 per cent of the world's total, and it will not be long before it surpasses the gross industrial output value of all the capitalist countries put together.

The imperialist colonial system has disintegrated and is disintegrating further. The struggle naturally has its twists and turns, but on the whole the storm of the national liberation movement is sweeping over Asia, Africa and Latin America on a daily increasing scale. Things are developing towards their opposites: there the imperialists are going step by step from strength to weakness, while the people are going step by step from weakness to strength.

The relative stability of capitalism, which existed for a time after the First World War, ended long ago. With the formation of the socialist world economic system after the Second World War, the capitalist world market has greatly shrunk. The contradiction between the productive forces and production relations in capitalist society has become more acute. The periodic economic crises of capitalism no longer come as before once every ten years or so, but occur almost every three or four years. Recently, some representatives of the U.S. bourgeoisie have admitted that the United States has suffered three "economic recessions" in ten years, and they now have premonitions of a new "economic recession" after just having pulled through the one in 1957-58. The shortening of the interval between capitalist economic crises is a new phenomenon. It is a further sign that the world capitalist system is drawing nearer and nearer to its inevitable doom.

The unevenness in the development of the capitalist countries is worse than ever before. The domain of the imperialists has shrunk more



and more, so that they collide with one another. U.S. imperialism is constantly grabbing markets and spheres of influence away from the British, French and other imperialists. The imperialist countries headed by the United States have been expanding armaments and making war preparations for more than ten years, while West German and Japanese militarists, defeated in the Second World War, have risen again with the help of their former enemy – the U.S. imperialism. The imperialists of these two countries have come out to join in the scramble for the capitalist world market, are now once again talking long and loudly about their “traditional friendship” and are engaging in new activities for a so-called “Bonn-Tokyo axis with Washington as the starting point.” West German imperialism is looking brazenly around for military bases abroad. This aggravates the bitter conflicts within imperialism and at the same time heightens the threat to the socialist camp and all peace-loving countries. The present situation is very much like that after the First World War when the U.S. and British imperialists fostered the resurgence of German militarism, and the outcome will again be their “picking up a rock only to drop it on their own feet.” The U.S. imperialists’ creation of world tension after the Second World War is a sign not of their strength but of their weakness and precisely reflects the unprecedented instability of the capitalist system.

The U.S. imperialists, in order to realise their ambition for world domination, not only carry out all kinds of premeditated sabotage and subversion against the socialist countries, but also, under the pretext of opposing “the communist menace,” in their self-appointed role of world gendarme for suppressing the revolution in various countries, deploy their military bases all around the world, seize the intermediate areas and carry out military provocations. Like a rat running across the street while everyone shouts “Throw something at it!” the U.S. imperialists run into bumps and bruises everywhere and, contrary to their intentions, everywhere arouse a new upsurge of the people’s revolutionary struggle. Now, they themselves are becoming aware that, in contrast with the growing prosperity of the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union, “the influence of the United States as a world power is declining.” In them one “can only see the decline and fall of ancient Rome.”

The changes taken place in the world in the past forty years and more indicate that imperialism rots with every passing day while for

socialism things are daily getting better. It is a great, new epoch that we are facing, and its main characteristic is that the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism, that the forces of the awakening people of the world have surpassed those of reaction.

The present world situation has obviously undergone tremendous changes since Lenin's lifetime, but these changes have not proved the obsolescence of Leninism; on the contrary, they have more and more clearly confirmed the truths revealed by Lenin and all the theories he advanced during the struggle to defend revolutionary Marxism and develop Marxism.

In the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Lenin carried Marxism forward to a new stage and showed all the oppressed classes and peoples the path along which they could really shake off capitalist-imperialist enslavement and poverty. These forty years have been forty years of victory for Leninism in the world, forty years in which Leninism has found its way deeper into the hearts of the world's people. Leninism has not only won and will continue to win great victories in countries where the socialist system has been established, but is also constantly achieving new victories in the struggles of all oppressed peoples.

The victory of Leninism is acclaimed by the people of the whole world, and at the same time cannot but incur the enmity of the imperialists and all reactionaries. The imperialists, to weaken the influence of Leninism and paralyse the revolutionary will of the masses, launch the most barbarous and despicable attacks and slanders against Leninism, and, moreover, put up and utilise the vacillators and renegades within the workers' movement, to distort and emasculate the teachings of Lenin. At the end of the nineteenth century when Marxism was putting various anti-Marxist trends to rout, spreading widely throughout the workers' movement and gaining a predominant position, the revisionists represented by Bernstein proposed to revise the teachings of Marx, in keeping with the needs of the bourgeoisie. Now, when Leninism guiding the working class and all oppressed classes and nations of the world to great victories in the march against imperialism and all kinds of reactionaries, the modern revisionists represented by Tito proposed to revise the teachings of Lenin (that is, modern Marxist teachings), in keeping with the needs of the imperialists. As pointed out in the

Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in November 1957, "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source." Old revisionism attempted to prove that Marxism was outmoded, while modern revisionism attempts to prove that Leninism is outmoded. The Moscow Declaration said:

Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is "outmoded" and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general.

This passage of the Declaration has put it correctly; such is exactly the situation.

Are the teachings of Marxism-Leninism now "outmoded"? Does the whole, integrated teaching of Lenin on imperialism, on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on war and peace, and on the building of socialism and communism still retain its vigorous vitality? If it is still valid and does retain its full vitality, does this refer only to a certain portion of it or to the whole? We usually say that Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Marxism in the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism. Does this view remain correct? Can it be said that Lenin's original conclusions and our usual conception of Leninism have lost their validity and correctness, and that therefore we should turn back and accept those revisionist and opportunist conclusions which Lenin long ago smashed to smithereens and which have gone disgracefully bankrupt in actual life? These questions now confront us and must be answered. Marxist-Leninists must thoroughly expose the absurdities of the imperialists and modern revisionists on these questions, eradicate their influence among the masses, awaken those they have temporarily hoodwinked and further arouse the revolutionary will of the masses.

## II

The U.S. imperialists, open representatives of the bourgeoisie in many countries, the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique, and the right-wing social-democrats, in order to mislead the people of

the world, do all they can to paint an utterly distorted picture of the contemporary world situation in an attempt to confirm their ravings on how "Marxism is outmoded," and "Leninism is outmoded too."

A speech by Tito at the end of last year referred repeatedly to the so-called "new epoch" of the modern revisionists. He said, "Today the world has entered an epoch in which nations can relax and tranquilly devote themselves to their internal construction tasks." Then he added, "We have entered an epoch when new questions are on the agenda, not questions of war and peace but questions of cooperation, economic and otherwise, and when economic cooperation is concerned, there is also the question of economic competition." (Tito's speech in Zagreb, December 12, 1959.) This renegade completely writes off the question of class contradictions and class struggle in the world, in an attempt to negate the consistent interpretation of Marxist-Leninists that our epoch is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism.

But how do things really stand in the world?

Can the exploited and oppressed people in the imperialist countries "relax"? Can the peoples of all the colonies and semi-colonies still under imperialist oppression "relax"?

Has the armed intervention led by the U.S. imperialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America become "tranquil"? Is there "tranquillity" in our Taiwan Straits when the U.S. imperialists are still occupying our country's Taiwan? Is there "tranquillity" on the African continent when the people of Algeria and many other parts of Africa are subjected to armed repressions by the French, British and other imperialists? Is there any "tranquillity" in Latin America when the U.S. imperialists are trying to wreck the people's revolution in Cuba by means of bombing, assassination and subversion?

What kind of "construction" is meant in saying "(they) devote themselves to their internal construction tasks"? Everyone knows that there are different types of countries in the world today, and principally two types of countries with social systems fundamentally different in nature. One type belongs to the socialist world system, the other to the capitalist world system. Is Tito referring to the "internal construction tasks" of arms expansion which the imperialists are carrying out in order to oppress the peoples of their own countries and oppress the

whole world? Or is it the "internal construction" carried out by socialism for the promotion of the people's happiness and in the pursuit of lasting world peace?

Is the question of war and peace no longer an issue? Is it that imperialism no longer exists, the system of exploitation no longer exists, and therefore the question of war no longer exists? Or is it that there can be no question of war even if imperialism and the system of exploitation are allowed to survive for ever? The fact is that since the Second World War there has been continuous and unbroken warfare. Do not the imperialist wars to suppress national liberation movements and the imperialist wars of armed intervention against revolutions in various countries count as wars? Even though these wars have not developed into world wars, still do not these local wars count as wars? Even though these wars were not fought with nuclear weapons, still do not wars using what are called conventional weapons count as wars? Does not the U.S. imperialists' allocation of nearly 60 per cent of the 1960 budget outlay to arms expansion and war preparations count as a bellicose policy on the part of U.S. imperialism? Will the revival of West German and Japanese militarism not confront mankind with the danger of a new big war?

What kind of "cooperation" is meant? Is it "cooperation" of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie to protect capitalism? Is it "cooperation" of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples with the imperialists to protect colonialism? Is it "cooperation" of socialist countries with capitalist countries to protect the imperialist system in its oppression of the peoples in these countries and suppression of national liberation wars?

In a word, the assertions of the modern revisionists about their so-called "epoch" are so many challenges to Leninism on the foregoing issues. It is their aim to obliterate the contradiction between the masses of people and the monopoly capitalist class in the imperialist countries, the contradiction between the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the imperialist aggressors, the contradiction between the socialist system and the imperialist system, and the contradiction between the peace-loving people of the world and the warlike imperialist bloc.

There have been different ways of describing the distinctions between different "epochs." Generally speaking, there is one way which is merely drivel, concocting and playing around with vague, ambiguous

phrases to cover up the essence of the epoch. This is the old trick of the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists in the workers' movement. Then there is another way, which is to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation with regard to the overall class contradictions and class struggle, putting forward strictly scientific definitions, and thus bring the essence of the epoch thoroughly to light. This is the work of every serious Marxist.

On the features that distinguish an epoch, Lenin said:

... We are speaking here of big historical epochs; in every epoch there are, and there will be, separate, partial movements sometimes forward, at other times backwards, there are, and there will be, various deviations from the average type and average tempo of the movements.

We cannot know how fast and how successfully certain historical movements of the given epoch will develop. But we can and do know *which class* occupies a central position in this or that epoch and determines its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in the given epoch, etc.

Only on this basis, i.e., by taking into consideration first and foremost the fundamental distinctive features of different "epochs" (and not of individual episodes in the history of different countries) can we correctly work out our tactics.... ("Under a False Flag," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXI, p.125.)

An epoch, as referred to here by Lenin, presents the question of which class holds the central position in an epoch and determines its main content and the main direction of development.

Faithful to Marx's dialectics, Lenin never for a single moment departed from the standpoint of analysing class relations. He held that: "Marxism judges 'interests' by the class antagonisms and the class struggles which manifest themselves in millions of facts of everyday life." ("Collapse of the Second International," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p.189.) He stated:

The method of Marx consists first of all, in taking into consideration the *objective* content of the historical process at the given concrete moment, in the given concrete situation, in understanding first of all *which class* it is whose movement constitutes the mainspring of possible progress in this concrete situation.... ("Under a False Flag," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXI, p.123.)

Lenin always demanded that we examine the concrete process of historical development on the basis of class analysis, instead of talking vaguely about "society in general" or "progress in general." We Marxists must not base proletarian policy merely on certain passing events or minute political changes, but on the overall class contradictions and class struggle of a whole historical epoch. This is a basic theoretical position of Marxists. It was by taking a firm stand on this position that Lenin, in the new period of class changes, in the new historical period, came to the conclusion that the hope of humanity lay entirely with the victory of the proletariat and that the proletariat must prepare itself to win victory in this great revolutionary battle and establish a proletarian dictatorship. After the October Revolution, at the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1918, Lenin stated:

We must begin with the general basis of the development of commodity production, the transition to capitalism and the transformation of capitalism into imperialism. Thereby we shall be theoretically taking up and consolidating a position from which nobody who has not betrayed socialism can dislodge us. From this follows an equally inevitable conclusion: the era of social revolution is beginning. ("Report on Revising the Programme and Name of the Party," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VIII, p.317.)

This is Lenin's conclusion, a conclusion which up to the present still requires deep consideration by all Marxists.

The formulation of revolutionary Marxists that ours is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism is irrefutable, because it grasps with complete correctness the basic features of our present great epoch. The formulation that Leninism is the continuation and development of revolutionary Marxism in this great epoch and that it is the theory and policy of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship is also irrefutable, because it is precisely Leninism that exposes the contradictions in our great epoch – the contradictions between the working class and monopoly capital, the contradictions among the imperialist countries, the contradictions between peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies and imperialism, and the contradictions between the socialist countries, where the proletariat has triumphed, and the imperialist countries. Leninism has, therefore, become our banner of victory. Contrary,

however, to this series of revolutionary Marxist formulations, in the so-called "new epoch" of the Titos, there is actually no imperialism, no proletarian revolution and, needless to say, no theory and policy of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. In short, with them, the fundamental focal points of the class contradictions and class struggles of our epoch are nowhere to be seen, the fundamental questions of Leninism are missing and there is no Leninism.

The modern revisionists assert that in their so-called "new epoch," because of the progress of science and technology, the "old conceptions" of Marx and Lenin are no longer applicable. Tito made following assertion: "We are not dogmatists, for Marx and Lenin did not predict the rocket on the moon, atomic bombs and the great technical progress." (From Tito's Speech in Zagreb, December 12, 1959) Not dogmatists, that's fine. Who wants them to be dogmatists? But one can oppose dogmatism to defend Marxism-Leninism or one can actually oppose Marxism-Leninism in the name of opposing dogmatism. The Titos belong to the latter category. On the question of what effect scientific and technological progress has on social development, there are people who hold incorrect views because they are not able to approach the question from the materialist view point of history. This is understandable. But the modern revisionists, on the other hand, are deliberately creating confusion on this question in a vain attempt to make use of the progress in science and technology to throw Marxism-Leninism to the winds.

In the past few years, the achievements of the Soviet Union in science and technology have been foremost in the world. These Soviet achievements are products of the Great October Revolution. These outstanding achievements mark a new era in man's conquest of nature and at the same time play a very important role in defending world peace. But, in the new conditions brought about by the development of modern technology, has the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism been shaken, as Tito says, by the "rocket on the moon, atomic bombs and the great technical progress" which Marx and Lenin "did not predict"? Can it be said that the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, social-historical outlook, moral outlook and other basic concepts have therefore become they call stale "dogmas" and that the law of class struggle henceforth no longer holds good?



Marx and Lenin did not live to the present day, and of course could not see certain specific details of technological progress in the present-day world. But what, after all, does the development of natural science and the advance of technology augur for the capitalist system? Marx and Lenin held that this could only augur a new social revolution, and certainly not the fading away of social revolution.

We know that both Marx and Lenin rejoiced in the new discoveries and progress of natural science and technology in the conquest of nature. Engels said in his "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx":

Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955, Vol. II, p.168.)

Engels added: "For Marx was before all else a revolutionist." Well said! Marx always regarded all new discoveries in the conquest of nature from the viewpoint of a proletarian revolutionist, not from the viewpoint of one who holds that the proletarian revolution will fade away.

Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote in his *Reminiscences of Marx* :

Marx made fun of the victorious European reaction which imagined that it had stifled the revolution and did not suspect that natural science was preparing a new revolution. King Steam, who had revolutionised the world in the previous century, was coming to the end of his reign and another incomparably greater revolutionary would take his place, the electric spark.

...The consequences are unpredictable. The economic revolution must be followed by a political one, for the latter is only the expression of the former.

In the manner in which Marx discussed this progress of science and mechanics, his conception of the world, and especially what has been termed the materialist conception of history, was so clearly expressed that certain doubts which I had hitherto still maintained melted away like snow in the sunshine of spring. (Wilhelm Liebknecht and Paul Lafarge's *Reminiscences of Marx*., Lawrence & Wishart, p. 15.)

This is how Marx felt the breath of revolution in the progress of science and technology. Marx held that the new progress of science and technology would lead to a social revolution to overthrow the capitalist system. To Marx the progress of natural science and technology further strengthens the whole position of the Marxist world outlook and the materialist conception of history, and certainly does not shake it. The progress of natural science and technology further strengthens the position of the proletarian revolution, and of the oppressed nations in their fight against imperialism, and certainly does not weaken it.

Like Marx, Lenin also viewed technological progress in connection with the question of revolution in the social system. Thus Lenin held that "the age of steam is the age of the bourgeoisie, the age of electricity is the age of socialism." ("Report on work of All-Russia Central Executive Committee and People's Council," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXX, p.310.)

Please note the contrast between the revolutionary spirit of Marx and Lenin and the modern revisionists' shameful attitude of betraying the revolution!

In class society, in the epoch of imperialism, Marxist-Leninists can only approach the question of the development and use of technology from the viewpoint of class analysis.

Inasmuch as the socialist system is progressive and represents the interests of the people, the socialist countries want to utilise such new techniques as atomic energy and rocketry to serve peaceful domestic construction and the conquest of nature. The more the socialist countries master such new techniques and the more rapidly they develop them, the better will they attain the aim of high-speed development of the social productive forces to meet the needs of the people, and the more will they strengthen the forces for checking imperialist war and increase the possibility of defending world peace. Therefore, for the welfare of their peoples and in the interest of peace for people the world over, the socialist countries should, wherever possible, master more and more of such new techniques serving the well-being of the people.

At the present time, the socialist Soviet Union clearly holds the upper hand in the development of new techniques. Everybody knows that the rocket that hit the moon was launched by the Soviet Union and not by the United States, the country where capitalism is most developed.

This shows that only in the socialist countries can there be unlimited prospects for the large-scale development of new techniques.

On the contrary, inasmuch as the imperialist system is reactionary and against the people, the imperialist powers want to use such new techniques for military purposes of aggression against foreign countries, to intimidate the people within their own countries, to make weapons for human slaughter. To the imperialist powers, the emergence of such new techniques only means pushing to a new stage the contradiction between the development of the social productive forces and the capitalist relations of production. What this will bring about is not by any means the perpetuation of capitalism but the further rousing of the revolution of the people in those countries and the destruction of the old, criminal, cannibalistic system of capitalism.

The U.S. imperialists and their partners use weapons like atom bombs to threaten war and blackmail the whole world. They declare that anyone who does not submit to the domination of U.S. imperialism will be destroyed. The Tito clique echoes this line, it takes up the U.S. imperialist refrain to spread terror of atomic warfare among the masses. U.S. imperialist blackmail and the chiming in of the Tito clique can only temporarily dupe those who do not understand the real situation, but cannot cow the people who have awakened. Even those who for the time being do not understand the real situation will gradually come to understand it with the help of the advanced elements.

Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that in world history it is not technique but man, the masses of people, that determine the fate of mankind. There was a theory current for a time among some people in China before and during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, which was known as the "weapons-mean-everything theory" from this theory they concluded that since Japan's weapons were new and its techniques advanced while China's weapons were old and its techniques backward, "China would inevitably be subjugated." Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his work *On the Protracted War* published at that time refuted such nonsense. He made the following analysis: The Japanese imperialists' war of aggression against China was bound to fail because it was reactionary, unjust, and being unjust lacked popular support; the Chinese people's war of resistance against Japan would certainly win because it was progressive, just, and being just

enjoyed abundant support. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the most abundant source of strength in war lay in the masses, and that a people's army organised by awakened and united masses of people would be invincible throughout the world. This is a Marxist-Leninist thesis. And what was the outcome? The outcome was that the Marxist-Leninist thesis triumphed and the "theory of national subjugation" ended in defeat. During the Korean war after the second World War, the triumph of the Korean and Chinese peoples over U.S. aggressors far superior in weapons and equipment again bore out this Marxist-Leninist thesis.

An awakened people will always find new ways to counteract a reactionary superiority in arms and win victory for themselves. This was so in past history, it is so at present, and it will still be so in the future. Because the socialist Soviet Union has gained supremacy in military techniques, the U.S. imperialists have lost their monopoly of atomic and nuclear weapons; at the same time, as a result of the awakening of the people the world over and of the people in the United States itself, there is now in the world the possibility of concluding an agreement for the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons. We are striving for the conclusion of such an agreement. Unlike the bellicose imperialists, the socialist countries and peace-loving people the world over actively and firmly stand for the banning and destruction of atomic and nuclear weapons. We are always struggling against imperialist war, for the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and for the defence of world peace. The more broadly and profoundly this struggle is waged and the more fully and thoroughly exposed are the brutish faces of the bellicose U.S. and other imperialists, the more will we be able to isolate these imperialists before the people of the world, the greater will be the possibility of tying their hands and the better it will be for the cause of world peace. If, on the contrary, we lose our vigilance against the danger of the imperialists launching a war, do not work to arouse the people of all countries to rise up against imperialism but tie the hands of the people, then imperialism can prepare for war just as it pleases and the inevitable result will be an increase in the danger of the imperialists launching a war and, once war breaks out, the people may not be able quickly to adopt a correct attitude towards it because of complete lack of preparation or inadequate preparation, thus being unable to vigorously

check the war. Of course, whether or not the imperialists will unleash a war is not determined by us; we are, after all, not chiefs-of-staff to the imperialists. As long as the people of all countries enhance their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also mastering 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 humanity by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will be the very speedy destruction of these monsters encircled by the peoples of the world, and the result will certainly not be the 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 repaid. On the debris of a dead imperialism, the victorious people would create very swiftly a civilisation thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.

The conclusion can only be this: whichever way you look at it, none of the new techniques like atomic energy, rocketry and so on has changed, as alleged by the modern revisionists, the basic characteristics of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution pointed out by Lenin. The capitalist-imperialist system absolutely will not crumble of itself. It will be overthrown by the proletarian revolution within the imperialist country concerned, and the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. Contemporary technological progress cannot save the capitalist-imperialist system from its doom but only rings a new death knell for it.

### III

The modern revisionists, proceeding from their absurd arguments on the current world situation and from their absurd argument that the Marxist-Leninist theory of class analysis and class struggle is obsolete, attempt to totally overthrow the fundamental theories of Marxism-

Leninism on a series of questions like violence, war, peaceful co-existence, etc.

There are also some people who are not revisionists, but well-intentioned persons who sincerely want to be Marxists, but get confused in the face of certain new historical phenomena and thus have some incorrect ideas. For example, some of them say that the failure of the U.S. imperialists' policy of atomic blackmail marks the end of violence. While thoroughly refuting the absurdities of the modern revisionists, we should also help these well-intentioned people to correct their erroneous ideas.

What is violence? Lenin had a lot to say on this question in his book *The State and Revolution*. The emergence and existence of the state is in itself a kind of violence. Lenin introduced the following elucidation by Engels:

... It (this public power) consists not merely of armed men, but of material appendages, prisons and coercive institutions of all kinds...  
(*Selected works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p.10.)

Lenin tells us that we must draw a distinction between two types of states different in nature, the state of bourgeois dictatorship and the state of proletarian dictatorship, and between two types of violence different in nature, counter-revolutionary violence and revolutionary violence; as long as there is counter-revolutionary violence, there is bound to be revolutionary violence to oppose it. It would be impossible to wipe out counter-revolutionary violence without revolutionary violence. The state in which the exploiting classes are in power is counter-revolutionary violence, a special force for suppressing the exploited classes in the interest of the exploiting classes. Both before the imperialists had atomic bombs and rocket weapons, and since they have had these new weapons, the imperialist state has always been a special force for suppressing the proletariat at home and the people of its colonies and semi-colonies abroad, has always been such an institution of violence; even if it is compelled not to use these new weapons, the imperialist state will of course still remain an imperialist institution of violence until it is overthrown and replaced by the people's state, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat of that country.

Never since the dawn of history have there been such large-scale, such utterly vicious forces of violence as those of present-day capitalist-

imperialists. For the past ten years and more, the U.S. imperialists have, without any scruples, adopted means of persecution a hundred times more savage than before, trampling upon the outstanding sons of the country's working class, trampling upon the Negro people, trampling upon all progressives, and moreover, recklessly declaring that they intend to put the whole world under their rule of violence. They are continuously expanding their forces of violence, and at the same time the other imperialists also take part in the race to increase their forces of violence.

The bloated military build-up of the imperialist countries headed by the United States has appeared during the unprecedentedly grave general crisis of capitalism. The more frantically the imperialists carry the expansion of their military forces to a peak, the nearer they draw to their own doom. Now even some representatives of the U.S. imperialists have premonitions of the inevitable extinction of the capitalist system. But will the imperialists themselves put an end to their violence? Will those in power in the imperialist countries abandon of their own accord the violence they have set up just because imperialism is drawing near to its doom?

Can it be said that, compared with the past, the imperialists are no longer addicted to violence, or that there has been a lessening in the degree of their addiction?

Lenin answered such questions on several occasions long ago. He pointed out in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

...For politically imperialism is in general a striving towards violence and reaction. (*Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. V, p.83.)

After the October Revolution, in his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* he made a special point of recounting history, comparing the differences between pre-monopoly capitalism and monopoly capitalism, i.e., imperialism. He said:

Pre-monopoly capitalism, which reached its zenith in the seventies of the nineteenth century, was, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits (which were most typical in England and America) distinguished by its relative attachment to peace and freedom. Imperialism, i.e., monopoly capitalism, which finally matured only in the twentieth century, is, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits, distinguished by the least attachment to peace and freedom, and by

the greatest and universal development of militarism everywhere.  
(*Selected Works*, International Publishers, Vol. VII, p.125-126.)

Of course, these words of Lenin were uttered in the early period of the October Revolution, when the proletarian state was newly born, and its economic forces still young and weak, while with the lapse of forty years and more the face of the Soviet state itself, and of the whole world has undergone a tremendous change, as we have already described. Then, are the foregoing pronouncements of Lenin obsolete, because the nature of imperialism has changed owing to the might of the Soviet Union, the might of the forces of socialism and the might of the forces of peace? Or, is it that imperialism although its nature has not changed, will no longer resort to violence? Do these ideas conform to the real situation?

The socialist world system has obviously gained the upper hand in its struggle with the capitalist world system. This great historic fact has weakened the position of imperialist violence in the world. But will this fact cause the imperialists never again to oppress the people of their own country, never again engage in outward expansion and aggressive activities? Can it make the warlike circles of the imperialists "lay down the butcher knife" and "sell their knives and buy oxen"? Can it make the groups of munitions merchants in the imperialist countries change over to peaceful pursuits?

All these questions confront every serious Marxist-Leninist, and require deep consideration. It is obvious that whether these questions are viewed and handled correctly or incorrectly has a close bearing on the success or failure of the proletarian cause and the destiny of humanity.

War is the most acute form of expression of violence. One type is civil war, another is foreign war. Violence is not always expressed by war, its most acute form. In capitalist countries, bourgeois war is the continuation of the bourgeois policies of ordinary times, while bourgeois peace is the continuation of bourgeois wartime policy. The bourgeoisie are always switching back and forth between the two forms, war and peace, to carry on their rule over the people and their external struggle. In what they call peace time, the imperialists rely on armed force to deal with the oppressed classes and nations by such forms of violence as arrest, imprisonment, hard labour, massacre and so forth, while at the same time they also carry on preparations for using the most acute



form of violence – war – to suppress the revolution of the people at home, to carry out plunder abroad, to overwhelm foreign competitors and to stamp out revolutions in other countries. Or, peace at home may exist side by side with war abroad.

In the initial period of the October Revolution. All the imperialists powers resorted to violence in the form of war against the Soviet Union, which was a continuation of their imperialist policies; in the Second World War, the German imperialists used violence in the form of large scale war to attack the Soviet Union, which was a continuation of their imperialist policy. But on the other hand, the imperialists also established diplomatic relations of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union in different periods, which was also, of course, a continuation of imperialist policy in another form under certain conditions.

True, some new questions have now arisen concerning peaceful co-existence. Confronted with the powerful Soviet Union and the powerful socialist camp, the imperialists must at any rate carefully consider whether, they would not hasten their own extinction, as Hitler did, or bring about the most serious consequences for the capitalist system itself, if they should attack the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

“Peaceful Co-existence” – this is a new concept which arose only after socialist countries appeared in the world following the October Revolution. It is a new concept formed under circumstances Lenin had predicted before the October Revolution, when he said:

Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries.

It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. (“The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution,” *Selected works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p.571.)

This new concept is one advanced by Lenin after the great Soviet people overcame the armed imperialist intervention. As was pointed out above, at the outset the imperialists were not willing to co-exist peacefully with the Soviet Union. The imperialists were compelled to “co-exist” with the Soviet Union only after the war of intervention against the Soviet Union had failed, after there had been several years of actual trial of strength, after the Soviet state had planted its feet firmly on the ground, and after a certain balance of power had taken

shape between the Soviet state and the imperialist countries. Lenin said in 1920:

We have won conditions for ourselves under which we can exist alongside the capitalist powers, which are now forced to enter into trade relations with us. ("Our Internal and External Situation and the Party's Tasks," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXXI, p.384.)

It can be seen that the realisation of peaceful co-existence for a certain period between the world's first socialist state and imperialism was won entirely through struggle. Before the Second World War, the 1920-1940 period prior to Germany's attack on the Soviet Union was a period of peaceful co-existence between imperialism and the Soviet Union. During all those twenty years, the Soviet Union kept faith with peaceful co-existence. However, in 1941, Hitler was no longer willing to co-exist peacefully with the Soviet Union, the German imperialists perfidiously launched a savage attack on the Soviet Union. Owing to victory in the anti-fascist war, with the great Soviet Union as the main force, the world saw once again a situation of peaceful co-existence between the socialist and capitalist countries. Nevertheless, the imperialists have not given up their designs. The U.S. imperialists have set up networks of military bases and guided missile bases everywhere around the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. They are still occupying our territory Taiwan and continually carrying out military provocations against us in the Taiwan Straits. They carried out armed intervention in Korea, conducting a large-scale war against the Korean and Chinese peoples on Korean soil, which resulted in an armistice agreement only after their defeat – and up to now they are still interfering with the unification of the Korean people. They gave aid in weapons to the French imperialist occupation forces in their war against the Vietnamese people, and up to now they are still interfering with the unification of the Vietnamese people. They engineered the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary, and up to now they are continually making all sorts of attempts at subversion in the East European and other socialist countries. The facts are still just as Lenin represented them to a U.S. correspondent in February 1920: on the question of peace, "there is no obstacle on our side. The obstacle is the imperialism of American (and all other) capitalists." (*Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXX, p.340.)

The foreign policy of socialist countries can only be a policy of peace. The socialist system determines that we do not need war, absolutely would not start a war, and absolutely must not, should not and could not encroach one inch on the territory of a neighbouring country. Ever since its founding, the People's Republic of China has adhered to a foreign policy of peace. Our country together with two neighbouring countries, India and Burma, jointly initiated the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence; and at the Bandung Conference of 1955, our country together with various countries of Asia and Africa adopted the Ten Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The Communist Party and Government of our country have in the past few years consistently supported the activities for peace carried out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, considering that these activities on the part of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union have further demonstrated before the peoples of the world the firmness of the socialist countries' peaceful foreign policy as well as the need for the peoples to stop the imperialists from launching another world war and to strive for a lasting world peace.

The Declaration of the Moscow Conference of 1957 states:

The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard – the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries who themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war.

So long as there is a continuous development of these mighty forces, it is possible to maintain the situation of peaceful co-existence, or even to obtain some sort of official agreement on peaceful co-existence or to conclude an agreement on prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapons. That would be a fine thing in full accord with the aspirations of the peoples of the world. However, even under those

circumstances, as long as the imperialist system still exists, the most acute form of violence, namely war, has by no means ended in the world. The fact is not as described by the Yugoslav revisionists, who declare obsolete Lenin's definition that "war is the continuation of politics" ("Active Co-existence and Socialism," *Narodna Armija*, November 28, 1958.), a definition which he repeatedly explained and upheld in combating opportunism.

We believe in the absolute correctness of Lenin's thinking: War is an inevitable outcome of systems of exploitation and the source of modern wars is the imperialist system. Until the imperialist system and the exploiting classes come to an end, wars of one kind or another will always occur. They may be wars among the imperialists for redivision of the world, or wars of aggression and anti-aggression between the imperialists and the oppressed nations, or civil wars of revolution and counter-revolution between the exploited and exploiting classes in the imperialist countries, or, of course, wars in which the imperialists attack the socialist countries and the socialist countries are forced to defend themselves. All these kinds of war represent the continuation of the policies of definite classes. Marxist-Leninists absolutely must not sink into the mire of bourgeois pacifism, and can only appraise all these kinds of war and thus draw conclusions for proletarian policy by adopting the method of concrete class analysis. As Lenin put it: "Theoretically, it would be quite wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of politics by other means." ("The War program of the proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, part 2, p.572.)

To attain their aim of plunder and oppression, imperialists always have two tactics: the tactics of war and the tactics of "peace"; therefore, the proletariat and the people of all countries must also use two tactics to counter the imperialists: the tactics of thoroughly exposing the imperialists' peace fraud and striving energetically for a genuine world peace, and the tactics of preparing for a just war to end the imperialist unjust war when and if the imperialists should unleash it.

In a word, in the interests of the peoples of the world, we must thoroughly shatter the falsehoods of the modern revisionists and uphold the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints on the questions of violence, war and peaceful co-existence.

The Yugoslav revisionists deny the inherent class character of violence and thereby obliterate the fundamental difference between revolutionary violence and counter-revolutionary violence; they deny the inherent class character of war and thereby obliterate the fundamental difference between just war and unjust war; they deny that imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist policy, deny the danger of the imperialists unleashing another big war, deny that it will be possible to do away with war only after doing away with the exploiting classes, and even shamelessly call the U.S. imperialist chieftain Eisenhower "the man who laid the cornerstone for eliminating the cold war and establishing lasting peace with peaceful competition between different political systems" ("Eisenhower Arrives in Rome," *Borba*, December 4, 1959); they deny that under the conditions of peaceful co-existence there are still complicated, acute struggles in the political, economic and ideological fields, and so on. All these arguments of the Yugoslav revisionists are aimed at poisoning the minds of the proletariat and the people of all countries, and are helpful to the imperialist policy of war.

#### IV

Modern revisionists seek to confuse the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries with the domestic policies of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. They thus hold that peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems means that capitalism can peacefully grow into socialism, that the proletariat in countries ruled by the bourgeoisie can renounce class struggle and enter into "peaceful cooperation" with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, and that the proletariat and all the exploited classes should forget about the fact that they are living in a class society, and so on. All these views are also diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism. They are put forward in an attempt to protect imperialist rule and hold the proletariat and all the rest of the working people perpetually in capitalist enslavement.

Peaceful co-existence of nations and people's revolutions in various countries are in themselves two different things, not one and the same thing; two different concepts, not one; two different kinds of question, and not one and the same kind of question.

Peaceful co-existence refers to relations between nations;

revolution means the overthrow of the oppressors as a class by the oppressed people within each country, while in the case of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it is first and foremost a question of overthrowing alien oppressors, namely, the imperialists. Before the October Revolution the question of peaceful co-existence between socialist and capitalist countries simply did not exist in the world, as there were as yet no socialist countries; but there did exist at that time the questions of the proletarian revolution and the national revolution, as the peoples in various countries, in accordance with their own specific conditions, had long ago put revolutions of one kind or the other on the agenda of the day to determine the destinies of their countries.

We are Marxist-Leninists. We have always held that revolution is each nation's own affair. We have always maintained that the working class can only depend on itself for its emancipation, and that the emancipation of the people of any given country depends on their own awakening, and on the ripening of revolution in that country. Revolution can neither be exported nor imported. No one can prevent the people of a foreign country from carrying out a revolution, nor can one produce a revolution in a foreign country by using the method of "helping the rice shoots to grow by pulling them up."

Lenin put it well when he said in June 1918:

There are people who believe that the revolution can break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement. These people are either mad or they are provocateurs. We have experienced two revolutions during the past twelve years. We know that revolutions cannot be made to order, or by agreement; they break out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer. ("The Fourth Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p.414.)

In addition to the experience of the Russian revolution, is not the experience of the Chinese revolution also one of the best proofs of this? The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have experienced several revolutions. The imperialists and all the reactionaries, like lunatics, have always asserted that our revolutions were made to order from abroad, or in accordance with foreign agreements. But people all over the world know that our revolutions were not imported from abroad, but were brought about

because our people found it impossible to continue to live in the old China and because they wanted to create a new life of their own.

When a socialist country, in the face of imperialist aggression, is compelled to launch counter-attacks in a defensive war, and goes beyond its own border to pursue and eliminate its enemies from abroad, as the Soviet Union did in the war against Hitler, is this justified? Certainly it is completely justified, absolutely necessary and entirely just. In accordance with the strict principles of communists, such operations by the socialist countries must be strictly limited to the time when imperialists launch a war of aggression against them. Socialist countries never permit themselves to send, never should and never will send their troops across their borders unless they are subjected to aggression from a foreign enemy. Since the armed forces of the socialist countries fight for justice, when these forces have to go beyond their borders to counter-attack a foreign enemy, it is only natural that they should exert an influence and have an effect wherever they go; but even then, the emergence of people's revolutions and the establishment of the socialist system in those places and countries where they go will still depend on the will of the masses of the people there.

The spread of revolutionary ideas knows no national boundaries. But these ideas will only yield revolutionary fruit in the hands of the masses of people themselves, under specific circumstances in a given country. This is so not only in the epoch of proletarian revolution, but also in the epoch of bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie of various countries at the time of their revolution took Rousseau's *Social Contract* as their gospel, while the revolutionary proletariat in various countries take as their gospels Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and *Capital* and Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *The State and Revolution*. Times vary, the classes vary, the ideologies vary and the character of the revolutions varies. But no one can hold back a revolution in any country if there is a desire for that revolution and when the revolutionary crisis there has matured. In the end the socialist system will replace the capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries may try to prevent the advance of the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph. The same applies to the replacement of one society by another throughout human history. The

slave system was replaced by the feudal system which, in its turn, gave way to the capitalist system. These, too, follow laws independent of human will. These replacements were carried out through revolution.

That notorious old revisionist Bernstein once said, "Remember ancient Rome, there was a ruling class that did no work, but lived well, and as a result, this class weakened. Such a class must gradually hand over its power." That the slave-owners as a class weakened was a historical fact that Bernstein could not conceal, any more than the present U.S. imperialists can conceal the fact of their own steady decline. Yet Bernstein, shameless, self-styled "historian" that he was, chose to cover up the following basic fact of ancient Roman history: the slave-owners never "handed over power" of their own accord; their rule was overthrown by protracted, repeated, continuous slave revolutions.

Revolution means the use of revolutionary violence by the oppressed class, it means revolutionary war. This is also true of the bourgeois revolution. Lenin has put it well:

. History teaches us that no oppressed class ever achieved power, nor could achieve power, without going through a period of dictatorship, i.e., the conquest of political power and suppression by force of the most desperate, frenzied resistance always offered by the exploiters....The bourgeoisie...came to power in the advanced countries through a series of insurrections, civil wars, the suppression by force of kings, feudalists, slave-owners and their attempts at restoration. ("These on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship Presented to the First Congress of the Communist International," *Lenin Against Revisionism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 488.)

Why do things happen this way?

In answering this question, again we have to quote Lenin.

In the first place, as Lenin said: "No ruling class in the world ever gave way without a struggle." ("Speech at Workers' Conference of Presnia District," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXVIII, p.338.)

Secondly, as Lenin explained: "The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda.'" ("Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. I, Part 2, p.142.)

In the light of this how shall we conceive of the proletarian socialist revolution?



In order to answer this question we must quote Lenin again. Let us read the following passage by him.

Not a single great revolution in history has ever been carried out without a civil war and no serious Marxist will believe it possible to make the transition from capitalism to socialism without a civil war. ("Prediction," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXVII, p.457.)

These words of Lenin here explain the question very clearly. And here is another quotation from Lenin:

*If socialism had been born peacefully – but the capitalist gentlemen did not wish to let it be born thus... Even if there had been no war, the capitalist gentlemen would still have done all they could to prevent such a peaceful development. Great revolutions, even when they began peacefully, like the great French Revolution, have ended in desperate wars which have been started by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. ("First All-Russian Conference of Social Education," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXIX, p.334.)*

This is also very clearly put.

The Great October Revolution is the best material witness to the truth of these propositions of Lenin.

So is the Chinese revolution. No one will ever forget that it was only after twenty-two years of bitter civil war under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese people and the Chinese proletariat won nationwide victory and captured state power.

The history of the proletarian revolution in the West after the First World War tells us: even when the capitalist gentlemen do not exercise direct, open control of state power, but rule through their lackeys – the treacherous social-democrats, these despicable renegades will surely be ready at any time, in accordance with the dictates of the bourgeoisie, to cover up the violence of the bourgeois White Guards and plunge the proletarian revolutionary fighters into a blood bath. This is just the way it was in Germany at that time. Vanquished, the big German bourgeoisie handed over state power to the social-democrats. The social-democrat government, on coming to power, immediately set about a bloody suppression of the German working class in January 1919. Let us recall how Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, whom Lenin called "the best representatives of the world proletarian International" and "the immortal leaders of the international socialist revolution," shed their blood as a result of the violence of the social-democrats of the day. Let

us also recall, in Lenin's words, "the vileness and shamefulness of these murders" (*A Letter to the Workers of Europe & America*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p.16.) perpetrated by these renegades – these so-called "socialists" for the purpose of preserving the capitalist system and the interests of the bourgeoisie! Let us, in the light of bloody facts both of the historical part and of the modern capitalist world, examine all this nonsense about the "peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism" put out by the old revisionists and their modern counterparts.

Does it follow, then, that we Marxist-Leninists will refuse to adopt the policy of peaceful transition even when there exists the possibility of such peaceful development? No, decidedly not!

As we all know, Engels, one of the great founders of scientific communism, in the famous work *Principles of Communism* answered the question: "Can private property be eliminated by peaceful means?" He wrote:

One would wish that it could be thus, and communists, of course, would be the last to object to this. Communists know well that all plots are not only futile, but even pernicious. They know very well that revolutions cannot be thought up and made as one wishes and that revolutions have always and everywhere been the necessary result of existing conditions, which have absolutely not depended on the will and leadership of separate parties and whole classes. But at the same time, they see that the development of the proletariat in nearly all civilised countries is being violently suppressed and that in this way the opponents of the communists are working as hard as they can for the revolution. . . . ("Principles of Communism," *Collected Works of Marx & Engels*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. IV, p.331.)

This was written over a hundred years ago, yet how fresh it is as we read it again!

We also know that for a time following the Russian February Revolution, in view of the specific conditions of the time, Lenin did adopt the policy of peaceful development of the revolution. He considered it "an extraordinarily rare opportunity in the history of revolutions" ("The Tasks of the Revolutions," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXVI, p.45.) and grasped tight hold of it. The bourgeois Provisional Government and the White Guards, however, destroyed this possibility of peaceful development of the revolution and so drenched the streets of Petrograd in the blood of the workers and soldiers marching

in a peaceful mass demonstration in July. Lenin, therefore, pointed out:

The peaceful course of development has been rendered impossible. A non-peaceful and most painful course has begun. ("On Slogans," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. II, Part I, p.89.)

We know too that as the Chinese War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression came to an end, there was a widespread and ardent desire for peace in the country. Our Party then conducted peace negotiations with the Kuomintang, seeking to institute social and political reforms by peaceful means, and in 1946 an agreement on achieving peace throughout the country was reached with the Kuomintang. The reactionary Kuomintang clique, however, defying the will of the whole people, tore up this agreement and, with the support of U.S. imperialists, launched a civil war on a nationwide scale, leaving the people with no option but to counter it with a revolutionary war. As we never relaxed our vigilance or gave up the people's armed forces even in our struggle for peaceful reform but were fully prepared, the people were not cowed by the war, but those who launched the war were made to eat their own bitter fruit.

It would be in the best interests of the people if the proletariat could attain power and carry out the transition to socialism by peaceful means. It would be wrong not to make use of such a possibility when it occurs. Whenever an opportunity for "peaceful development of the revolution" presents itself Communists must seize it, as Lenin did, so as to realise the aim of socialist revolution. However, this sort of opportunity is always, in Lenin's words, "an extraordinarily rare opportunity in the history of revolutions." When in a given country a certain local political power is already surrounded by revolutionary forces or when in the world a certain capitalist country is already surrounded by socialism – in such cases, there might be a greater possibility of opportunities for the peaceful development of the revolution. But even then, the peaceful development of the revolution should never be regarded as the only possibility and it is therefore necessary to be prepared at the same time for the other possibility, i.e., non-peaceful development of the revolution. For instance, after the liberation of the Chinese mainland, although certain areas ruled by slave-owners and serf-owners were already surrounded by the absolutely

predominant people's revolutionary forces, yet, as an old Chinese saying goes, "Cornered beasts will still fight," a handful of the most reactionary slave-owners and serf-owners there still gave a last kick, rejecting peaceful reforms and launching armed rebellions. Only after these rebellions were quelled was it possible to carry out the reform of the social systems.

At a time when the imperialist countries and the imperialists are armed to the teeth as never before in order to protect their savage man-eating system, can it be said that the imperialists have become very "peaceable" towards the proletariat and the people at home and the oppressed nations abroad, as the modern revisionists claim, and that therefore, the "extraordinarily rare opportunity in the history of revolutions" that Lenin spoke about after the February Revolution, will become a normal state of affairs for the world proletariat and all the oppressed people, so that what Lenin referred to as a "rare opportunity" is easily available to the proletariat in the capitalist countries? We hold that these views are completely groundless.

Marxist-Leninists should never forget this truth: the armed forces of all ruling classes are used in the first place to oppress their people at home. Only on the basis of oppression of the people at home can the imperialists oppress other countries, launch aggression and wage unjust wars. In order to oppress their own people they need to maintain and strengthen their reactionary armed forces. Lenin once wrote in the course of the Russian revolution of 1905:

A standing army is used not so much against the external enemy as against the internal enemy. ("The Army and the Revolution," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. X, p.38.)

Is this conclusion valid for all countries where the exploiting classes dominate, for capitalist countries? Can it be said that it was valid then but has become incorrect now? In our opinion, this truth remains irrefutable and the facts are confirming its correctness more and more. Strictly speaking, if the proletariat of any country fails to see this clearly it will not be able to find the way to liberation.

In *The State and Revolution* Lenin centred the problem of revolution on the smashing of the bourgeois state machine. Quoting the most important passages from Marx's *The Civil War in France*, he wrote:

After the Revolution of 1848-49, the State power became "the national war engine of capital against labour." (*Selected Works of Lenin*, F.L.P.H., Moscow 1952, Vol. II, part 1, p.240.)

The main machine of the bourgeois state power to wage an anti-labour war is its standing army. Therefore, "... the first decree of the Commune ... was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people...." (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, part 1, p.241.)

So this question, in the last analysis, must be treated in the light of the principles of the Paris Commune which, as Marx puts it, are perpetual and indestructible.

In the seventies of the nineteenth century Marx took Britain and the United States to be exceptions, holding that as far as these two countries were concerned there did exist the possibility of "peaceful" transition to socialism, because militarism and bureaucracy were at an early stage of development in these two countries. But in the era of imperialism, as Lenin put it, "this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid," for these two countries "have today completely sunk into the all-European filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves and trample everything underfoot." ("The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H. Moscow 1952, Vol. II, part 1, pp.237-238.) This was one of the focal points of the debate Lenin had with the opportunists of the day. The opportunists represented by Kautsky distorted this "no longer valid" conclusion of Marx, in an attempt to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, to oppose the revolutionary armed forces and armed revolution which are indispensable to the liberation of the proletariat. The reply Lenin gave to Kautsky was as follows:

The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is violence against the bourgeoisie; and the necessity for such violence is *particularly* created, as Marx and Engels have repeatedly explained in detail, by the existence of *militarism and bureaucracy*. But it is precisely these institutions that were non-existent in England and America in the seventies of the nineteenth century, when Marx made his observations (they do exist in England and in America now). ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p.125.)

It can thus be seen that the proletariat is compelled to resort to the means of armed revolution. Marxists have always wanted to follow the peaceful way in the transition to socialism. As long as the peaceful way is there to adopt, Marxist-Leninists will never give it up. But it is precisely this way that the bourgeoisie seeks to block when it possesses a powerful, militaristic and bureaucratic machine of oppression.

The above quotation was written by Lenin in November 1918. How do things stand now? Is it that Lenin's words were historically valid, but are no longer so under present conditions, as the modern revisionists allege? Everybody can see that with hardly any exception the capitalist countries, particularly the few imperialist powers headed by the United States, are trying hard to strengthen their militarist-bureaucratic machine of oppression, and especially their military machine.

The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries of November 1957, states:

Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as 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.

This is a new summing up of the experience of the struggle of the international proletariat in the few decades since Lenin's death.

The question is not whether the proletariat is willing to carry out a peaceful transformation; it is rather whether the bourgeoisie will accept such a peaceful transformation. This is the only possible way in which followers of Lenin can approach this question.

So contrary to the modern revisionists who seek to paralyse the revolutionary will of the people by empty talk about peaceful transition, Marxist-Leninists hold that the question of the possible peaceful transition to socialism can be raised only in the light of the specific conditions in each country at a particular time. The proletariat must never allow itself to one-sidedly and groundlessly base its thinking, policy and its whole work on the calculation that the bourgeoisie is willing to accept peaceful transformation. It must, at the same time,

prepare for alternatives: one for the peaceful development of the revolution and the other for the non-peaceful development of the revolution. Whether the transition will be carried out through armed uprising or by peaceful means is a question that is fundamentally separate from that of peaceful co-existence between the socialist and capitalist countries; it is an internal affair of each country, one to be determined only by relation of classes in that country in a given period, a matter to be decided only by the Communists of that country themselves.

## V

After the October Revolution, in 1919, Lenin discussed the historical lessons to be drawn from the Second International. He said that the growth of the proletarian movement during the period of the Second International "was in breadth, at the cost of a temporary fall in the revolutionary level, a temporary increase in the strength of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International." ("Third International and its Place in History," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.199.)

What is opportunism? According to Lenin, "Opportunism consists in sacrificing fundamental interests in order to gain temporary, partial benefits." ("Speech at Conference of activists of the Moscow Party Organisation," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXXI, p.412.)

And what does a fall in the revolutionary level mean? It means that the opportunists seek to lead the masses to focus their attention on their day-to-day, temporary and partial interests, and forget their long-term, fundamental and overall interests.

Marxist-Leninists hold that the question of parliamentary struggle should be considered in the light of long-term, fundamental and overall interests.

Lenin told us about the limitations of parliamentary struggle, but he also warned communists against narrow-minded, sectarian errors. In his well-known work "*Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*" Lenin elucidated the experience of the Russian revolution, showing under what conditions a boycott of parliament is correct and under what other conditions it is incorrect. Lenin held that every proletarian party should make use of every possible opportunity to

participate in necessary parliamentary struggles. It was fundamentally wrong and would only harm the cause of the revolutionary proletariat for a Communist Party member to engage only in empty talk about the revolution, while being unwilling to work perseveringly and painstakingly, and shunning necessary parliamentary struggles.

Lenin then criticised the mistakes of the communists in some European countries in refusing to participate in parliament. He said:

The childishness of those who "repudiate" participation in parliament consists precisely in the fact that they think it possible to "solve" the difficult problem of combating bourgeois-democratic influences *within* the working-class movement by such "simple," "easy," supposedly revolutionary methods, when in reality they are only running away from their own shadow, only closing their eyes to difficulties and only trying to brush them aside with mere words. (*Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p.443.)

Why is it necessary to engage in parliamentary struggle? According to Lenin, it is for the purpose of combating bourgeois influences within the ranks of the working-class movement, or, as he pointed out elsewhere:

Precisely for the purpose of educating the backward strata of its own class, precisely for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the underdeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant rural masses. (*Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 2, p.383.)

In other words, it is to enhance the political and ideological level of the masses, to co-ordinate parliamentary struggle with revolutionary struggle, and not to lower our political and ideological standards and divorce parliamentary struggle from the revolutionary struggle.

Identify with the masses but no lowering of revolutionary standards – this is a fundamental principle which Lenin taught us to firmly adhere to in our proletarian struggle.

We should take part in parliamentary struggles, but have no illusions about the bourgeois parliamentary system. Why? Because so long as the militarist-bureaucrat state machine of the bourgeoisie remains intact, parliament is nothing but an adornment for the bourgeois dictatorship even if the working-class party commands a majority in parliament or becomes the biggest party in it. Moreover, so long as such a state machine remains intact, the bourgeoisie is fully able at any time, in accordance with the needs of its own interests, either to dissolve



parliament when necessary, or to use various open and underhand tricks to turn a working-class party which is the biggest party in parliament into a minority, or to reduce its seats in parliament, even when it has polled more votes in an election. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine that changes will take place in a bourgeoisie dictatorship itself as the result of votes in parliament and it is just as difficult to imagine that the proletariat can adopt measures in parliament for a peaceful transition to socialism just because it has won a certain number of votes in parliament. A series of experiences in the capitalist countries long ago proved this point fully and the experiences in various European and Asian countries after the Second World War provide additional proof of it.

Lenin said: "The proletariat cannot be victorious unless it wins over to its side the majority of the population. But to limit or condition this to the gathering of a majority of votes at elections while the bourgeoisie remains dominant is the most utter stupidity or simply swindling the workers." ("Elections to the Constituent Assembly and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXX, p.243.) Modern revisionists hold that these words of Lenin are out of date. But living realities bear witness to the fact that these words of Lenin are still the best medicine, though bitter tasting, for proletarian revolutionaries in any country.

Lowering revolutionary standards means lowering the theoretical standards of Marxism-Leninism. It means lowering political struggles to the level of economic ones and restricting revolutionary struggles to within the limits of parliamentary struggles. It means bartering away principles for temporary benefits.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?* drew attention to the question that "the spread of Marxism was accompanied by a certain lowering of theoretical standards." Lenin cited Marx's opinion contained in a letter on "The Gotha Programme" that we may enter into agreements to attain the practical aims of the movement, but we must never trade in principles and make "concessions" in theory. Afterwards, Lenin wrote the following words which by now are well known to almost all Communists:

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when

the fashionable preaching of opportunism is combined with absorption in the narrowest forms of practical activity. ("What is to Be Done?" *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. II, p.47.)

What an important revelation this is to revolutionary Marxists! It was precisely under the guidance of this thought – that the Bolshevik Party headed by the great Lenin must firmly uphold revolutionary Marxist theory – that the entire revolutionary movement in Russia gained victory in October 1917.

The Chinese Communist Party also gained experience in regard to the above-mentioned question on two occasions. The first was during the 1927 revolutionary period. At that time Chen Tu-hsiu's opportunism as shown over the policy towards the Communist Party's united front with the Kuomintang was a departure from the principles and stand which a Communist Party should uphold. He advocated that the Communist Party should in principle be reduced to the level of the Kuomintang. The result was defeat for the revolution. The second occasion was during the period of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party firmly upheld the Marxist-Leninist stand, exposed the differences in principle between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang in their attitudes towards the conduct of the war against Japan, and held that the Communist Party must never make concessions in principle on such attitudes. But the right opportunists represented by Wang Ming repeated the mistakes made by Chen Tu-hsiu ten years earlier and wanted to reduce the Communist Party in principle to the level of the Kuomintang. Therefore, our entire Party carried out a great debate with the right opportunists throughout the Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

... If the Communists forget this point of difference in principle, they will not be able to guide the Anti-Japanese War correctly, they will be powerless to overcome the Kuomintang's one-sidedness, and they will lower themselves to a stand which is against their principles and reduce the Communist Party to the level of the Kuomintang. They will then commit a crime against the sacred cause of the national revolutionary war and the defence of the motherland. ("After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyun," *Selected Works*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, Vol. II, pp.105-106.)

It was precisely because the Central Committee of our Party refused to make the slightest concessions on questions of principle, and because

it adopted a policy of both unity and struggle in our Party's united front with the Kuomintang, that we were able to consolidate and expand the Party's positions in the political and economic fields, consolidate and expand the national revolutionary united front and, consequently, strengthen and expand the forces of the people in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. I also enabled us to smash the large-scale attacks launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries after the conclusion of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and win nation-wide victory in the great people's revolution.

Judging by the experience of the Chinese revolution, mistakes of right deviation are likely to occur in our Party when the proletariat enters into political cooperation with the bourgeoisie, whereas mistakes of "left" deviation are likely to occur in our Party when these two classes break away from each other politically. In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, our Party has waged struggles against "left" adventurism on many occasions. The "left" adventurists were unable to take a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the correct handling of the complex class relations in China; they failed to understand how to adopt different correct policies towards different classes at different historical periods, but only followed the erroneous policy of struggle without unity. Had this mistake of "left" adventurism not been overcome, it would have been impossible for the Chinese revolution to advance to victory.

In line with Lenin's viewpoint, the proletariat in any country, if it wants to gain victory in the revolution, must have a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party which is skilled at integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country, correctly determining whom the revolution should be directed against at different periods, settling the question of organising the main force and its allies and the question of whom it should rely on and unite with. The revolutionary proletarian party must rely closely on the masses of its own class and on the semi-proletariat in the rural areas, namely, the broad masses of poor peasants and establish the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat. Only then is it possible, on the basis of this alliance, to unite with all the social forces that can be united with and so establish the united front of the working people with all the non-working people that can be united with in accordance

with specific conditions in the different countries at different periods. If it fails to do so, the proletariat will not be able to achieve its purpose of gaining victory in the revolution at different periods.

The modern revisionists and certain representatives of the bourgeoisie try to make people believe that it is possible to achieve socialism without a revolutionary party of the proletariat and without the series of correct policies of the revolutionary party of the proletariat mentioned above. This is sheer nonsense and pure deception. The *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels pointed out that there were different kinds of "socialism", there was petty-bourgeois "socialism," bourgeois "socialism," feudal "socialism," etc. Now, as a result of the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the decay of the capitalist system, more and more of the mass of the people in various countries are aspiring to socialism and a more motley variety of so-called "socialisms" have emerged from among the exploiting classes in certain countries. Just as Engels said, these so-called "socialists" also "wanted to eliminate social abuses through their various universal panaceas and all kinds of patchwork, without hurting capital and profit in the least," they "stood outside the labour movement and looked for support rather to the 'educated' classes." ("Preface to the German Edition of the Manifesto of the Communist Party," *Selected works of Marx & Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.31.) They only put up the signboard of "socialism" but actually practise capitalism. In these circumstances it is extremely important to adhere firmly to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to lower the revolutionary standards, especially against revisionism and right opportunism.

In regard to the question of safeguarding world peace at the present time there are also certain people who declare that ideological disputes are no longer necessary, or that there is no longer any difference in principle between Communists and social-democrats. This is tantamount to lowering the ideological and political standards of Communists to those of the bourgeoisie and social democrats. Those who make such statements have been influenced by modern revisionism and have departed from the stand of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism are two

different kinds of struggle. It is a mistake not to make a proper distinction between these two kinds of struggle. The social composition of those taking part in the peace movement is, of course, more complex; it also includes bourgeois pacifists. We Communists stand right in the forefront in defending world peace, right in the forefront in opposing imperialist wars, in advocating peaceful co-existence and opposing nuclear weapons. In this movement we shall work together with many complex social groups and enter into necessary agreements for the attainment of peace. But at the same time we must uphold the principles of the working-class party and not lower our political and ideological standards and reduce ourselves to the level of the bourgeois pacifists in our struggle for peace. It is here that the question of alliance and criticism arises.

“Peace” in the mouths of modern revisionists is intended to whitewash the war preparations of the imperialists, to play again the tune of “ultra-imperialism” of the old opportunists, which was long since refuted by Lenin, and to distort our communist policy concerning peaceful co-existence of countries with two different systems into elimination of the people’s revolution in various countries. It was that old revisionist Bernstein who made this shameful and notorious statement: The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing. The modern revisionists have a similar statement: The peace movement is everything, the aim is nothing. Therefore, the “peace” they talk about is in practice limited to the “peace” which may be acceptable to the imperialists under certain historical conditions. It attempts to lower the revolutionary standards of the peoples of various countries and destroy their revolutionary will.

We Communists are struggling in defence of world peace, for the realisation of the policy of peaceful co-existence. At the same time we support the revolutionary wars of the oppressed nations against imperialism. We support the revolutionary wars of the oppressed people for their own liberation and social progress because all these revolutionary wars are just wars. Naturally, we must continue to explain to the masses Lenin’s thesis concerning the capitalist-imperialist system as the source of modern war; we must continue to explain to the masses the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the replacement of capitalist-imperialism by socialism and communism as the final goal of our struggle. We must not hide our principles before the masses.

## VI

We are living in a great new epoch in which the collapse of the imperialist system is being further accelerated, the victory of the people throughout the world and their awakening are constantly advancing.

The peoples of the various countries are now in a much more fortunate situation than ever before. In the forty-odd years since the October Revolution, one-third of all mankind have freed themselves from oppression by capitalist imperialism and founded a number of socialist states where a life of lasting internal peace has really been established. They are exerting their influence on the future of all mankind and will greatly speed the day when universal, lasting peace will reign throughout the world.

Marching in the forefront of all the socialist countries and of the whole socialist camp is the great Soviet Union, the first socialist state created by the workers and peasants led by Lenin and their Communist Party. Lenin's ideals have been realised in the Soviet Union, socialism has long since been built and now, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government headed by Comrade Khrushchov, a great period of the extensive building of communism is already beginning. The valiant and enormously talented Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals have brought about a great, new labour upsurge in their struggle for the grand goal of building communism.

We, the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people, cheer every new achievement of the Soviet Union, the native land of Leninism.

The Chinese Communist Party, integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, has led the people of the entire country in winning great victories in the people's revolution, marching along the broad common road of socialist revolution and socialist construction charted by Lenin, carrying the socialist revolution to full completion and it has already begun to win great victories on the various fronts of socialist construction. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party creatively set down for the Chinese people, in accordance with Lenin's principles and in the light of conditions in China, the correct principles of the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's communes,

which have inspired the initiative and revolutionary spirit of the masses throughout the country and are thus day after day bringing about new changes in the face of our country.

Under our common banner of Leninism, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the other socialist countries in Asia have also attained progress by leaps and bounds in socialist construction.

Leninism is an ever victorious banner. For the working people throughout the world, holding firm this great banner means taking hold of truth and opening up for themselves a road of continuous victory.

Lenin will always live in our hearts. And when modern revisionists endeavour to smear Leninism, the great banner of the international proletariat, our task is to defend Leninism.

All of us remember what Lenin wrote in his famous work *The State and Revolution* about what happened to the teachings of revolutionary thinkers and leaders in the past struggles of various oppressed classes for liberation. Lenin wrote that after the death of these revolutionary thinkers and leaders distortions ensued, "emasculating the essence of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarising it." Lenin continued,

At the present time, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the working-class movement concur in this "doctoring" of Marxism. They omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of this teaching, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. ("The state and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part I, p.202.)

Just so, at the present time we are again confronted by certain representatives of U.S. imperialism who, once again assuming the pious mien of preachers, even declare that Marx was "a great thinker of the nineteenth century" and even acknowledge that what Marx predicted in the nineteenth century about the days of capitalism being numbered, "is well-grounded" and "correct"; but, these preachers continue, after the advent of the twentieth century, and especially in recent decades, Marxism has become incorrect, because capitalism has become a thing of the past and has ceased to exist, at least in the United States. After hearing such nonsense from these imperialist preachers, we cannot but feel that the modern revisionists are talking the same language as they do. But the modern revisionists do not stop at distorting the teachings

of Marx, they go further to distort the teachings of Lenin, the great continuer of Marxism who carried Marxism forward.

The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting pointed out that “the main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, right-wing opportunism.” Some say that this judgement of the Moscow Meeting no longer holds good under today’s conditions. We hold this view to be wrong. It makes the people overlook the importance of the struggle against the main danger – revisionism, and is very harmful to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Just as from the beginning of the seventies of the nineteenth century there was a period of “peaceful” development of capitalism during which the old revisionism of Bernstein was born, so under the present circumstances when imperialists are compelled to accept peaceful co-existence and when there is a kind of “internal peace” in many capitalist countries, revisionist trends find it easy to grow and spread. Therefore, we must always maintain a high degree of vigilance against this main danger in the working-class movement.

As pupils of Lenin and as Leninists, we must utterly smash all attempts of the modern revisionists to distort and carve up the teachings of Lenin.

Leninism is the complete and integrated revolutionary teaching of the proletariat, it is a complete and integrated revolutionary world outlook which, following Marx and Engels, continues to express the thinking of the proletariat. This complete and integrated revolutionary teaching and revolutionary outlook must not be distorted or carved up. We hold the view that the attempts of the modern revisionists to distort and carve up Leninism are nothing but a manifestation of the last ditch struggle of the imperialists facing their doom. In face of continuous victories in building communism in the Soviet Union, in face of continuous victories in building socialism in the socialist countries, in face of constant strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and of the steadfast and valiant struggles being waged by the increasingly awakened peoples of the world seeking to free themselves from the shackles of capitalist-imperialism, the revisionist endeavours of Tito and his ilk are completely futile.

Long live great Leninism!



## FORWARD ALONG THE PATH OF THE GREAT LENIN!

by THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT  
of "*Renmin Ribao*" (Peoples Daily)

Today, the awakened working people of the whole world are commemorating the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat.

Lenin was the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the architect of the world's first socialist state – the Soviet Union – and the greatest leader of the international communist movement after Marx and Engels. In the sphere of philosophy, political economy and the theory of scientific socialism Lenin developed Marxism to a new stage – the stage of Leninism. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution under the guidance of Lenin freed one-sixth of the earth from capitalist rule. Some 30 years later, a series of new socialist countries were born in Europe and Asia, forming the powerful socialist camp. With the victory of the Chinese revolution, the socialist camp has more than one-quarter of the earth and over one-third of the world's population. The relative strength of class forces in the world has altered much to the advantage of the proletariat and the working people.

The theory and the cause of Lenin are dear to the Chinese people because it was precisely in Leninism that the Chinese people found their way to liberation. At a time when Lenin was still little known in China, he repeatedly pointed out in his writings the great significance and prospects of the revolutionary struggle in China. As early as 1913, Lenin in his *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx* set

---

This article appeared in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), April 22, 1960.

forth his well-known proposition that Asia was “a new source of great world storms.” Later, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung said “The salvocs of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism.” With Marxism-Leninism and with a Marxist-Leninist proletarian revolutionary party the Chinese revolution entered upon a new stage.

Lenin pointed out: Imperialism is the eve of the proletarian revolution, and will inevitably perish in the combined struggles of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations; the state is an organ of violence at the service of class rule and the proletariat must use revolutionary violence to overthrow counter-revolutionary violence, smash the militarist-bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie and set up a new state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the proletariat must endeavour to consolidate its alliance with the peasants, thoroughly solve the agrarian question, strive to secure the leadership in the democratic revolution and must maintain its own independent position in forming an alliance with the national bourgeoisie (or in the popular Chinese expression, both uniting with and struggling against it); it must establish a proletarian revolutionary party of a new type, which must oppose revisionism that betrays Marxism, overcome “left” adventurism in the communist movement, firmly trust the masses and rely on them. These teachings of Lenin have armed the proletariat of the world as well as the proletariat of China. The universal truths of Marxism-Leninism were readily accepted by the proletariat and revolutionary people of China chiefly because the long-suffering Chinese people had no way out except to fight resolutely for liberation. In the old China under the most brutal and barbarous rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, how could the proletariat and the masses of people entertain any illusions about the “kind-heartedness” of imperialism? How could they entertain any illusions about the reactionary ruling class handing over state power to the people of its own accord?

The political party of the Chinese proletariat – the Communist Party – and its leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung have creatively applied the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, integrated them with the concrete reality of the Chinese Revolution and ceaselessly pushed forward the revolutionary struggle in China. When the bourgeois reactionaries represented by Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and plunged the people into a blood bath, the Chinese proletariat and

its political party could not but use revolutionary violence to resist the counter-revolutionary violence. After 22 years of revolutionary war, they finally overthrew the dark rule of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, established the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and guided the Chinese people onto the broad path of socialism.

The victory of the Chinese revolution is the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China. The many victories won by Marxism-Leninism all over the world and in China have made it increasingly clear that the truths of Marxism-Leninism are irrefutable and that they are the guide to action for all the world's oppressed classes and oppressed people in winning liberation and for the people throughout the world in marching towards socialism and communism.

What are the chief tasks of the Chinese people, as we commemorate the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lenin's birth? We hold that there are three chief tasks, namely, to build socialism, to strive for world peace and to unite with our international friends.

The first task before the Chinese people at present is to develop our socialist construction at high speed, to build our country in not too long a period into a great socialist power with a highly developed modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture. The accomplishment of this task will not only be of decisive significance to the Chinese people but will also be of pronounced and tremendous significance to the cause of peace and socialism of the people of the world.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. The general line is the most important guarantee for the Chinese people's successful accomplishment of this great task.

To accomplish this great task our people must, as the first step, strive to catch up with and outstrip Britain in the output of major industrial products in less than ten years, and basically set up a complete industrial system; strive to realise ahead of schedule the National

Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967), carry out in the main agricultural mechanisation, build water conservancy works on an extensive scale and achieve a considerable degree of electrification in agriculture; strive to carry out the cultural revolution, to introduce in not too long a period universal elementary and secondary school education and spare-time education in the main and strive to fulfil ahead of schedule the Long-Term Plan for the Development of Science and Technology (1956-1967).

At the same time, it is necessary to continue carrying through the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts, bring about the complete victory of socialism over capitalism in every sphere and greatly raise the socialist and communist consciousness of the masses. At present, for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1960 National Economic Plan, the Chinese people are unfolding a rousing campaign to increase production and practise economy centring around technical innovations and the technical revolution, striving to raise this year's output of pig iron to 27.5 million tons; steel to 18.4 million tons; coal to 425 million tons; electric power to more than 55,500 million kilowatt hours and striving to increase the output of grain and cotton by around 10 per cent respectively. Thus, the gross value of industrial and agricultural output this year will be 23 per cent higher than last year.

The U.S. imperialists spare no slander and ridicule on the question of whether the Chinese people can build their country into a powerful socialist state at high speed. Taking a distant example, in November 1958, the late U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said that "it is hard to believe that this effort will succeed, or be enduring" Taking a recent example, the present U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Parsons said in February of this year that China's campaign to speed up its industrialisation "might bring about the violent destruction of the regime from within." But oddly enough, the more malicious the imperialists' slanders, the higher the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Chinese people and the greater their drive in construction. China's economic situation and the political unity of our people have grown better and better year by year. No one today among the broad masses of people doubts that we shall certainly be able to fulfil ahead of schedule and overfulfil our great construction plan.

Marxism-Leninism has always pointed out that under the socialist system a great emancipation of the productive forces of society and a great emancipation of the initiative and creativeness of the people can be brought about. Lenin held that life in socialist society is a genuinely mass movement never before known in history, in which the great majority of the population or even the entire population takes part. He held that such vigorous creative power of the masses is the basic factor in socialist society and that there is an inexhaustible supply of creative talents among the workers and peasants. Lenin described one of the “most profound and at the same time most explicit” Marxist principles in the following terms:

The greater the scope and extent of historical actions, the greater is the number of people who participate in these actions, and, contrariwise, the more profound is the transformation we wish to accomplish, the more must we arouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards this transformation and the more must we convince millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary. In the last analysis, the reason why our revolution has left all other revolutions far behind is that, through the Soviet form of government, it aroused tens of millions of people who were formerly not interested in state development to take an active part in state development. (Report on the Work of the Council of People's Commissars Delivered at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets.)

We are convinced that the speed of development in our country, like that in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, will far surpass any ever attained by the capitalist countries. As Chinese Communists put it, it is possible to advance at leap-forward speed. That is because we have, as Lenin said, most extensively mobilised millions upon millions of people to take part in the construction of our country with the highest degree of activity and creativeness by means of the following: our Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism; the whole set of policies we are now carrying out and known as “walking on two legs” – simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of heavy and light industries, of national and local industries, of large, medium-sized and small enterprises and of both modern and indigenous methods of production; the present surging mass movement for technical innovations and technical revolution to bring about mechanisation, semi-

mechanisation, automation and semi-automation; the consolidation and development of our rural people's communes and the present establishment of urban people's communes on an extensive scale. Like the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, China is pushing forward its economic construction in accordance with the common laws of socialist construction, and the series of concrete policies adopted by China in regard to the problems of socialist construction are precisely the product of integrating the universal truths of Leninism with the concrete reality of China. The ignorant bourgeois in the Western countries once kicked up a great deal of fuss about the Soviet Union's high-speed socialist construction. Now they are doing the same about China's high-speed socialist construction, general line, big leaps forward and people's communes. The great Lenin dealt a mortal blow to these idiots long ago, in his famous essay *Our Revolution*, written a year before his death. Lenin pointed out:

Russia – standing as she does on the border line between the civilised countries and the countries which this war (World War) had for the first time definitely brought into the orbit of civilisation, that is, all the Oriental, non-European countries – might therefore and was indeed bound to reveal certain peculiar features which, while of course in keeping with the general line of world development, distinguish her revolution from all previous revolutions in West-European countries, and which introduce certain partial innovations in passing to the Oriental countries.

Lenin countered with the question:

What if the complete hopelessness of the situation, by increasing the strength of the workers and peasants tenfold, offered us the possibility of creating the fundamental requisites of civilisation in a different way from that of the West-European countries?

Lenin predicted once again:

Our European philistines never even dream that the subsequent revolutions in Oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities than the Russian revolution.

Is that not borne out exactly by the facts? Has not the Soviet Union, using a different way from all Western countries, already, in a very short period of time and at flying speed, surpassed all the capitalist

countries of Western Europe in the level of economic development, and is it not overtaking and in certain aspects already beginning to surpass the United States? Likewise, in China, have not the fact of its being "poor and blank," the complete hopelessness of the situation, decades of tempering in struggle and accumulated experience, plus the assistance of the mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the benefits derived from the experience of the 40 years' construction in the Soviet Union – have not all these things also increased the strength of the Chinese workers and peasants tenfold, enabling us to use a different way from all Western countries to forge forward at flying speed towards a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture? The Western bourgeoisie damn us to failure, and there are actually a handful of their parrots in our ranks who say that our general line, big leaps forward and people's communes are products of "petty-bourgeois fanaticism," failing to see that they are precisely products of the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Just let them wait and see, wait for ten years, say, and they should be able to see how things will turn out. In short, the foreign and Chinese philistines with their heads stuffed with metaphysics, as Lenin said, know only to regard the "normalcy" of bourgeois relations as an untouchable golden rule and "have completely failed to understand what is decisive in Marxism, namely, its revolutionary dialectics." Therefore, just as in the past they were incapable of understanding the great changes taking place in the Soviet Union, so today they are incapable of understanding all the vigorous and vital things happening in China.

The second great task of the Chinese people in commemorating the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Lenin is to safeguard world peace and oppose imperialist war together with all the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, with all the world's peace-loving forces, and with all the world's anti-imperialist and anti-aggression forces.

Marxism-Leninism has always been opposed to imperialist war. On the eve of and during World War I, the revolutionary slogan put forward by Lenin and the other left-wing leaders of the working class who firmly maintained the Marxist stand, was to transform the imperialist war into civil war so as to put an end to the imperialist war and attain peace. One of the main slogans of the October Revolution was peace. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin

immediately promulgated the Decree on Peace, advocating a just peace. Afterwards, Lenin repeatedly put forward the policy of peaceful co-existence between the Soviet state and other countries. The Soviet Union, as is well known, has made tremendous efforts both before and after World War II to safeguard world peace, and to bring about collective security and peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems.

Since the day of its founding, the People's Republic of China, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, has actively striven to safeguard world peace. From 1950 to 1953, the Chinese people sent their Volunteers to the Korean front to fight heroically, together with the Korean people, to stop U.S. aggression, forcing the U.S. army of aggression in Korea to accept an armistice agreement, and thus safeguarding peace in the Far East. In 1954, the Chinese Government actively participated in the Geneva Conference, at which an agreement was concluded on the restoration of peace in Indo-China. In the same year, the leaders of the Chinese Government with the leaders of the Indian and Burmese Governments one after the other, jointly initiated the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, which have all along been the foundation-stone of China's foreign policy towards all countries with differing social systems. In 1955, the Chinese Government actively participated in the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries held in Indonesia, which proclaimed the Ten Principles governing relations between Asian and African countries based on the Five Principles. In 1958, China withdrew all its People's Volunteers from Korea. The Chinese people have all along actively participated in the peace movement of the world and of Asia, and have repeatedly advocated the establishment of collective security and an atom-free zone in the Asian and Pacific region. The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the settlement of disputes with other countries (including the United States) by peaceful means instead of war, and right up to the present is still holding talks on this question with the United States which is occupying China's territory of Taiwan.

The socialist countries and the Communist Parties of the various countries of the world have been waging unflinching struggles to secure and preserve world peace.



The Moscow Declaration adopted at the meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in November 1957 and the Peace Manifesto adopted by 64 Communist and Workers' Parties both call on the working class and all the peace-loving people of the world to take action to safeguard peace, and point out that this is at present the most important struggle for the whole world. It is pointed out in both Moscow declarations that there now exist in the world powerful forces for safeguarding peace, and the alliance of these powerful forces has already provided the practical possibility of preventing the outbreak of war. Since the Moscow meeting, the peace forces have been further strengthened. This is first of all because the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has grown more powerful; the Soviet Union has gone even more markedly ahead of the United States militarily and in the most important aspects of science and technology; Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, paid a series of peace visits to the United States and other capitalist countries; the Soviet Government has made important new efforts on the questions of disarmament, stopping nuclear weapon tests, etc.; the peace efforts of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries are winning everincreasing support among the people. At the same time, the national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the struggles of the people in capitalist countries for democracy and socialism have also shown important new developments. The internal contradictions in the imperialist camp are continuing to grow, the broad masses of people in the United States itself are everywhere showing dissatisfaction and uneasiness about the anti-peace foreign policy of their government, and U.S. imperialism is facing increasing difficulties and isolation. All these circumstances have forced U.S. imperialism, the chief plotter of new war, to accept the proposal for East-West summit talks and change its tune on certain occasions, claiming that it also has a "desire for peace." Facts have proved that the world peace forces are triumphing over the forces of war, which is a manifestation of the fact that "the East wind prevails over the West wind" as Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it.

The East wind prevails over the West wind – that is how the new world situation stands today. This new situation fundamentally differs from that in Lenin's lifetime, and from that on the eve of World

War II. It is entirely necessary to take this new situation into consideration in waging the struggle against the imperialist plans for new war. This new situation has brought unprecedented confidence and courage to all the world's peace-loving forces, all the world's anti-imperialist, anti-aggression forces. But that does not in the least mean that this change in the relative strength of forces has changed the nature of imperialism and therefore altogether eliminated the possibility of any war from the life of modern society and that mankind has already entered an epoch of everlasting peace.

Leninism has always held that imperialism is the source of modern war. Lenin said that "modern war is a product of imperialism" ("Draft Resolution of the Zimmerwald Left.") and that war "arises out of the very nature of imperialism." ("Reply to the Discussion of the Party Programme at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party [Bolsheviks]"). This proposition of Lenin's which has fundamental significance in principle is the result of a profound scientific analysis of imperialism and innumerable historical facts have proved it to be unshakable truth. The Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held more than two years ago adduced the latest facts to substantiate this proposition of Lenin's. The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting says:

So long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars. Throughout the post-war years the American, British, French and other imperialists and their stooges have conducted, or are conducting, wars in Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea, Malaya, Kenya, Guatemala, Egypt, Algeria, Oman and Yemen. At the same time the aggressive imperialist forces flatly refuse to cut armaments, to prohibit the use and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to agree on immediate discontinuation of the tests of these weapons; they are continuing the "cold war" and arms drive, building more military bases and conducting the aggressive policy of undermining peace and creating the danger of a new war. Were a world war to break out before agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons is reached, it would inevitably become a nuclear war unprecedented in destructive force.

In West Germany militarism is being revived with U.S. help, thus creating a hotbed of war in the heart of Europe....

Simultaneously, the imperialists are trying to impose on the freedom-loving peoples of the Near and Middle East the notorious

"Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine" thereby creating the danger of war in this area. . . .

The SEATO aggressive bloc is a source of war danger in South-East Asia.

The Peace Manifesto of the 64 Communist and Workers' Parties says:

The peace forces are legion. They can prevent war and safeguard peace. However, we, the Communists, believe that it is our duty to warn all the people of the world that the danger of a monstrous and annihilating war has not passed.

Where does the threat to peace and the security of the peoples come from? From the capitalist monopolies who have a vested interest in war and amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive. The arms drive, which brings huge profits to the monopolies, weighs more and more heavily on the working people and seriously worsens the economy of the countries. The ruling circles of some capitalist countries, under pressure of the monopolies and especially those of the U.S., have rejected proposals for disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and other measures aimed at preventing a new war. . . .

Peace can be preserved if only all to whom it is dear combine their forces, sharpen their vigilance in relation to the machinations of the war-instigators and become fully conscious that their sacred duty is to intensify the struggle for peace, which is threatened.

From this it can be seen that the Leninist theory that imperialism is the source of modern war definitely is not and will not be "outmoded." As long as imperialism exists, vigilance against the war danger can never be relaxed. It is from this basic position that the Chinese people carry out the struggle to safeguard world peace and oppose imperialist war. We welcome every step in the relaxation of the international situation, welcome sincere peace efforts on the part of any country (including the United States), while at the same time we tell the whole nation and the world public in good time about the vicious activities of imperialism in continuing to plot new wars, arouse their attention, and point out to them that so long as all the world's peace forces unite together, they will surely be able to overwhelm the forces of war, and that our struggle has a bright future. We have done this in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

U.S. imperialism holds nothing but venom for all the peace efforts of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. It openly proclaims a policy of hostility to the People's Republic of China, and brazenly attacks the just stand of the Chinese people in safeguarding world peace and opposing imperialist war. The Chinese people have made a timely exposure of the fact that the U.S. Government headed by Eisenhower is, since the Camp David talks between Comrade Khrushchov and Eisenhower last September, still continuing to actively carry out arms expansion and war preparations and enlarging its aggression. Because of this, the spokesmen of U.S. imperialism spread the slander that the Chinese people do not seem enthusiastic about relaxing international situation. But this monstrous lie is really too brazen for words. Since the U.S. Government and Eisenhower himself are in actual fact engaged in arms expansion, war preparations and enlarging aggression, and this runs counter to the demand for easing the international situation, how would it help the international situation if this should be concealed or even whitewashed, prettified and extolled? On the contrary, that would only make the tension-makers all the more reckless and unbridled.

Facts speak louder than eloquence. Just have a look at the following briefest summary of the words and deeds of the U.S. Government and Eisenhower against peace since the Camp David talks last September:

On October 16, 1959, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Andrew H. Berding said in a speech that the United States could not accept peaceful co-existence because it would mean accepting the status quo of the socialist camp.

On October 21, the United States railroaded an illegal resolution on the so-called "Tibet question" through the United Nations General Assembly interfering in China's internal affairs and slandering the putting down by the Chinese Government of the rebellion of a reactionary group of serf-owners in the Tibet region.

On October 22, the U.S. State Department issued a statement on the third anniversary of the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary, slandering the Hungarian and Soviet Governments and "honouring" the counter-revolutionary elements who launched the revolt.

On November 3, when the people of the Panama Canal Zone demonstrated for the restoration of Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone, the U.S. occupation forces resorted to suppression, wounding over 120 Panamanians.

### *The Documents of the Great Debate*

On November 13, U.S. Vice-President Nixon said, "... The Western powers cannot accept what the Soviets call peaceful co-existence."

On November 22, U.S. Secretary of State Hurter published an article in the American magazine *Parade*, smearing the Soviet Union as having "aggressive intentions" and carrying on an "expansionist drive."

On November 27, the U.S. State Department issued a statement, slandering Albania as being "subjected to Soviet domination."

On December 1, U.S. Defence Secretary McElroy said, "By 1963 the United States will have an even greater variety of means of delivering hydrogen warheads against Russia."

From December 4 to 22, Eisenhower visited eleven countries of Europe, Asia and Africa for the purpose of extending the cold war. During his visits, he beat the drums with all his might for the strengthening of the Western military blocs, saying that "the North Atlantic alliance remains the cornerstone of our foreign policy," and that the United States could not abandon CENTO, and actively working to expand the network of U.S. missile bases abroad.

On December 9, the United States forced a resolution on the Korean question through the United Nations General Assembly. Despite the call issued by the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean Democratic People's Republic on October 27 it refused to withdraw U.S. troops from the southern part of Korea and bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea, and furthermore insisted on the holding of so-called "free elections" in Korea under the "supervision" of the United Nations, which was one of the belligerents

On the same day, the United States forced through the United Nations General Assembly another resolution on the so-called "Hungarian question," constituting interference in Hungary's internal affairs.

On December 15, Herter presented a "ten-year plan" to the N.A.T.O. Council meeting, demanding that the N.A.T.O. bloc have the "deterrent strength" to wage large-scale warfare and "sufficient flexibility" for waging local wars.

On December 24, the United States directed a handful of extreme pro-U.S. elements in Laos to stage a military coup d'etat and further expand the civil war in Laos.

On December 29, Eisenhower declared that beginning from January 1, 1960, the United States was "free to resume nuclear weapons testing."

## *The Documents of the Great Debate*

On January 7 and 18, 1960, Eisenhower presented his State of the Union and Budget Messages, demanding of the United States "the dedication of whatever portion of our resources" was necessary in order to provide "a real deterrent...." He set military expenditures for fiscal year 1961 at more than 45,500 million dollars, or 57.1 per cent of the total budget. In his State of the Union Message, he smeared the socialist countries as "police states," the Soviet Union as "imperialistic communism," and the socialist camp as "a system of sullen satellites."

On January 15, Nixon said, "Under no circumstances should the United States and its allies reduce their strength."

On January 19, the "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security" between Japan and the United States was signed in Washington. This aggressive treaty of military alliance is directed against China, the Soviet Union and the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and menaces the peace and security of all Asian countries.

On February 3, Eisenhower declared at a press conference, "I wasn't aware of any spirit of Camp David." He also indicated that the United States was going to provide its allies with secret information on nuclear weapons.

On February 5, the U.S. State Department issued a statement rejecting once again the proposal of the meeting of Warsaw Pact member states that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the N.A.T.O. bloc sign a treaty of mutual non-aggression.

On February 15, Herter issued a statement in which he went so far as to raise the demand that three Union republics of the U.S.S.R. namely Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, "again enjoy national independence."

On February 16 off Eisenhower said in his "mutual security" message that "the fact, if it is a fact, of reductions in Soviet military manpower, does not alter the need for the maintenance of our collective defense." "It would be most foolish to abandon or to weaken our posture of common deterrent strength." He also said that for the United States "... the need is for steadfast, undramatic and patient persistence in our efforts to maintain our mutual defences." He announced 2,000 million dollars as foreign military aid appropriations for the new fiscal year, an increase of 700 million dollars over the previous year.

On February 17, Eisenhower stated in his report on the situation in the Middle East that the United States would continue to carry out the congressional resolution of 1957 on the Middle East question (that is, the so-called "Eisenhower Doctrine").

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

On February 19, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Graham Parsons indicated in a speech that the United States would continue to occupy China's territory Taiwan, and still "hoped" that New China would "collapse." He stated, moreover, that the United States would carry out "a policy which seeks to offset" the growth of China's strength, and "must adhere to measures designed to cope with that strength."

From February 22 to March 3, Eisenhower visited South America, advocating the strengthening of the "inter-American system," praising the Santiago Foreign Ministers Conference of the Organisation of American States in August last year, which was aimed at intervention in Cuba. He indicated, furthermore, that the United States would continue to adhere to the so-called Monroe Doctrine which regards the Americas as belonging to the United States.

On February 26, after continually bringing missile weapons into south Korea in violation of the Korean armistice agreement, the United States openly launched a "Matador" guided missile at Usan in South Korea.

On February 29, in a note replying to the Cuban Government, the United States rejected the Cuban Government's demand that as a necessary condition for resuming the U.S.-Cuban talks the United States refrain from adopting measures which might be harmful to the Cuban people, and went on to threaten, saying that the United States remained free to take "whatever steps" it deemed necessary. Before and after this, U.S. planes continuously bombed Cuba. According to the March 14 statement of Cuban Prime Minister Castro, U.S. planes had raided Cuba over forty times.

On March 9, J. C. Satterthwaite, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said that the United States had "special political and military interests" in North Africa. He said, "It is also essential for the United States to retain its rights to operate certain key bases in Africa, and that the United States and its allies have continued access to a wide range of important materials in Africa, principally minerals." He also stated that there was a need "for reconciling the present upsurge of nationalism (in Africa) with the means for an orderly transition from the past to the future."

On March 16, the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique began large-scale military manoeuvres in the Taiwan Straits, with the participation of 50,000 U.S. troops.

On the same day, the day after he issued a joint communique with Adenauer, Eisenhower said, "We agreed that there was no change

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

of policy on either side." "We would not abandon our position with respect to our rights in Berlin."

On March 21, U.S. warships again encroached on China's territorial waters, and the Chinese Government issued its 93<sup>rd</sup> serious warning to the United States. In the period since October 1959, the United States intruded 21 times into China's territorial air and waters.

On March 30, Eisenhower asserted that even if the United States now agreed to sign an accord for temporarily suspending nuclear tests, this would not be binding on the next U.S. President. He said that "any successor would have the right to exercise his own judgement in the matter." Herter explained further on April 8 that from the legal point of view Eisenhower's "ability to bind the United States for a longer period of time" "still remains within his own term."

On April 4, Herter made a speech in which he rejected the Soviet proposal for general disarmament and attacked Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Khrushchov for his talk on the German question, saying that his words "complicate the situation." Herter then said, "If anyone looks for dramatic achievements at the summit he may be disappointed." He expressed "satisfaction" with the speeding up of the rearming of West Germany, and declared "The ground, sea and air forces of N.A.T.O. require still further strengthening."

On April 6, Eisenhower formally approved the programme for the accelerated development of intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear submarines firing the "Polaris" ballistic missile. It is reported that the U.S. Government is preparing to increase the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles to be manufactured within three years from 270 to 312, and to increase the number of nuclear submarines from 7 to 40.

On April 9, R. S. Benson, Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet's Submarine Force, clamoured that the United States would employ 30 "Polaris" nuclear submarines to encircle the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

On April 14, U.S. Delegate Eaton at the meeting of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee opposed the proposal put forward by the socialist countries for all nations possessing nuclear weapons to commit themselves not to be the first to use them. He asserted once again that the United States could not accept the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament.

On April 20, U.S. Under-Secretary of State Dillon made a speech attacking Soviet foreign policy. He slandered the Soviet Union as



*The Documents of the Great Debate*

harbouring "expansionist ambitions." He said that "the very phrase 'co-existence' is both weird and presumptuous" and should be relegated "to the scrapheap." He raved about "maintaining and reinforcing" U.S. military strength and its system of aggressive military blocs.

On the same day, U.S.-supported rebels in Venezuela launched an armed rebellion, attempting to overthrow the Venezuelan Government.

The facts listed above are, of course, far from exhaustive, and are limited to data issued openly by the U.S. Government and U.S. publications. Nevertheless, we should like to ask: Are these still not facts? Are these not the principal facts of present U.S. policy? Can it be said that all these have been concocted by the Chinese Communists? Can it be said that these are only insignificant, trifling survivals of former times in U.S. policy? Naturally, the facts do not bear this out. The fact is, even after the Camp David talks and even on the eve of the East-West summit conference, we see no essential change at all in U.S. imperialist war policy, or in the policy carried out by the U.S. Government and by Eisenhower personally. U.S. imperialism is not only doing its utmost to expand its aggressive military strength, but is also hastily fostering the militarist forces of West Germany and Japan and turning these countries into hotbeds of new war. Let it be clearly understood that all this is affecting the fate of all mankind. It is absolutely necessary to oppose West German and Japanese militarisms and militarisms fostered by the United States in other countries. But now it is, first of all, the war policy of U.S. imperialism that plays the decisive role in all this. Getting away from this point means departing from the heart and essence of the matter. Therefore, if the peace-loving people of the world do not concentrate their strength on continuously and resolutely expose this war policy of the U.S. authorities and wage a serious struggle against it, the result will inevitably be a grievous calamity.

What right have the Chinese people, standing in the foremost ranks of the struggle for peace together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to keep silent on all these facts? By what right are the Americans allowed to do, say and know about all these things, while the peoples of China and other countries are not allowed to know the true state or affairs? Will it be bad for peace, will

it aggravate tension, if we explain the true state of affairs to the Chinese and world public, or will concealing the truth help peace and help relax tension? Will it be that, according to the logic of U.S. imperialism, that is how peace is to be “preserved”? Or is this the “peace in freedom” referred to by Eisenhower and his ilk?

The U.S. imperialists who actively plan for new war do indeed hope that we will conceal the true state of affairs; hope that we will abandon the standpoints of Marxism-Leninism; hope that we will believe the nature of imperialism can change or even that it has already changed; hope that in the struggle to safeguard world peace we, just like the bourgeois pacifists, will not mobilize and rely on the broadest masses of people who are against imperialism, against imperialist war, and against imperialist aggression; hope that we will exaggerate as much as possible the peace gestures which the aggressive imperialist forces are compelled to make and thus put the masses off their guard; or hope that we will exaggerate as much as possible the military might of the aggressive imperialist forces, and so throw the masses of the people into a panic. In short, the plotters of new war hope that we, like them, will pretend to want peace or want a false peace, so that they can suddenly force war on the peoples, just as they did in the First and Second World Wars.

But listen, plotters of new war! Your hopes will never be realised. Since we do really want peace and do want real peace, we will never fall into your trap. We must continue to expose all the plots and schemes of U.S. and other imperialism that endanger peace, do our utmost to mobilize the broad masses who are against imperialism, imperialist war and imperialist aggression to carry on a stubborn struggle against the plotters of new war, and see to it that in this struggle they maintain both ample vigilance and ample confidence, fighting to the end to prevent a new war. Only thus will we be really wanting peace and so get real peace. Otherwise, we would be pretending to want peace or only getting a false peace.

Although, as said above, the nature of imperialism cannot change, we are fully confident that, provided they wage a united and persistent struggle, the mighty forces in defense of peace can certainly set up an array of barriers preventing imperialism from doing as it pleases according to the dictates of its nature. Moreover, in case of contingency,

as the Moscow Declaration puts it:

... Should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices.

It was absolutely necessary for the Moscow Declaration to point this out; this was not to weaken but precisely to strengthen the perspective of peace. For only thus will the people of all countries not mentally disarm themselves, not submit to intimidation and blackmail by the war maniacs, and not be thrown into panic and confusion in the unfortunate event that war should break out after all.

For peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems, flexibility and patience and certain understandings and compromises are necessary. The Chinese people, in their struggles against domestic and foreign enemies, never refused to make compromises which did not damage the basic interests of the people, and will not refuse to do so in the future. The Chinese people warmly support the efforts of Comrade Khrushchov and the Soviet Government in connection with the East-West summit conference and hope that the U.S. Government will change the die-hard attitude it has adopted so far, thus making it possible for the conference to arrive at the agreements the peoples are expecting on the questions of disarmament, stopping nuclear weapon tests, the West Berlin and German questions, and relaxation of the international situation.

But the struggle for world peace is a protracted one. Imperialism will not readily accept any agreement favourable to peace. Furthermore, innumerable historical facts prove that whatever agreements imperialism has entered into it can also repudiate at any time. Therefore, struggle is necessary both to secure agreements favourable to peace and to uphold them. Lenin put it very well:

Now, the struggle for peace has unfolded. This is a difficult struggle. Whoever thinks peace is easily obtained, whoever thinks that we have only to mention peace and the bourgeoisie will present it to us on a platter, is quite a naive person. Whoever tries to attribute this viewpoint to the Bolsheviks is practising deception. The capitalists carry out frantic butchery so that they can divide up the spoils. Obviously, to smash war means to overcome capital, and it is precisely

in this sense that the Soviet Government has begun the struggle.  
(Speech at the first All-Russian Congress of Naval Deputies)

Precisely because modern war is a product of the very nature of imperialism, and because the nature of imperialism cannot change, the struggle for the realisation and maintenance of world peace is necessarily a protracted anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, repeatedly publicising Lenin's theory on imperialism, exposing the essence of imperialism and all its deceitful tricks, becomes an urgent task at present in the cause of peace.

Inasmuch as imperialism is the source of modern war, in the struggle for world peace it is necessary to rally all forces that are against imperialism, imperialist war and imperialist aggression. The Moscow Declaration states:

The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard – the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war. . . .

The imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, leave no stone unturned in their efforts to disrupt this united struggle. They dream of putting the struggle for world peace in opposition to the national independence movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the struggles of the peoples for freedom, democracy and socialism. They argue that since peace is wanted, the oppressed nations should not resist aggression and the exploited peoples should not rise up in revolution. They even hold that the socialist countries are in duty bound to forbid the people of other countries to carry out a revolutions. All this is sheer nonsense. As everyone knows, Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that as far as either oppressed nations or exploited peoples are concerned, revolution cannot be exported. Likewise, no one either can or has a right to forbid revolution. Modern revolutions basically originate from imperialist aggression, oppression and plunder of the backward nations and of the labouring masses in the imperialist

countries. Therefore, so long as the imperialists do not give up this aggression, oppression and plunder, so long as imperialism remains imperialism, the oppressed peoples of various countries will not give up their national revolutions and social revolutions.

The imperialist countries have up to this moment not ceased to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, including the socialist countries, and yet they are spreading the lie that the socialist countries are interfering in other countries' internal affairs. The socialist countries, of course, never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, including the imperialist countries. Nevertheless, the imperialist powers are trying to force or induce the socialist countries to help them interfere in other countries' internal affairs. Isn't this preposterous?

As long as imperialism remains and continues to pursue its policies of aggression, oppression and plunder by means of violence, the socialist countries will always adopt an attitude of sympathy and support for the oppressed nations and exploited people in their resistance struggle. This is because their struggle represents the will of the people, weakens the imperialist forces and is favourable to world peace. Is it not extremely absurd to think that the development of this struggle and the support extended to it are unfavourable to peace?

The socialist countries and the anti-imperialist, peace-loving peoples of the world are all striving to avert war. The greater the strength of the socialist countries and that of the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces of the world, the greater becomes the possibility of preventing war. Therefore, the strengthening of the socialist countries, of the national liberation movement, of the emancipation movement of the proletariat in capitalist countries and of the peace-loving forces of the world will make it possible to more effectively prevent imperialist war and defend world peace.

In commemorating the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lenin's birth, the third great task of the Chinese people is to consolidate and strengthen their friendship and solidarity with the other peoples, and in the first place with the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.

Marxism-Leninism is true proletarian internationalism. From its very beginning, it has been an international phenomenon. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the advance of the socialist construction of the People's Republic of China are inseparably connected with

proletarian internationalist support. The Chinese people are for ever grateful for this support and will never forget their duty to support, with their own efforts, the international proletariat and oppressed nations. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung emphatically pointed out on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China:

To sum up our experience and reduce it to one essential point:

The people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite completely with all international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme.

Precisely for this reason too there are, as is well known, two slogans on the wall of Tien An Men in Peking, one reading "Long Live the People's Republic of China!" the other "Long Live the Great Unity of the Peoples of the World!"

The Chinese people need to uphold friendship and solidarity with all other peoples at all times. The Chinese people are happy to see that the fraternal unity between us and the other countries in the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union is daily growing, that our friendship with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who love peace and oppose imperialist aggression is expanding from day to day, and that our friendly contacts with the people in the other capitalist countries are also increasing with each passing day. The Chinese people will on this basis make untiring efforts to strengthen our friendship and solidarity with all other peoples, so as to wage a joint struggle for the common interests of all peoples.

Attempting to undermine the solidarity of the peoples of the world, imperialism, and particularly U.S. imperialism, is frantically inciting anti-Chinese campaigns in certain countries. These campaigns, however, have not obtained and will never obtain support from the peoples of the various countries, because they are utterly unjustifiable. The Chinese people are industriously building a peaceful new life at home and doing their best to live in friendship with their neighbours; they have not gone abroad to any foreign territory to set up military bases and guided missile bases. Why then should they be opposed? As we know, the Soviet Union which was created by Lenin has always been a peaceable country, and yet it was also slandered and attacked for

a long time by some people who were anti-Soviet for certain domestic reasons in some big and small countries (including some it had helped, for instance, China during Kuomintang rule). But this succeeded neither in inflicting damage on the Soviet Union, nor in obstructing the development of friendship between the Soviet people and other peoples, but only exposed the anti-Soviet elements as being against peace and the people. The anti-Chinese campaigns incited by imperialism and the reactionaries in certain countries can only end up in the same predicament.

At present, the imperialists and their accomplices, the modern revisionists and a handful of reactionaries in various countries, are particularly frenzied in their attempt to disrupt by various vile means the unbreakable fraternal unity between China and the other socialist countries. These provocateurs are extremely stupid as well as vicious. They can never understand that the unity of the socialist countries was formed and has grown under the banner of great and unshakable Marxism-Leninism. The Moscow Declaration says:

The socialist countries are united in a single community by the fact that they are following the common socialist road, by the common class essence of the social and economic system and state authority, by the need for mutual aid and support, by common interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism, by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which is common to them all.

The fact that the imperialists, modern revisionists and a handful of reactionaries in various countries are wildly attempting such disruption by no means indicates the strength of their position; rather it shows that they are nearing their doom. The swift victories of Leninism in the past half century, and particularly in the 15 years since World War II, have put them on tenterhooks. In face of these earth-shaking victories which are supported by the broadest masses, imperialism which vainly seeks world domination, is in fact no more than a "giant of clay," as Lenin described it in his article "Summary of the Party Member Recruitment Week in Moscow and Our Tasks." It is only natural that they are hostile to the sweeping development and firm solidarity of the socialist movement and the national independence movement under the banner of Lenin. But the more they curse, the more clearly it is proven

that Leninism will certainly triumph. Lenin felt exulted whenever he was attacked by the enemies of the revolution, because this precisely proved that he was correct. He more than once quoted in his writings the following lines by the great Russian poet Nekrasov:

*In swift pursuit comes false detraction.*

*He hears the voice of approbation*

*Not in the dulcet sounds of praise,*

*But in the roar of irriation!*

Should the correctness of Leninism be proved not by the enemy's furious curses, but by their praise?

In their efforts to build socialism, safeguard peace and oppose war and strengthen the unity of the international revolutionary forces, the Chinese people have always been frantically attacked by the enemies of the revolution. But all this shows precisely that the road chosen by the Chinese people is the correct one. The Chinese people will always advance bravely along the road of the great Lenin towards the victory of China's socialist cause, the victory of the cause of world peace and the victory of the cause of socialism throughout the world!

There can be no doubt at all that Marxism-Leninism will score even greater victories not only in the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, but also in all other countries of the world. Of course, history develops unevenly, yet twists and turns and stagnations are after all only partial and temporary phenomena in the long course of development of human history.

At the beginning of this article we referred to the essay *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx* written by Lenin in 1913. In this essay, Lenin specifically pointed out that Asia was a new source of world storms, because there was at that time a relative stagnation in the development of the revolution in Europe. Lenin then concluded that this stagnation was only a transient and superficial phenomenon, and that in the ensuing period of history still greater triumphs awaited Marxism, the doctrine of the proletariat. Lenin wrote:

But the opportunists had scarcely congratulated themselves on "social peace" and the needlessness of storms under "democracy" when a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia....

After Asia, Europe has also begun to stir, although not in the Asiatic way.... Feverish armaments and the policy of imperialism are



turning modern Europe into a "social peace" which is more like a barrel of gunpowder than anything else. And at the same time the decay of *all* the bourgeois parties and the maturing of the proletariat are steadily progressing.

This scientific prediction of Lenin came true in Russia in 1917, and subsequently on an even larger scale after the conclusion of World War II. Now, new sources of world storms have opened up not only in Asia, but also in Africa and Latin America. There is no longer any secure rear for imperialism on this earth. There is now still a certain degree of "social peace" in some countries of Western Europe and North America. But owing to the feverish arms race and imperialist policies of these countries, owing to the might of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the upsurge of the national independence and people's revolutionary movements, owing to the increasing popularity of the peace movement, the "social peace" in these Western countries is in substance turning more and more into a barrel of gunpowder, as Lenin described it. Let the Chinese people and other peoples of the world strive in unison to secure even greater victories in the coming historical period for Leninism, the Marxist theory of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution!

## UNITE UNDER LENIN'S REVOLUTIONARY BANNER!

Report Delivered at the Meeting Held by the Central Committee  
of the Chinese Communist Party in Peking on April 22, 1960 to  
Commemorate the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin.

by I U TING-YI

Comrades, Friends:

Today, April 22, is the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin.

Lenin, following on Marx and Engels, was a great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, the working people and the oppressed nations of the whole world. Under the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and in the flames of the proletarian socialist revolution, Lenin resolutely defended and developed the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In the eyes of the working people of the world, the name of Lenin is the symbol of the triumph of the proletarian revolution, the symbol of the triumph of socialism and communism.

Ninety years ago, when Lenin was born, mankind was still under the dark rule of capitalism. Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party led the Russian proletariat and working people to break the chain of world imperialism, overthrow the bourgeois rule of violence by using revolutionary violence, win victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution, found the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and open up a new era in the history of mankind. The October Revolution made real the age-old dream of the working people and progressive humanity, selling up for the first time in history a society free from the exploitation of man by man over one-sixth of the earth. Imperialism

---

The text of the report was published in *Peking Review* No. 17, 1960.

vainly attempted to strangle this new-born Soviet state. Fourteen capitalist countries carried out armed intervention in league with the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia at the time. Lenin and the Bolsheviks led the heroic Soviet working class and working people to smash the imperialist armed intervention and put down the counter-revolutionary rebellion at home. Lenin pointed out the road of socialist construction, the road of socialist industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture. After Lenin died, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, headed by Stalin, led the Soviet people in carrying out Lenin's instructions, so that the Soviet Union, once backward economically and technically, was speedily, in a brief historical period, built into a powerful socialist country. In World War II, the Soviet Union constituted the main force in defeating fascist aggression and helped the peoples of the least European countries win their own liberation and the peoples of Asian countries defeat Japanese imperialism, thereby greatly furthering the cause of the proletarian revolution and the cause of national liberation, and making an exceptionally great contribution to world peace. Now, the Soviet Union has entered the historical period of the extensive building of communism. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, brilliant achievements have been scored in Soviet economic construction and Soviet science and technology have advanced by leaps and bounds. The Soviet Union launched the world's first batch of artificial earth satellites and space rockets, opening up a new era in man's conquest of nature. These great achievements have greatly inspired the people of the world in their struggles against imperialism, for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism and for a lasting world peace.

The life of Lenin was the life of a great proletarian revolutionary, spent in bitter struggle against imperialism, against all sorts of reactionaries and opportunists. Leninism developed in the struggles against imperialism and opportunism. The special characteristic, the essence, of Leninism lies in its thorough proletarian revolutionary character. Leninism not only wholly revived the revolutionary content of Marxism which had been emasculated by the revisionists of the Second International, and restored the revolutionary keenness of

Marxism once dulled by them, but further developed the revolutionary content and sharpened the revolutionary keenness of Marxism in the light of new historical experience under new historical conditions.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, capitalism had developed to a new stage, that of monopoly capitalism, or imperialism. In this stage, all the contradictions of capitalism showed up further, more fully and more comprehensively. This set a new task for Marxists, requiring that they make a new analysis of this new stage of capitalism. And it was none other than the great Lenin who accomplished this task.

Lenin made a profound analysis of the essential nature of imperialism and thoroughly refuted the whitewashing and apologising for imperialism by renegades to the working class like Bernstein and Kautsky. Lenin scientifically expounded the fact that imperialism is monopolistic, decaying, and moribund capitalism; that it is the eve of the proletarian socialist revolution. In the epoch of imperialism, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the same country, the contradiction between capitalist countries, and the contradiction between the capitalist colonialist powers and the colonies and semi-colonies have all developed to an unprecedented acuteness, and these contradictions can be resolved only by revolutions. Imperialism attempts to eliminate the above-mentioned series of contradictions by plunging millions upon millions of people into a sea of blood in wars among imperialist powers, wars of aggression against colonies and semi-colonies and wars of repression against the proletariat and the working people in the imperialist countries. Contrary to the desire of imperialism, however, the imperialist counter-revolutionary wars are unable to eliminate the contradictions of imperialism, but precisely further aggravate them and precipitate the outbreak of revolution.

It is well known, in 1917 after the Russian February Revolution, in his famous "Letters from Afar," Lenin pointed out in connection with the question of the Russian revolution that the world-wide imperialist war of the time had become an "all-powerful director": it was vastly accelerating the course of world history, engendering world-wide crises of unparalleled intensity—economic, political, national and international, and abruptly overturning the filthy and blood-stained cart of the Russian tsarist system at this particularly abrupt turn in world

history. (Cf. "Letters from Afar," March 7, 1917, *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXIII, pp. 292-293.)

Marxist-Leninists are opposed to the imperialist system and imperialist wars under any circumstances. They hold that the contradictions inherent in the capitalist-imperialist system will necessarily, inevitably give rise to proletarian revolution and to revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies. Scared stiff by the outward "powerfulness" of imperialism, the opportunists of the Second International let themselves be bought up by the bourgeoisie and worked for imperialism. In keeping with the interests of imperialism, they spread reformist and capitulationist influences among the masses of workers and people, and opposed the path of revolution. When the imperialist war broke out, they descended to the shameful position of supporting the imperialist war. Contrary to the opportunists, Lenin always took the stand of a proletarian revolutionary and stood at the forefront against imperialist war. Lenin exposed the opportunists in their true colours as accomplices of imperialism and firmly opposed imperialist war; and when the imperialist war broke out, he advocated putting an end to it by waging a revolutionary war. Lenin pointed out that "only the socialist system can free man from war." ("Tasks of the Zimmerwald Left in the Swiss Social Democratic Party," October-November 1916, *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXIII, p. 128.)

The revolutionary spirit of Leninism finds its outstanding expression in the doctrine of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. In order to shatter the revisionist "theories" of Kautsky and his like designed to whitewash bourgeois democracy and paralyse the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the proletarian revolution must smash the bourgeois state machine and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said:

The latter (the bourgeois state) cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in a process of "withering away"; as a general rule, this can happen only by means of a violent revolution.... This ... lies at the root of the *whole* of Marx's and Engels' doctrines. ("The State and Revolution," August-September 1917, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 21.)

Lenin pointed out further that the proletarian dictatorship is a continuation of the class struggle in another form under new conditions

and it is a persistent struggle against the resistance of the exploiting classes, against foreign aggression and against the forces and traditions of the old society. Without the proletarian dictatorship there can be no victory of socialism. The proletarian dictatorship is a political system a million times more democratic than the bourgeois dictatorship.

Lenin brilliantly applied and developed the Marxist idea of uninterrupted revolution, regarding it as a fundamental guiding principle of the proletarian revolution. Lenin set forth the principle that the proletariat should obtain the leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution and transform the bourgeois democratic revolution without interruption into the socialist revolution. Lenin further pointed out that the socialist revolution is not the final goal and that it is necessary to continue advancing, to accomplish the transition to the higher stage of communism. Lenin said:

In beginning the socialist transformation, we should deafly set forth the ultimate objective of this transformation, that is, the establishment of communist society. ("Report on Revising the Programme and Changing the Name of the Party." at the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of Russian Communist Party (B.), March 8, 1918, *Collected Works*, 4<sup>th</sup> Russ. Ed., Vol. XXVII, p. 103.)

Basing himself on the absolute law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin came to the conclusion that socialism will achieve victory first in one or several countries. The progress from the victory of socialism in one or several countries to the victory of socialism in all countries of the world will embrace a whole historical epoch. Lenin had full confidence in the future of the world revolution. He said in his final article *Better Fewer, But Better*:

In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of Socialism is fully and absolutely assured. ("Better Fewer, But Better," March 2, 1923, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H. Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 750.)

The capitalist system will surely perish and will inevitably be

replaced by the socialist and communist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. After Marx and Engels, Lenin further expounded this law, and highly extolled the revolutionary initiative of the masses of people. The victory of the Great October Revolution led by Lenin pointed out to all mankind the road to thorough liberation and the brilliant prospect of socialism and communism. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Fundamentally speaking, the road of the Soviet Union, the road of the October Revolution, is the common bright road of development for all humanity." (Speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to Celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.)

The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Consequently, the Chinese revolution took the right direction and took on a completely new appearance.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung gives full play to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism and, under our conditions, has defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. Along the revolutionary path pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has led the Chinese revolution to advance continuously from victory to victory.

Our country's new democratic revolution was a revolution led by the proletariat, participated in by the great masses of people, against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The victory of this revolution came about only after more than twenty long years of revolutionary war.

In the long course of the revolution, imperialism has been the biggest enemy confronting the Chinese people. Before the Chinese revolution attained victory, China had been subjected to oppression and domination by all the imperialist countries in the world. After the victory of the Chinese revolution, U.S. imperialism launched armed attack against the Korean Democratic People's Republic to menace the security of our country, occupied our territory of Taiwan by armed force, resorted to blockade and embargo and tried to make use of so-called "democratic individualism"; all this was designed to destroy the Chinese revolution. The Chinese Communist Party, with a high Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, brought into action the broadest masses of people,

eradicated the “pro-America, worship America and fear America” feelings cultivated by imperialism and its servants, waged a firm struggle against imperialism and its lackeys in China, and finally overthrew imperialist oppression and domination in China, firmly safeguarding the fruits of our revolution.

Our Party twice co-operated and twice broke with the Kuomintang – political party of the bourgeoisie – and therefore has extremely rich experience on the question of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie. Our Party has rich experience not only in armed struggle but in peaceful struggle as well.

The Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly and concretely applied the ideas, expounded by Lenin, of the proletariat taking the leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution, of the proletariat leading the peasant masses to carry out a thoroughgoing democratic revolution, of the democratic revolution being a peasant war and an agrarian revolution, and of uninterrupted revolution in turning the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. These ideas have played a guiding role in winning continuous victories in our revolution.

Lenin taught us that without a proletarian revolutionary party tempered in repeated struggles, it is impossible to vanquish powerful enemies. Such a party should take Marxism-Leninism as its ideological basis, it should have a proletarian revolutionary programme and have close links with the broad masses of labouring people. Our Chinese Communist Party is exactly such a proletarian revolutionary party. Our Party grew to maturity in the struggles against powerful enemies, at home and abroad, and against right and “left” opportunism. It was after repeated struggles against right and “left” opportunism that the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party’s Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was firmly established. Precisely because our Party has such a leadership, it has been able, in the period of the democratic revolution, to firmly secure proletarian leadership, carry the democratic revolution to thorough victory, and quickly turn the victory of the democratic revolution into that of the socialist revolution.

In our Party’s struggles against right and “left” opportunism, such works of Lenin as *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, *The State and Revolution*, “*Left-Wing*”



*Communism, an Infantile Disorder* and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* have been our most important ideological weapons.

Our Party applied in the practice of the Chinese revolution the Marxist-Leninist doctrines of uninterrupted revolution and the development of revolution by stages, and correctly and concretely solved a series of problems in turning the democratic revolution in our country into a socialist revolution. Speaking of the relationship between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Lenin pointed out:

The first grows into the second. The second, in passing, solves the problems of the first. The second consolidates the work of the first. Struggle, and struggle alone decides how far the second succeeds in outgrowing the first. ("The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," October 14, 1921, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 596.)

He also said:

The more complete the democratic revolution, the sooner, the more widespread, the purer and the more determined will be the development of this new struggle (referring to the socialist revolution). ("Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," June-July 1905, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 139.)

Circumstances in our country fully prove that the more thoroughgoing the democratic revolution, the more rapid and smooth is the development of the Socialist revolution; the more thoroughgoing the socialist revolution, the more rapid and smooth is socialist construction; and the speeding up of socialist construction will inevitably promote the realisation of communism.

To carry the socialist revolution to completion means that we must win victory in the socialist revolution not only on the economic front but also on the political and ideological fronts, constantly clearing out bourgeois political and ideological influence, continually resolving contradictions arising in the course of socialist construction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. In this way it will be possible to mobilize fully the revolutionary initiative of the masses and to bring about in socialist construction "a genuine, really mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the

population," ("The State and Revolution," August-September 1917, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 91.) as described by Lenin, and so promote tremendously the leap forward of the social productive forces.

There is a kind of theory which holds that there exist in human society only contradictions between ourselves and the enemy but no contradictions among the people; that in socialist society, between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base, there is only the aspect of mutual conformity and no aspect of contradiction; that in socialist construction, we need only rely on technique, and not on the masses; that there is no need to develop the socialist system, but only to consolidate it, and even if it is to be developed, to go forward to communism, still there is no need to undergo a struggle and to pass through a qualitative leap; and thus the process of the uninterrupted revolution of human society goes up to this point and no farther. This, in terms of philosophic thought, is a metaphysical viewpoint, and not a dialectical materialist viewpoint.

In his book *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* Comrade Mao Tse-tung applies Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism to the period of socialist construction in our country, raising the question of drawing a line between our contradictions with the enemy and contradictions among the people, the question of correct handling of contradictions among the people, and the question of correct handling of contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base under the socialist system. This Marxist-Leninist theory is fundamentally different from the above-mentioned metaphysical viewpoint. It was precisely on the basis of this theory and in accordance with the experience gained in the practice of socialist construction in our country that our Party's general line was formulated – the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

Under the guidance of our Party's general line for socialist construction, our country has seen big leaps forward in industrial and agricultural production, the emergence of the rural and urban people's communes, the movement for technical innovations and technical revolution, the combining of education with productive labour, and big

leaps forward in the work of commerce, scientific research, culture and art, public health and physical culture.

Our Party's general line for socialist construction has not only been attacked by the imperialists and modern revisionists, but has also been slandered by some philistines as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism." But facts remain facts. Our general line for socialist construction is a Marxist-Leninist general line. With the advance of our cause of socialist construction under the guidance of this general line, the face of our country is undergoing a rapid change in all its aspects.

Lenin analysed the transitional character of socialist society in *The State and Revolution* and other works. He pointed out that economically, politically and ideologically socialism could not as yet be entirely free from the traditions or traces of capitalism, that it was not yet a full-fledged, mature communist society, that it was still the lower stage of communism and would have to make the transition to the higher stage of communism, to full-fledged, mature communism. These ideas of Lenin are of extremely great significance to us. As communists, we must, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrines of uninterrupted revolution and the development of revolution by stages, actively create conditions for the realisation of communism as we carry on socialist construction. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has listed the necessary conditions for our country's future realisation of communism. They are:

... The social product will become extremely abundant; the communist consciousness and morality of the entire people will be elevated to a very much higher degree; universal education will be achieved and the level raised; the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country, between mental and manual labour – the legacies of the old society that have inevitably been carried over into the socialist period – and the remnants of unequal bourgeois right which is the rejection of these differences will gradually vanish; and the function of the state will be limited to protecting the country from external aggression, and it will play no role internally. At that time Chinese society will enter the era of communism in which the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" will be practised. ("Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Countryside," August 1958.)

The victories scored by our people in the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction have all been achieved under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking which integrates the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. We have received help from the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people, from all the socialist countries and from the Communist and Workers' Parties, labouring people and progressives of all countries. The Chinese people will always cherish this great spirit of internationalism and never forget it.

We are living in the great new epoch in which the collapse of the imperialist system is being further accelerated, and there is a constant growth in the victories and awakening of the people throughout the world.

On this situation, the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists, starting from fundamentally different stands and viewpoints, draw fundamentally different conclusions. The Marxist-Leninists regard this as an unprecedentedly favourable new epoch for the proletarian revolution in the various countries of the world and for the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. The forces of peace have grown greatly, and there is already a practical possibility of preventing war. The people of the whole world must further intensify the struggle against imperialism, promote the development of revolution, and defend world peace. The modern revisionists, on the other hand, regard this as a "new epoch" in which the proletarian revolution in various countries and the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies have disappeared from the world agenda. They think that imperialism will step down from the stage of history of its own accord, without a revolution; and that a lasting peace will come of itself, without waging anti-imperialist struggles. Thus, whether or not to carry out revolution and whether or not to oppose imperialism have become the fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists.

The main arguments of the modern revisionists in revising, emasculating and betraying revolutionary Marxism-Leninism are based on their allegations that under the historical conditions of the new epoch,

Lenin's analysis of imperialism has become "outmoded," that the nature of imperialism has "changed" and that imperialism has "renounced" its policies of war and aggression. Under the pretext of a so-called "historical, non-dogmatic" approach to the theoretical legacy left by Lenin, they have attacked the revolutionary content and revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

In the circumstances in which the East wind has prevailed over the West wind and the forces of socialism and peace have got the upper hand over the imperialist forces of war, there is a multitude of difficulties within the ranks of the imperialists who are falling on harder and harder times. The imperialists are putting up all sorts of desperate struggles in an attempt to save themselves from their doom. Recently, the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, have tried hard to use even more cunning and deceptive tactics to pursue their aggressive and predatory policies, and benumb the people of the world. Even the U.S. imperialists themselves sometimes make no secret of their intention to adopt what they call more "flexible" tactics. They have employed multifarious means, adopting alternately tactics of war and tactics of peace. While stepping up arms expansion and war preparations and carrying out nuclear-war blackmail, they have at the same time spread a smokescreen of "peace" and used "sugar-coated cannon balls," in an attempt to create the false impression that imperialism advocates peace. They have on the one hand resorted to ruthless suppression of revolutionary movements, and on the other, resorted to deception and bribery, in an attempt to soften and split the revolutionary movements. The imperialists have resorted to these deceptive methods for the sole purpose of concealing their predatory and aggressive nature and covering up their war preparations, in order to disintegrate the revolutionary movements in various countries, the revolutionary movements of the colonies and semi-colonies and the struggle of the people of all countries for world peace, to enslave the people of various countries and to subvert the socialist countries.

To cope with the different tactics adopted by imperialism against the people, the peoples of the world also have to use various tactics and methods of revolutionary struggle in fighting imperialism. Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that in revolutionary struggle there should be firmness in principle and flexibility in tactics. The various

means of revolution and forms of struggle, including the illegal and the "legal," extra-parliamentary and parliamentary, sanguinary and bloodless, economic and political, military and ideological – all these are for the purpose of unmasking imperialism to a fuller extent, showing it up for the aggressor it is, constantly raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people, achieving broader mobilisation of the masses of people to oppose imperialism and reactionaries, developing the struggle for world peace, and preparing for and winning victory in the people's revolution and the national revolution.

Marxist-Leninists have always maintained, too, that the proletariat should ally itself with its reserves in order to win victory in the revolution. The proletariat should enter into firm alliance with the peasantry, the other working people and the broad masses of the oppressed people of the colonies and semi-colonies, who are its basic allies. In addition, the proletariat should, in different periods, unite with other people that it is possible to unite with. In the interests of the people, of course, the proletariat should take full advantage of the contradictions among the imperialists, even though they are only temporary and partial contradictions. All this is for the purpose of overthrowing imperialism and reactionaries.

In the struggle against imperialism and its policy of aggression, it is entirely permissible and necessary and in the interests of the people of various countries that, wherever possible, the socialist countries conduct peaceful negotiations and exchange visits with the imperialist countries, strive to settle international disputes by peaceful means instead of war, and endeavour to sign agreements of peaceful co-existence or treaties of mutual non-aggression.

The Soviet Government has made great efforts to ease international tension and defend world peace. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people actively support the peace proposals put forward by the Soviet Government headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov for convening an East-West meeting of the heads of government, general disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and so on.

The modern revisionists have completely betrayed the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the interests of the people of the world, and submitted and surrendered to the bourgeoisie

and imperialism. They maintain that the nature of imperialism has changed and that imperialism has abandoned the war policy of its own accord, and that therefore there is no need for anti-imperialist struggles or revolutions. They are doing their utmost to camouflage the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, to prettify imperialism and Eisenhower, the chieftain of U.S. imperialism. As described by them, Eisenhower has become a "peace emissary," U.S. imperialism is no longer the enemy of peace no longer the enemy of the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies, and no longer the most vicious enemy of the people of the entire world. In a word, according to the modern revisionists, there seems to be no longer any difference between socialism and imperialism, and whoever persists in fighting against imperialism and in revolution is hindering peace and peaceful co-existence and is a "rigid dogmatist."

We Marxist-Leninists know very well what dogmatism is and have constantly fought against it. Our Chinese Communist Party has rich experience in combating dogmatism. The dogmatists want revolution, but they do not know how to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries, how to exploit the concrete contradictions of the enemy, how to concentrate forces on fighting against the chief enemy, how to enter into proper alliance with the various middle forces, or how to apply flexibly the tactics and methods of struggle, thus leaving the proletariat in a position in which it fights single-handedly. We oppose such dogmatism because it is harmful to the revolution. We oppose dogmatism in order to push ahead the revolution and to overthrow the enemy. Modern revisionists are doing just the opposite. Under the pretext of opposing "dogmatism," they oppose revolution, seeking to do away with it, and distort and adulterate Marxism-Leninism. In Lenin's words, "they omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of this teaching, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie." ("The State and Revolution." August-September 1917. *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II. Part 1, p. 202.) Modern revisionists slander Marxism-Leninism as "dogmatism" – this is a despicable trick of these renegades to the working class to corrode the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism.

Revolution is the soul of Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Engels

set before the proletariat of the whole world the great historic task of wiping out the capitalist system and emancipating all mankind. Under new historical conditions Lenin aroused the world proletariat and all oppressed peoples for fiery revolutionary struggle. Marxism-Leninism was born in the proletarian revolutionary struggle, and is continuously developed in that struggle. Marxist-Leninist formulations on some individual questions may change with the passage of time and the changed situation, but the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism absolutely will not change. In the light of the historical conditions of his time, Lenin changed the formulations of Marx and Engels on individual questions, and raised questions which Marx and Engels could not have raised in their days. Far from weakening the revolutionary spirit of Marxism in the slightest, however, these changes further increased the revolutionary fighting power of Marxism. Revolution is the locomotive of history, the motive force of the progress of human society. This is so in class society and it will remain so in the future communist society, only the revolution of that time will be different in nature and method.

We know that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious and cunning enemy of the people's revolution in various countries, of the national liberation movement and of world peace, and that Eisenhower is now the chieftain of U.S. imperialism. Lenin pointed out long ago that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of the people or the whole world playing the role of gendarme. Now, U.S. imperialism has gone even further, appointing itself world gendarme, everywhere strangling the revolution, suppressing the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and sabotaging the movement of the people of the world for peace. U.S. imperialism is not only attempting every minute to subvert and wipe out the socialist countries but, under the pretext of opposing communism and socialism, is also doing its utmost to expand into the intermediate areas, in the vain hope of achieving world domination. These policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism have not changed to this day. No matter what deceptive tactics U.S. imperialism may adopt at any time, its aggressive and predatory nature will never change till its death. U.S. imperialism is the last pillar of international imperialism. If the proletariat in the capitalist countries is to win emancipation, if the



peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies are to achieve national liberation, if the people of the world are to defend world peace, they must direct the spearhead of their struggle against U.S. imperialism. Whether or not one dares to expose imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, whether or not one dares to struggle against it, is the touchstone of whether or not one wants to carry out the people's revolution, to win the complete emancipation of the oppressed nations and to win a genuine world peace.

In order to oppose the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, it is necessary to unite all the world's revolutionary forces and peace-loving forces. World peace can be further defended and effectively defended only by linking up the struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries, the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the struggle of all peoples for peace, forming them into a mighty anti-imperialist front and dealing firm blows at the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the main force in defence of world peace. The national liberation struggles of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, and the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people in the capitalist countries are also great forces in defence of world peace. Separation from the national liberation struggles of the colonies and semi-colonies and from the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people in the capitalist countries will greatly weaken the forces in defense of world peace and serve the interests of imperialism.

No force on earth can hinder or restrain the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies from rising in revolution and smashing the yoke they are under. Their revolutionary struggles play the role of shaking the very foundation of the imperialist system. All revolutionary Marxist-Leninists should support these just struggles, resolutely and without the slightest reservation. Similarly, no force on earth can hinder or restrain the proletariat and working people in the capitalist countries from rising in revolution to overthrow the reactionary rule of monopoly capital. Their revolutionary struggles can tie the hands of imperialism and prevent it from unleashing aggressive war. All revolutionary Marxist-Leninists should likewise support these just revolutionary

struggles, resolutely and without the slightest reservation. Firm support to these two types of struggle constitutes an effective strengthening of the struggle to defend world peace. Lenin maintained that the proletariat in the socialist countries must, with the assistance of the world proletariat and the working masses of the oppressed nations, defend the fruits of victory which the proletarian revolution has already achieved, and at the same time support the continuous advance of the cause of proletarian revolution in other countries and continuously weaken the strength of imperialism until capitalism has perished and socialism has triumphed throughout the world. As Leninists, we must always bear in mind these basic theses of Lenin.

Modern revisionism is a product of imperialist policy. The modern revisionists are panic-stricken by the imperialist policy of nuclear-war blackmail. They develop from fear of war to fear of revolution, and proceed from not wanting revolution themselves to opposing other people's carrying out revolution. To meet the needs of imperialism, they try to obstruct the development of the national liberation movement and the proletarian revolutionary movement in various countries. Imperialism attempts to make the socialist countries degenerate into capitalist countries. And modern revisionists like Tito have adapted themselves to this need of imperialism.

It is important to oppose modern revisionism, because the modern revisionists can play a role that the bourgeoisie and the right-wing social democrats cannot play among the masses of workers and the working people. They are the agents of imperialism and the enemies of the proletariat and working people of all countries.

The Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries held in Moscow in November 1957, points out the necessity of defending Marxism-Leninism in the present situation.

The Declaration points out:

... The imperialist bourgeoisie attaches increasing importance to the ideological moulding of the masses; it misrepresents socialism and smears Marxism-Leninism, misleads and confuses the masses. Therefore it is extremely important to intensify Marxist-Leninist education of the masses, combat bourgeois ideology, expose the lies and slanderous fabrications of imperialist propaganda against

socialism and the communist movement and widely propagate in simple and convincing fashion the ideas of socialism, peace and friendship among nations.

The Declaration further says:

Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is "outmoded" and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organisation and, above-all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society.

Modern revisionism is at present the chief danger to the international communist movement. It is our sacred duty to bring into full play the revolutionary spirit of Lenin, and thoroughly reveal the true colours of the agent of imperialism – modern revisionism.

The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting is the programme of the international communist movement of our time accepted by the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries. Our Chinese Communist Party, along with the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries, faithfully abide by and are faithfully carrying out this great programme.

The communist movement has from the very outset been an international movement. The international solidarity of the proletariat is the fundamental guarantee for the victory of the people's revolutionary cause in all the countries of the world, of the cause of the national liberation of the oppressed nations, and of the peoples' struggle for world peace. In the interests of the socialist countries, of the proletariat and working people of all countries, of the liberation of the oppressed nations, and of the defence of world peace, we must at all times strengthen the international solidarity of the proletariat. Marxist-Leninists have always guarded as the apple of their eye the unity of the Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the unity of the international

communist ranks, the unity of the world proletariat, and the unity of the people of the whole world. The imperialists and modern revisionists regard this great international unity as the greatest obstacle to their attempt to disintegrate the revolutionary movement of various countries. Scheming day and night in the vain hope of undermining this unity, they are carrying on the most despicably dirty work of sowing discord and spreading lies and slanders. But these base intrigues are doomed to complete bankruptcy.

Under the guidance of the revolutionary doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist cause of the proletariat certainly can and will win complete victory throughout the world. Lasting peace will certainly come to humanity.

Let us unite and advance bravely under the revolutionary banner of the great Lenin!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

## KUUSINEN'S SPEECH AT THE LENIN ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The great teaching of Lenin – Leninism – is the Marxism of our epoch. As a loyal Marxist, Lenin further developed the teaching of Marx in conformity with changing historical conditions. Allegiance to the teaching of Lenin demands of our party that it, too, taking present-day conditions into consideration, should further develop Marxism-Leninism, always applying its fundamental provisions in a creative way.

Such allegiance to Leninism is demanded of our party by its responsibility to the working class, to the entire Soviet people, and also to the international communist movement. For our party, thanks to its wealth of experience, has set an example of struggle for socialism, an example of the successful accomplishment of the most complicated tasks of building socialism and communism.

Our party proves its allegiance to Marxism-Leninism by its deeds and by its policy. Lenin wrote that politics is a science and an art. Emphasising the unbreakable ties between the theory and practice of Marxism, he pointed out: "Marxism lies in the ability to determine what policy should be pursued in the given conditions."

What is the specific policy our party is pursuing in the present conditions? How does it fulfil Lenin's behests? What is the aim of the policy of the party and the Soviet government?

It seems to me appropriate at this meeting, devoted to the memory of our unforgettable teacher, to try to throw light on these questions....

This is the extract from a speech delivered by Otto Kuusinen, a member of the C.P.S.U. Presidium who had been prominent in the international communist movement during Comintern days, at the Lenin anniversary meeting at Moscow's Sports Palace on April 22, 1960, text published in *Soviet News* (London: Soviet Embassy) No. 4255.

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

## **POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PEOPLES WHO HAVE CAST OFF THE YOKE OF COLONIALISM**

Comrades, true to the behests of Lenin, our party has always backed the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and their right of self-determination. When, after the Second World War, Lenin's forecasts concerning the liberation of the peoples of the East came true on a gigantic scale and when dozens of new independent states were founded on the wreckage of colonial empires, our Soviet state was confronted with new and important tasks.

The peoples who for centuries had borne on their shoulders the yoke of colonial exploitation now needed, not only moral and political support, but also economic assistance in developing their national economy.

As for our relations with countries of the socialist camp – the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic – those relations have been determined from the very outset by the principles of socialist internationalism. Close alliance and fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation in building socialism and communism – that is the foundation of these relations.

But we have a broader understanding of the international duty of our socialist country – we understand it as rendering assistance to those liberated peoples, too, who are not included in the world system of socialism. All-round, disinterested assistance in strengthening their political and economic independence is the foundation of our relations with the newly-created states. Of course, we do not impose assistance on anyone, but we help when we are asked to do so.

The road to the consolidation of the independence of the liberated countries is the road of developing their national economy, promoting the advance of their culture and improving the living standards of the people. Industrialisation is of tremendous importance for such countries. It is precisely here that the young states need support most of all. Understanding this, the Soviet Union is accordingly developing its economic cooperation with them.

The supplying of up-to-date industrial equipment, assistance in building large enterprises, in prospecting for and exploiting natural resources, in training national cadres of specialists – these are the principal aspects of Soviet assistance. The Soviet Union's participation in building the gigantic steel works at Bhilai, in the construction of the Aswan High Dam, a steel works in Indonesia and dozens of other industrial projects accords with the vital interests of the peoples of the East.

One often hears the claim that the western countries also have a strong desire to help the peoples who have cast off the yoke of imperialism. Generally speaking, it would only be fair if the colonial powers were to return to the owners even a part of the wealth they have appropriated. However, this is not the case here.

The western powers, as in the past, still continue to hinder the independent development and industrialisation of underdeveloped countries. The nature of their "assistance" is determined, as we know, by their military plans, which are obviously a danger to the independence of the recipient countries.

It is said in the West that a struggle for the countries of the East has now developed and it is alleged that the Soviet Union is seeking to tie them to its chariot. But does the Soviet Union seek to draw the eastern countries into war *blocs* like S.E.A.T.O., C.E.N.T.O., etc.? Does the Soviet Union attach political strings to its assistance? Does it demand the right to intervene in domestic affairs? No, that is precisely how the western powers act.

Thus, the liberated peoples have two aspects of assistance, two policies before their eyes. Is it surprising that those peoples increasingly dissociate themselves from the policy of the West? They understand that assistance is a good thing if it is disinterested, and friendship is firm if it is sincere.

The consolidation of independence and the successful development of the liberated countries brings closer the time when they will achieve their legitimate right, on an equal footing with other states, to take part in the solution of all major international problems. This was rightly pointed out by Nikita Khrushchov when he addressed the Indonesian Parliament.

The confidence which Soviet policy enjoys in the countries of the

East is a matter of great importance. It will have its bearing on the further strengthening of peace and social progress. We owe this confidence to the fact that underlying Soviet policy are the principles worked out by the great Lenin.

## **STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE**

Lenin's behest to our party and all communists was: fight tirelessly for peace and work to end wars. He said: "The ending of wars, peace between the nations, the stopping of plunder and violence – it is precisely this that is our ideal." (*Works*, Vol. 21, p. 264, Russ.Ed.)

In the West at the present time there are glib propagandists who allege that Lenin was against the peaceful co-existence of the two systems. These falsifiers pick out individual quotations from Lenin's works, or even fragments of quotations dating back to the time of the Civil War and military intervention. But it was the world bourgeoisie itself which, by its intervention, added to the struggle of the Russian proletariat the character of an international clash. It is clear that at the time of the intervention the question of the peaceful co-existence of socialism and capitalism was relegated to the background.

But then, these gentlemen carefully pass over in silence Lenin's entire policy during the first years of Soviet power, his line towards establishing businesslike cooperation with capitalist states, the line which was clearly expressed in Lenin's directives to the Soviet delegates to the first international conferences, for instance in Genoa in 1922.

In that period Lenin developed his idea of the peaceful economic competition of the two systems. To use Lenin's expression, this is the "rivalry of two methods, two formations, two kinds of economy – communist and capitalist."

"We shall prove," Lenin continues, "that we are the stronger."

"Of course, the task is a difficult one, but we have said and continue to say that socialism has the power of example. Force is of avail in relation to those who want to restore their power. But that exhausts the value of force, and after that only influence and example are of avail. We must demonstrate the importance of communism practically, by example." (*Works*, Vol. 31, p. 426, Russ.Ed.)



The principles of peaceful co-existence, both then and now, form the basis of the whole of Soviet foreign policy. During recent years our party has been creatively developing this idea of Lenin's. Of decisive importance in this connection was the conclusion drawn by the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Party Congresses about there being no fatal inevitability of wars in our epoch, about the possibility of preventing wars. By drawing this conclusion, the party has made a new contribution to Marxism.

Of course, aggressiveness is inherent in the nature of imperialism. But one should not dogmatically consider only this aspect of the matter. The fact that powerful forces counteracting war have appeared should not be ignored. One should not overlook the fact that the time has gone, never to return, when imperialism had the whole world under its sway. Capitalism can no longer make the whole world follow its laws. A powerful world system of socialism is already in existence; imperialism has been weakened by the collapse of the colonial system; a vast "zone of peace" has come into being; the forces of peace and democracy are now more closely united and better organised even in the imperialist countries themselves. Don't these powerful factors have practical significance in settling the question of peace and war?

Therefore, in order to be loyal to Marxism-Leninism today it is not sufficient to repeat the old truth that imperialism is aggressive. The task is to make full use of the new factors operating for peace in order to save humanity from the catastrophe of another war. A dogmatic position is a backward position. The correctness of our foreign policy of creative Leninism, making use of all the factors for peace, is proved best of all by the success of this policy. The persistent struggle of the Soviet government, abounding in initiative, has yielded fruit. A tangible easing of international tension has been achieved. The cold war is gradually receding. Business-like relations, including cultural contacts, are being established between states with different social systems. The most burning questions of the international situation have, at long last, become the subject of serious East-West negotiations.

The active struggle of the Soviet government for peace and peaceful co-existence gives our foreign policy an innovative and creative character. This is demonstrated in the frankness with which the most burning issues of world politics are approached, in the combination of firmness, based on principle, with readiness to agree to sensible

compromises. This is a truly democratic foreign policy which is being carried out openly before the eyes of the peoples.

In its practical activity the Soviet government is widely cultivating personal contacts with both statesmen and public leaders of bourgeois countries.

The numerous state visits to foreign countries by the head of the Soviet government, Nikita Khrushchov, have, as we know, acquired tremendous importance. They have been of historic significance in improving the Soviet Union's relations with other states and in improving the international situation as a whole. These visits have confirmed once again that the Leninist policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, pursued by our party and the Soviet government headed by Comrade Nikita Khrushchov, is the only correct and viable policy. All of us remember full well the moving demonstrations of friendship by masses of people during Nikita Khrushchov's stay in the United States of America, India, Indonesia, Burma, Afghanistan and France on his great mission of goodwill.

The change in the balance of forces on the international scene, the growing might of the socialist camp and the obviously disastrous consequences of another war – all this leads to a split in the ruling circles of the imperialist states. There appear, alongside the thick-skulled opponents of peace, sober-minded statesmen who realise that a war with the use of weapons of mass destruction would be madness.

Such are the dialectics of military-engineering progress: A new weapon created for war begins to exert an influence in favour of peace. For Marxists there is nothing mysterious in this. The classics of Marxism have never denied the fact that new types of weapons can not only bring about a radical change in the art of war but can also influence politics.

For instance, Engels wrote about this in *Anti-Dühring*. And Nadezhda Krupskaya tells us that Lenin foresaw that “the time will come when war will become so destructive as to be impossible.”

Lenin told Krupskaya about his talk with an engineer who had said that an invention was then in the making which would render it possible to destroy a large army from a distance. It would make a war impossible “Ilyich,” Krupskaya writes, “talked about it with great enthusiasm. It was obvious that he passionately wanted war to become impossible.”

The division among influential circles of the bourgeoisie is undoubtedly of importance for a successful struggle for peace. Already Lenin pointed out that it is by no means a matter of indifference to us, of course, whether we are dealing with those representatives of the bourgeois camp who are inclining towards a military solution of a problem, or with representatives of the bourgeois camp who are inclining towards pacifism, even of the most feeble kind and one which, from the communist viewpoint, will not stand up to the slightest criticism (*Works*, Vol.33, p. 236, Russ.Ed.).

The achievements in the struggle for peace provide a favourable basis for further advancement. The main task now is to achieve disarmament. It is very significant that it was precisely our socialist state, which possesses a generally recognised superiority in the military sphere, which put forward the proposal for general and complete disarmament and made this task the pivotal point of world politics.

Just imagine, comrades, a situation in which all these famous sputniks, luniks and our other celestial envoys had been made in the United States, and our country had been sending up rockets which persisted in coming down. Who would believe, then, that the American authorities would make a proposal for total disarmament? I don't believe it, nor do you. Obviously, no one would believe it! The diehard imperialists, naturally, are doing everything in their power to prevent the Soviet proposals from being accepted.

They represent the interests of those groups of monopoly capital which by no means want to give up the fat profits they get from the policy of militarisation and of the arms race. They are the leaders of the Pentagon – the American Defence Department, which continues to call recklessly for new military gambles. They are the “big shots” of N.A.T.O., who see the only meaning of their activity in turning the peaceful fields of Europe into the theatre of another destructive war. They are the militarist revenge-seeking forces who are rearing their heads in Western Germany and Japan. Yes, the cause of peace has many enemies. The danger they represent should not be underestimated. They are real vultures. Therefore the vigilance of the peoples must not be weakened.

A vigorous struggle against the bellicose imperialists is necessary in order to frustrate their aggressive plans. There is only one way to

bring the aggressors to their senses; they must be convinced beyond a shadow of doubt that if they dare to unleash another war, then a formidable force will rise against them everywhere, at the front and in the rear, and will not let them escape just retribution. This force must constantly re-remind the enemies of peace: *Memento mori!* – Remember that you must die! If you start a war, you will be hanged as the Nazi ringleaders were hanged in Nuremberg! Crimes against humanity will not go unpunished. Thus, the foreign policy line of our party, inspired by the ideas of the great Lenin, has stood the test of life and has earned wide international recognition. Being fully in keeping with the interests of the Soviet people, this line, at the same time, is imbued with consistent internationalism. It expresses the vital interests of the international working-class movement and of all progressive mankind.

## **THE CENTURY OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LENIN'S GREAT IDEAS**

Comrades, our century – the 20<sup>th</sup> century – is a most important stage in the history of mankind. This is the century which is witnessing the implementation of Lenin's great ideas....

Naturally, Marxism-Leninism does not indulge in the futile forecasting of events. But that does not mean that it is altogether impossible to foresee the historical prospects of the second half of our century. We see clearly the basic tendencies of historical progress.

Firstly, it is perfectly clear that the Soviet people will carry out ever more successfully the great programme of communist construction. The majestic goals of the Seven-Year Plan will be achieved ahead of schedule....

Secondly, the other countries of the socialist camp will go forward side by side with the Soviet Union....

Thirdly, judging by everything, the second half of our century will bring complete liberation to the oppressed and dependent nations.

Following its major victories in the middle of the century, the Asian national liberation movement is continuing to achieve ever new success in the struggle for the complete political and economic independence of the nations. Most of the Arab nations have already thrown off the imperialist yoke in Africa. The Negro nations of Africa

have also awakened and set up their first independent states. All the African colonies have proclaimed the militant slogan of their peoples' movement: "Independence during the lifetime of our generation!" Africa has now voiced an even stronger demand: "Immediate independence!" A national movement is also surging in the formally free, but actually dependent, countries of Latin America.

Of course, we must not ignore the fact that the imperialists will do everything possible to smother the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations. But haven't they done everything possible in that direction before? Nevertheless, the movement has continued to grow and has become an invincible force.

The imperialists have achieved temporary successes only in countries where they have obtained the support of corrupt local reactionaries. But can the freedom-loving peoples be expected to tolerate for long the rule of traitors to the nation – accomplices of foreign imperialists? Of course not. The days of colonialism are numbered.

Fourthly, the great struggle of the peoples to safeguard lasting peace throughout the world will grow year by year.

Already today, the correlation of forces is such that the peoples and states advocating the cause of universal peace are the stronger. However, the most rabid imperialists threaten to unleash a terrible nuclear war, which would subject the peoples to brutal mass annihilation. That is why the peoples cannot give up the struggle for reliable guarantees of peace. This is a question of life and death for them.

All the factors which have made for the success recently achieved in the effort to safeguard peace and lessen international tension, will continue to assume ever greater scope. Lenin's idea of struggling to deliver mankind from the terrible nightmare of war has gripped the minds of vast bodies of people in all continents and has therefore become a major force which will continue to grow and will, finally, make any military aggression impossible.

It is from this that the tempestuous streams of historical progress are now flowing, in spite of all kinds of obstacles.

As for the prospects of the countries of modern capitalism, it will be best if we leave the concrete evaluation of those prospects with in the concrete evaluation of those prospects within the competence of

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

the Marxist-Leninists of each particular capitalist country. After all, they know the situation in their countries better than anyone else. Here we can only state the general directions in which the basic laws of social development, laid down by the science of historical materialism, are operating and will continue to operate in those countries....

# **WORKING CLASS MUST WAGE FIRM STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM, WORKERS' MOVEMENT SHOULD STAND IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT**

by LIU NING-I

Liu Ning-I began his speech by extending, on behalf of the Chinese workers and the Chinese people, a warm welcome to the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions which was holding its 11<sup>th</sup> session in Peking, the capital of China.

He said, we are meeting at a time when the storms of the struggles of the people of the world against imperialism and its lackeys are gathering and bursting everywhere. At such a time, it is of particularly great significance that the representatives of our brother and sister workers all over the world meet together and discuss the burning question facing the world working class, the question concerning the actions to be taken in our fight. We Chinese workers and Chinese people are eagerly expecting that the call to be issued by this meeting will further mobilize and inspire the working class in all countries and rally all other working people as well as all other forces that can be united with, so as to launch even more extensive struggles against imperialism and its lackeys on the fronts of the struggles for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

---

This is summary of a speech made by Liu Ning-I, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, at the 11<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions on June 7, 1960.

Source: *Problems of International Development* (A Collection of Documents), Part II, pp. 58-67, Published by Shyamal Mukharji, 80, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

We Chinese workers and people have always stood at the forefront in the fight against aggressive wars and in defence of world peace, and regarded this fight as the most important task in our international activities, Liu Ning-I said. Recently, in the eyes of the people of the world, U.S. imperialism has once more committed a crime by carrying out aggression against the Soviet Union, wrecking the four-power conference of government heads, and aggravating international tension. Like the workers and peoples in other countries in the world, the Chinese workers and Chinese people are extremely indignant at this new crime of U.S. imperialism. More than 56 million people throughout China held meetings and staged demonstrations to express the firm will of the 650 million Chinese people to oppose U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace. We fully support the Soviet Union's solemn and just stand in exposing the crime of the United States and we fully support its just struggle against U.S. aggression.

Liu Ning-I continued, the criminal action of the United States in committing aggression against the Soviet Union and wrecking the four-power conference of government heads has exposed completely that U.S. imperialism is using peace gestures as a camouflage for its aggression and war preparations, Eisenhower, the chieftain of the U.S. imperialist bandits, has shown by his own action that he is by no means an "envoy of peace," but the No. 1 representative of the most ferocious aggressors and war forces in disguise. This fact has taught the people of the world a valuable lesson. Ample facts have long ago proved that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of peace. To expand armaments and prepare war on a large scale, to stubbornly reject disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons, to build military bases all over the world and organise all sorts of aggressive military blocs, to revive militarism in West Germany and Japan, to rudely interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, to support the reactionaries in various countries in their brutal suppression of the national and democratic movements and the workers' movement, to ceaselessly carry on sabotage, subversion and war provocations against the socialist countries, etc. All these are evil deeds which have been carried out and are still being carried out with increased vigour by U.S. imperialism. The serious threat to world peace comes from the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war. However, when U.S. imperialism pretends to look "peaceful



and amiable" and makes gestures for peace, some people seem to think that it may become kind-hearted all of a sudden and present us with peace on a platter. The Tito clique, fostered by U.S. imperialism, takes great pains to whitewash its master, spread absurd stories that imperialism has changed its nature, and help U.S. imperialism dupe the people of the world. This has confused some people, some of them are deceived while others entertain illusions about U.S. imperialism. The world workers' movement and the trade union organisations in all the countries cannot ignore this phenomenon. Our W.F.T.U. is a trade union organisation which truly represents the interests of the working class. Our duty is to make every possible effort to tell the truth to the masses of workers and other people, expose the U.S. imperialist schemes of "fake peace and actual preparations for war," and expose the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique as a tool of U.S. imperialism, so as to enable the workers and the people to understand that one cannot entertain any unrealistic illusions about U.S. imperialism, and should never believe the honeyed words of the imperialists.

U.S. imperialism is the arch enemy of world peace and it will never change its aggressive and predatory nature, Liu Ning-I pointed out. War can be prevented and world peace preserved only by uniting all peace-loving forces of the world to wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The entire history of the workers' movement and of the struggles of the people throughout the world in the postwar period proves that to safeguard world peace we must rely mainly on the resolute struggles of the working class and the masses of people of all countries. The force of the masses of the people is the decisive factor in defending peace. The victory of the struggle for peace can be assured only if the force of the peoples in the socialist countries, the force of the liberation movement of the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the revolutionary force of the people in the capitalist countries are continuously augmented; it can be assured only by relying on the force of this overwhelming majority of humanity, and by mobilising and encouraging them to carry out struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

We Chinese workers and Chinese people have always sympathised with and supported the struggles of the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialist oppression and for national

liberation and democracy and we have always sympathised with and supported the struggles of the people of the capitalist countries against the oppression of monopoly capital and for democracy and socialism. We are keenly aware that imperialism and its lackeys are the common enemy of the working class and the people of all countries. Their struggles are inseparably linked up with our own struggles. Their victories are a support to us just as our victories are a support to them. We and they are standing on the same front and need to unite with and support each other.

Liu Ning-I said, where there is imperialist oppression there is bound to be struggles waged by the people to resist such oppression. Today, the revolutionary storms of the national and democratic movement are rising in Asia, Africa and Latin America. With the support of the socialist camp and the world workers' movement this movement has become an irresistible historical tide. The people of Cuba have set a glorious example for all Latin American peoples. The example set by the Algerian people too inspires all the peoples of Africa. Of late we also see that the people of South Korea and Turkey which are under the tight control of the United States and its hirelings have waged large-scale heroic struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. In Japan, the struggle against the Japan-U.S. military alliance and the revival of Japanese militarism waged by the broad masses of workers and people is developing with might and main. They have carried out 17 rounds of nationwide united action, with mounting strength each time, forming a broad revolutionary movement of the masses unprecedented in the history of Japan. This has dealt a heavy blow to U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Kishi clique, and isolated them as never before. In France and Italy, even in the United States and Britain, the struggle of the working class and other working people against the oppression and exploitation of monopoly capital and in defence of the vital interests and democratic rights of the working people is developing. The people's struggles waged on all these fronts converge into a tremendous torrent in opposition to imperialism and its lackeys. These fronts will constantly broaden, and the force of the people on these fronts will steadily grow. The imperialist forces of war are suffering telling blows from the people in their rear. The rule of imperialism is weakening day by day and its days are numbered.

Liu Ning-I pointed out that out of an ulterior motive, the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, are cooking up a pretext to cover up their crime of ruthlessly suppressing the national and democratic movements and other struggles waged by the people. They say that the world workers' movement, the socialist countries in particular, do not want peace and "peaceful co-existence," since they sympathise with and support these struggles of the people. On this question, the Tito clique, too, has come put out to help U.S. imperialism, setting the struggle for world peace against the national and democratic movements which oppose imperialist oppression and other struggles waged by the people; and distorting peaceful co-existence between the two systems of socialism and capitalism into "genuine cooperation" between the oppressed and the oppressor. This is a lie to deceive the people. Everybody knows that the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed is a life-and-death struggle in which one or the other must win. World peace and peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems can be benefited only by waging resolute struggles against imperialist oppression. The world working class and the world workers' movement have always opposed the imperialist policies of plunder and oppression. It is entirely necessary and proper for us to sympathize with and support the struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples against imperialism and its lackeys. In the final analysis, such struggles are beneficial to the cause of the peoples of the world for defending peace, and constitute an integral part of their struggles to defend peace.

Liu Ning-I further pointed out, in this struggle, the international workers' movement should see to it that its own activities are favourable, not unfavourable to the struggle; it should teach the workers and people to raise their vigilance against imperialism and not disseminate illusions about imperialism among them. For instance, on the question of "aid to underdeveloped countries" we must have a clear-cut class stand, strictly distinguishing the two kinds of aid to foreign countries which are of a completely different nature, namely: the aid to foreign countries from the socialist countries and the foreign "aid" from the imperialist countries. As has been pointed out by many delegates in their speeches, the so-called "aid" of the imperialists to the economically backward countries is in fact a kind of export of capital, aiming to intensify

aggression, exploitation and domination over the recipient countries, to squeeze from them maximum profits, and to foster the comprador bourgeoisie. It has never meant to bring any blessing to the people of these countries receiving such "aid". To confuse the so-called "aid" of the imperialists, namely the export of capital, with the sincere and friendly assistance from the socialist countries without any conditions attached, to prettify the so-called "aid" of imperialism, and to advocate that such "aid" should be welcomed by the economically backward countries, is in fact to help imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism to peddle colonialism so that these countries cannot but become dependent on imperialism both politically and economically. No trade union organisations truly representing the working-class interests should ever allow this.

Liu Ning-I continued, what imperialism fears most is the unity of the working class and the people of the world. In the struggle to defend world peace, we must form the broadest united front, and unite all forces that can be united with, excluding the enemy. Precisely for this reason, we welcome and support every effort made by any state, political party, organisation, movement or individual to safeguard world peace and oppose aggressive wars. But, our workers' movement of the world is a militant proletarian movement. We must stand on the battle front of the peoples of the world in their struggles against imperialism and its lackeys and, starting from this front, promote struggles, develop the international united front, unite all the forces that can be united with, and isolate imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular to the greatest possible extent. Only thus can we give full play to the militant role of the working class in the struggle for world peace. Only thus can we educate the masses of workers and the people, and gradually raise the level of their consciousness from one of defending immediate interests to one of winning long-term, fundamental interests. And only thus can we achieve the goal of a broad unity, deal powerful blows to the imperialist forces of war, effectively prevent the danger of war and defend world peace.

Liu Ning-I said, in order to check the danger of war and safeguard world peace, we stand for negotiations between the socialist and imperialist countries and, through such negotiations to settle international disputes and reach agreement on general disarmament and

prohibition of nuclear weapons or even conclude pacts of mutual non-aggression between nations. We support the persistent and unswerving efforts the Soviet Union has made in this respect. On June 2, the Soviet government put forward new proposals on general and complete disarmament. This is still another effort on the part of the Soviet Government for the realisation of disarmament. The Chinese Government has issued a statement in support of these proposals of the Soviet Government. We fully back the statement of our Government. We know that the aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. They will not readily agree to hold negotiations unless they are at their wit's end; and even when they are forced to sit down and hold negotiations, they will not readily reach agreement with us. Granted they are forced to conclude an agreement, they will tear it to pieces in perfidy. This has been attested by innumerable historical facts. No negotiations, in any case, can replace the struggle of the working class and the masses of the peoples in different countries. Speaking of holding negotiations, whether for the sake of reaching an agreement helpful to peace, or for the sake of maintaining such an agreement, it is necessary to rely on the determined struggle of the working class and the masses of the peoples of all countries.

The unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the unity of the world working class and the world workers' movement are the surest guarantee for the victory of the cause of the working class, Liu Ning-I said. It is the sacred duty common to the working class of the world to strengthen this great unity. The Chinese workers and people have always shown concern for this unity and protected it as they would the apple of their eye. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions has always regarded it as its international obligation to strengthen the unity and cooperation between itself and the trade unions of other socialist countries, to strengthen the unity and cooperation between itself and the trade unions of the countries of the capitalist world, to strive for and develop this unity and cooperation within the world workers' movement, and consolidate and enhance the strength of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We note with great joy the unprecedented growth of the unity and solidarity of the world working class and the world workers' movement, Liu Ning-I continued. In recent years, whether in the struggle

for peace, or for national liberation and democracy, or for safeguarding the vital interests of the working class and for socialism, the masses of workers and the trade union organisations in different countries have extensively developed contacts, relations and united actions. As a banner of the unity of the world workers' movement, the World Federation of Trade Unions has made great contributions and will make further contributions in promoting the unity and solidarity of the working class.

Liu Ning-I said, there are still divisions within the ranks of the world working class and among the trade union organisations of different nations, and this is forced upon us by imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. Imperialism and the reactionaries in various countries have been trying for a long time to disrupt the unity of the working class by using scabs and right-wing socialists. Now, to such old tools new tools have been added, namely, the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique who have degenerated into renegades of the working class. Under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism the modern revisionists are specialising in activities to disrupt and undermine the unity of the working class, and are playing a role which could not otherwise be played by the right-wing socialists. These tools, be they new or old, have a common feature, that is, by advocating non-distinction between ourselves and the enemy, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and between the oppressed and the oppressors, they try to sap the revolutionary spirit of the working class, benumb its revolutionary will, and morally disarm it. To heal this division and to achieve the unity and solidarity of the working class, we must draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the tools of the imperialists, old and new, and wage a resolute struggle against their splitting and wrecking activities. Unity comes about if we strive for it through struggle, and it disappears if we strive for it through compromise. This is the truth attested by the entire history of the world workers' movement.

Liu Ning-I said, the present situation is very favourable to the people of the world in their struggle against imperialism and its lackeys. U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of peace, has done all possible evil deeds, completely lost the support of the people and landed itself in unprecedented isolation. We are living in a great era in which the people of the whole world are waging struggles against imperialism

and its lackeys. This great era is characterised by the fact that the East wind prevails over the West wind. We have full confidence in the future of the cause of striving for world peace and human progress. We firmly believe that so long as the force of the socialist countries, the force of the oppressed nations striving for national liberation and democracy, the force of the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist countries and the peace-loving forces all over the world continue to grow, and so long as these forces are combined in sustained struggles against the imperialist forces of war headed by the United States, the working-class and the people of the world will certainly be able to effectively prevent imperialist war and safeguard world peace.

# ON THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE

By LIU CHANG-SHENG

Liu Chang-Sheng said that the question of war and peace is one with which everyone is concerned and he wished to express some views on this question. With regard to the question of war and peace, he said, we have always stood for safeguarding world peace, for peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems, for the relaxation of international tension and for disarmament. But on this question there still exist some problems involving basic principles that must be clarified, otherwise people would go astray in regard to the question of safeguarding peace.

As to what attitude we should adopt towards war, Liu Chang-sheng said, we must first of all make a distinction as to its nature. A war between imperialist countries in a scramble for colonies is an unjust war. An imperialist war to suppress the colonial people and the people at home and to commit aggression against other countries is also an unjust war. On the other hand, a revolutionary war waged by the colonial peoples and by the oppressed peoples of the imperialist countries for their own liberation is a just war. Since the imperialists use armed force to suppress the oppressed peoples and nations, the oppressed peoples and nations cannot but take up arms themselves. We must stand for and uphold just revolutionary wars, and oppose and stop unjust wars. It is wrong to talk indiscriminately about whether or not war should be

---

This is a summary of speech delivered by Liu Chang-sheng, Vice-President of the world Federation of Trade Unions and Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions at the General Council Meeting of the W.F.T.U. on June 8, 1960. The text was published in Peking Review No. 24, 1960.

*Source: Problems of International Development (A Collection of Documents), Part II, pp. 68-73, Published by Shyamal Mukharji, 80, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.*



supported or whether or not it should be opposed, without making a specific analysis of its nature.

Liu Chang-sheng continued: The question of whether or not war can be averted, in our opinion, refers mainly to a world war. As to whether a world war can be averted, it should be pointed out that, on the one hand, under the conditions of the steady growth of the forces of the socialist countries, the forces of the liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies and the forces of the revolutionary movements and peace movements of the peoples of the countries the world over, and the united struggle of these forces, there exists the possibility of stopping the imperialists from unleashing a new world war. But, on the other hand, so long as there is imperialism, the root cause of war remains, the breeding ground of war remains, and the war maniacs remain, and that is why there still exists the danger of imperialism launching a new world war. If we only talk about the possibility of stopping the imperialists from launching a world war, but not about the danger of imperialism launching a world war, and are not on the alert against the military adventures of the war maniacs, we will only lull ourselves and the people. This will only help imperialism in its arms expansion and war preparations and, once it launches a war, the peoples of various countries, taken off guard, may be thrown into a state of alarm and confusion and even suffer unduly heavy losses. It is entirely wrong to believe that war can be eliminated for ever while imperialism still exists. The spreading of such illusions about imperialism among the peoples of all lands will lead to evil consequences of a serious nature and, in fact, we can already see such consequences at present.

Liu Chang-sheng said that as to imperialist wars of suppression against colonies and semi-colonies, national liberation wars of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against imperialism, wars of suppression against the people by the exploiting classes and people's revolutionary wars in the capitalist countries, wars of such nature have always existed in history, and have never stopped in the capitalist world since the Second World War. The wars in Indo-China, in Algeria, over the issue of the Suez Canal and in Cuba are all such wars. In the future, as long as imperialism and the exploiting system are still in existence, such wars of different nature will still be unavoidable. The belief that

wars of the above-mentioned types can be avoided is entirely wrong and contrary to fact. Such views will deprive the oppressed peoples of their fighting spirit and in the face of armed suppression by the enemy, prevent them from arming themselves to actively fight the enemy, who is armed to the teeth, and to liberate themselves. This will, in effect, keep the oppressed peoples for ever in the state of enslavement.

Liu Chang-sheng went on: We stand for peaceful co-existence between socialist and capitalist countries. Since World War II, we socialist countries have spared no effort in striving for peaceful co-existence and have unswervingly pursued various policies of peace, but the imperialist countries headed by the United States have all along clung to their cold war policy, persisted in arms expansion and war preparations and created tension. We should make it clear to the people that they should not be intimidated by the cold war waged by imperialism, that they should resolutely oppose its cold war policy, expose its ugly face and wage a head-on struggle against it. Only thus can the cold war be prevented from developing into a hot one.

Liu Chang-sheng further stated: We must take into full account the fact that because internal crises are worsening day by day in the imperialist countries and because they want to intensify their oppression and rule over the people at home and in the colonial countries, the imperialists will, for a long time to come, keep up their cold war policy, impose cold war on the people of the world and continue to maintain their massive military forces and the entire state machine. To safeguard world peace and oppose imperialism will, therefore, be a long-drawn-out struggle for the peoples of various countries.

Liu Chang-sheng said: We support the disarmament proposals put forward by the Soviet Union. It is of course inconceivable that imperialism will accept proposals for general and complete disarmament. The purpose of putting forward such proposals is to arouse the people throughout the world to unite and oppose the imperialist scheme for arms drive and war preparations, to unmask the aggressive and bellicose nature of imperialism before the peoples of the world in order to isolate the imperialist bloc headed by the United States to the greatest extent, so that they will not dare unleash a war lightly. But there are peoples who believe that such proposals can be realised when imperialism still exists and that the "danger of war can be eliminated" by relying on

such proposals. This is an unrealistic illusion. As to the view that after disarmament, imperialism would use the funds earmarked for war purposes for "the welfare of the labouring masses" and for "assisting underdeveloped countries" and that this would "bring general progress to people as a whole without exception" – this is downright whitewashing and embellishing imperialism, and indeed this is helping imperialism headed by the United States to dupe the people throughout the world.

Liu Chang-sheng pointed out that only when socialist revolution is victorious throughout the world, can there be a world free from war, a world without arms. Such a world is inconceivable while imperialism still exists. This is not a question of whether we want it or not; the question is that the imperialists will never lay down their arms of their own accord. They will not lay down their arms because they want to suppress the people of their own countries; they will not lay down their arms because they want to suppress the colonies; they will not lay down their arms because they want to carry on expansion and aggression against other countries. History has confirmed and will continue to confirm this.

We hold that the utmost efforts must be made to reach agreement on the banning of nuclear weapons and to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war in the world, Liu Chang-sheng said. The mastery of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union has now deprived U.S. imperialism of its atomic monopoly. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries should continue to develop their lead in the sphere of atomic energy and at the same time the people throughout the world should wage a more extensive struggle against imperialism and against nuclear weapons. Only in these circumstances can such agreement be reached. But even if agreement is reached, imperialism can still tear it to pieces. And even if in their own interests the imperialists dare not unleash a large-scale nuclear war, they still can wage war with the so-called conventional weapons. Therefore, in all circumstances people throughout the world should maintain sharp vigilance against imperialism and should not adopt a naïve attitude towards U.S. and other imperialism.

Liu Chang-sheng pointed out: To win world peace, the struggle of the world's peoples and diplomatic negotiations carried out by the

socialist countries should go hand in hand. It should not be supposed that since diplomatic negotiations are needed, the struggle of the peoples can thus be dispensed with. On the contrary, diplomatic negotiations must be backed up by the united struggle of the world's peoples. To win world peace, we should mainly rely on the struggles waged by the peoples of various countries. We should increase the might of the socialist countries, continuously develop the strength of the liberation movements in colonial and dependent countries, continuously expand the revolutionary forces of the people within the imperialist countries, and continuously expose the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and the modern revisionists who are in the service of imperialism. At the same time, we should make full use of our tactics and exploit the contradictions between the imperialist countries and the various monopoly capital groups within the imperialist countries. We hold that as long as we make the above mentioned efforts and rally all the forces that can be united around the anti-imperialist struggle to form a broad united front, we can certainly defeat the bellicose forces of imperialism and win the great victory in the defence of world peace.

## “FIGHTING WEAPON OF COMMUNIST PARTIES”

The Communist movement develops and strengthens together with the growth of the working-class movement, and it is constantly its task in the first instance to solve more and more new, general and specific problems of the class struggle of the proletariat and its allies. It happens that not only groups of Communists but also the leadership of individual parties are not up to the task of solving such problems, lose their Marxist-Leninist orientation and fall into leftism or right-wing opportunism. An example of this are the revisionist standpoints of the present leadership of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In the years of the Second World War the Communist Party organizations of Spain, which had correctly begun and armed partisan movement, in their leftish manner continued this struggle for a long time even after the end of the war, although the international situation and internal conditions had already changed substantially. This error was exposed by the Party and corrected in 1948-49, and the activities of Communists were directed towards work in the masses, including the various fascist organizations, which has already yielded many positive results....

The book *“Left-Wing” Communism – an Infantile Disorder* takes on particularly great significance in connection with the fact that in recent years a number of Communist Parties have appeared in countries which have recently achieved or are still striving for national independence. The Communist movement in these countries is living through its “childhood days,” and for it this Leninist work will be of very great help.

---

This is the extract from an article published in *Sovyetskaya Rossiya* on June 10, 1960, by D. Shevlyagin, to mark the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lenin's *“Left-Wing” Communism – An Infantile Disorder*.

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

By the end of the Second World War and in the post-war years, as a result of the rapid upsurge of the working-class and national liberation movement, many Communist Parties, which thanks to their war-time service had grown into large parties, emerged from prolonged underground activities. Certain parties, however, revealed inability to orientate themselves in the new conditions. The methods and means of long years of underground struggle against the class enemy were no longer suitable. In the new conditions it was necessary to establish relations with the broader masses of the working people, to seek allies in the middle strata of town and village and also, according to circumstances and the latest tasks of the struggle, temporary agreements with specific strata of the national bourgeoisie, particularly in countries where the main task was liberation from imperialist and colonial oppression. In this connection it is useful to recall Lenin's instruction to the effect that "history in general, and the history of revolutions in particular, is always richer in content, more diverse, more multiform, more vital, more 'cunning,' than is imagined by the best Parties, the most conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes."

Lenin understood the good intentions of those comrades who were in a hurry to race ahead, to accelerate the oncoming of socialist revolution, but he most resolutely warned against the danger of degenerating into Blanquists, who, not wishing to remain "at intermediary stations and not wanting to compromise." As Engels expressed it, could not be considered Communists.

Lenin's doctrine about the conditions of compromise, which are worked out in great detail in "*Left-Wing*" *Communism – An Infantile Disorder*, are the basis of the struggle of Communists for the achievement of unity of action of the working class with all strata of the petty and middle bourgeoisie in the joint struggle against the arbitrary rule of the monopolies and their alliance with the imperialist forces of other countries. This struggle does not do away with or replace the tasks of carrying out socialist revolution, but, on the contrary, is directly bound up with this task, since it unleashes the initiative of the masses, brings them into political, general democratic and gradually also into revolutionary struggle for the victory of a socialist revolution.

Lenin's doctrine about "compromises" acquires great importance in modern conditions, when Communists, especially in countries where

many tasks of bourgeois-democratic revolution and the achievement of national independence still have to be solved, must be able to conclude alliances not only with the peasantry but also with certain strata of the national bourgeoisie in the interests of struggle against foreign oppression. Here, as Lenin pointed out, "one has only to take a small step beyond this – apparently a step in the same direction – and the truth becomes error." The point is not to be at the tail-end of events, but also not to rush ahead, not to put forward precocious slogans of socialist transformations where conditions are not ripe for this....

For the purpose of drawing into active political life the broadest masses of the working people and the middle strata of town and village and bringing up among them allies of the working class in the struggle for transition to socialism, Communist Parties have worked out programmes of struggle for democratic reforms (the agrarian question, nationalization of monopolies, the establishment of a democratic government, proclamation of the policy of not joining aggressive *blocs* and the policy of peaceful co-existence). However, on the path of the implementation of these programmes, even Communist Parties which are powerful and hardened in class struggle are running up against survivals of leftism, the erroneous views of comrades whom V.I. Lenin ironically described as "terrible revolutionaries." Essentially the standpoint of these comrades is nothing more than the passive awaiting of that certain "hour" when, in their view, the general collapse of capitalism must automatically occur....

Present-day leftism in the Communist movement is also manifested in both concealed and overt resistance to the Communist parties' policy of establishing collaboration with working people in the ranks of the social-democratic, Catholic and various other bourgeois-radical parties and organizations. The policy of achieving peaceful co-existence, of cessation of the arms race and establishment of peace and friendship between peoples of capitalist and socialist countries is interpreted by present – day leftists as a "deviation" from Marxism-Leninism, and they take the slightest aggravation of the international situation as proof of their sectarian views. Although from the outside they seem "terribly revolutionary," they do harm to the cause of rallying the working class to the struggle against the aggressive designs of the imperialists, for the cessation of the "cold war" and the strengthening of peace throughout the world....

## **“THE IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON OF COMMUNISM”**

The search for a separate path to socialism for each country individually, the desire to build socialism on the basis of imperialist handouts or attempts to skip entire historic stages serve only the enemies of the working class interested in weakening socialism. Unmasking the false, anti-marxist views of the advocates of “separate paths,” Comrade N.S. Khrushchov said : “If such a point of view is adopted, it may well result in so many ‘paths’ that people will get lost, as in a forest, and will not know how to reach their goal. In life there is only a single, Leninist path toward the construction of socialism and Communism, a path tested by historical experience, the path of the great October socialist revolution....”

V.I. Lenin demonstrated the unsoundness and harm of the slogans of the leftists who rejected the idea of Communist compromises with other parties and groups. He said that the leftists, though considering themselves Marxists, had forgotten the fundamental truths of Marxism. Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) recalled a statement by F. Engels who once criticized the Blanquists (followers of Blanqui, an early French Communist) for wanting to skip through all intermediate stages directly to Communism without taking account of the new historical development, and remarked that if power will be in their hands, “Communism will be introduced” the day after tomorrow. Engels described as childish naivety the Blanquists' attempts to put forward their own impatience as a theoretically convincing argument.

“Naïve and utterly inexperienced people,” Lenin wrote, “imagine that it is sufficient to admit the permissibility of compromises in general

---

This is the extract from an article published in *Pravda*, June 12, 1960, by N. Matkovsky.

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



in order to obliterate the dividing line between opportunism, against which we wage and must wage an uncompromising struggle, and revolutionary Marxism or Communism.

“But if such people do not yet know that all dividing lines in nature and in society are mutable and, to a certain extent, conditional, they cannot be assisted in any way other than by a long process of training, education, enlightenment, political and everyday experience.”

Creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory under the new conditions and generalizing the great experience of socialist construction in our country in full accordance with the principles of social development, the Twenty-first Party Congress laid out a well-grounded, full-fledged programme for the transition from socialism to Communism. That programme is the concrete embodiment of the general line of the Communist Party in the present stage.

Characterizing the process of transition from socialism to Communism, Comrade N.S. Khrushchov told the Twenty-first Party Congress:

We must not hurry and hastily introduce what has not yet ripened. That would lead to distortions and compromise our cause. But neither must we rest on our laurels because such a course would lead to stagnancy.

The course of social development is objective. We consider erroneous and incorrect the statements of leftists in the international Communist movement to the effect that since we have taken power into our hands we can at once introduce Communism, by-passing certain historical stages in its development.

Such statements contradict Leninism. Lenin taught us that to try to anticipate the result of a fully developed, fully consolidated and established, fully unfolded and matured Communism amounts to the same thing as to try to teach higher mathematics to a four-year-old child.

The left-sectarian sentiments and tendencies against which Lenin's book was directed find their expression in some places even in our time. Some persons mistakenly consider the course of the achievement of peaceful co-existence of our countries with different political systems, the struggle to halt the arms race and to strengthen peace and friendship among peoples and the talks between leaders of socialist and capitalist countries as some kind of deviation from the positions of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin taught that the very complex struggle for Communism and the struggle against the international bourgeoisie could not be waged while renouncing in advance agreements and compromises on specific questions with possible, even if temporary, unstable allies for the exploitation, even though temporarily, of contradictory interests among the enemies.

While pursuing in some cases compromises in the name of the interests of development of the revolutionary movement, Communists never depart from positions of principle. "In questions of ideology," said Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, "we have firmly stood and will continue to stand firmly, like a rock, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism."...

V.I. Lenin's book teaches us a truly creative approach to the solution of practical problems arising in life and serves as a mighty ideological weapon of the Communist and workers parties in the struggle for peace and socialism.

Forty years have passed since the publication of the first edition of *"Left-Wing" Communism – An Infantile Disorder*. During that time the conditions of the class struggle have changed repeatedly both in the international and in the national arenas. A world-wide socialist system has been formed and the balance of power has changed radically in favour of socialism.

There has been a great increase in the number of Communist and workers' parties. While there were a total of forty Communist parties and groups when V.I. Lenin wrote his book, there are now communist and workers parties in eighty-six countries with a total membership of more than 36,000,000 people.

In recent years the Communist parties have demonstrated great creative enthusiasm. True to Lenin's behest, the fraternal parties are creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory and applying it to present-day conditions. A great contribution to the cause of the further development of Marxism-Leninism was made by our Party at its Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses.

Of major importance for international affairs have been the decisions of the congresses on such questions of principle as the peaceful co-existence and competition of the two systems, the possibility of preventing war in this era, the form of transition of various countries of socialism, and the ways of strengthening the world socialist system.

The congress decisions were approved unanimously by all Communist and workers' parties.

All the basic statements in Lenin's book are still vital at the present time. They are directed against rightist opportunists, present-day revisionists and leftist doctrinaires. The Communist parties, while regarding revisionism as their greater danger, draw attention at the same time to sectarianism and dogmatism, which can also represent great danger at certain stages of development of a given party....

The great force and vitality of Leninism lie in the successful and multifaceted activity of the Communist and workers parties. They are reflected in the fiery speeches of Communism to for peace, against war, for general disarmament, and for peaceful co-existence of countries with different social-political systems. The vitality and force of Leninism are also evident in the upsurge of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and in the successes of the national liberation movement of peoples against colonialism. The vitality and force of Leninism are also found in the achievements of the Soviet people in successfully building Communism and in the victories of all socialist countries that unswervingly pursue Lenin's course.

## KHRUSHCHOV'S BUCHAREST SPEECH

Comrades, questions of international relations, questions of war and peace, have always deeply concerned the mass of the people. That is natural. More than once in history the anti-national policy of the imperialists, their desire for a redivision of the world, for the seizure of new colonies, have subjected mankind to the horrors of devastating wars. But no matter how terrible wars have been in the past, if the imperialist circles should succeed in unleashing another world war, its calamities would be incomparably more terrible. For millions of people might burn in the conflagration of hydrogen explosions, and for some states a nuclear war would be literally a catastrophe. That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties, in all their activity, have always been consistent champions of a reasonable peace-loving policy, of the prevention of another world war....

The Communists are realists; they are aware that in present conditions, when there are two world systems, it is imperative to build mutual relations between them in such a way as will preclude the possibility of war breaking out between states. Only madmen and maniacs can now call for another world war. As for people of sound mind – and they are in the majority even among the most deadly enemies of Communism – they cannot but be aware of the fatal consequences of another war.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet government and the governments of the other socialist countries have by their deeds, by their realistic policy, proved to all the peoples of the world their loyalty to the idea of peaceful co-existence between states. The proposals on

---

This is the extract from Khrushchov's Speech to Rumanian Communist Party Congress in Bucharest on June 21. From text in *Soviet News* (London : Soviet Embassy), June 22, No. 4292, 1960.

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

general and complete disarmament and on the ending of nuclear weapon tests and the complete prohibition of those tests, the reduction in the armed forces of the socialist countries – I do not think there is any need to list here all the peaceable actions taken by our side—all this is concrete evidence of our desire to prevent war and really strengthen the cause of peace.

We made serious preparations for the Paris conference of the heads of government of the four powers. It will be recalled that the United States Administration, by its cynical provocations, torpedoed the conference before it had even begun. The name of the spy pilot Powers, though he is only a small poisonous bug in the service of the Pentagon brass, will go down covered with ignominy in the history of the United States, together with the names of those who sent him on that piratical flight.

The events in Paris were not accidental. These are the tactics of imperialism. The imperialists, headed by the aggressive circles of the United States of America, have been opposed and are now opposed to the policy of peaceful co-existence between states.

I remember a conversation with Mr. Dillon, the U.S. Under-Secretary of State, at Camp David.

Since it happened on a Sunday, the United States President flew off in a helicopter to pray to God and he told me that Mr. Dillon would like to have a talk with me on economic matters and questions of trade.

That worshipper there probably prayed to God for a safe flight for Powers. This, by the way, seems to indicate that the Lord does not serve the imperialists now. The President of the United States prayed to God for a safe flight for the spy plane, and we shot that plane down. Whom did God help? He sided, so to speak, with socialism. When I told Mr. Dillon during the conversation that it was necessary to create conditions for peaceful co-existence, he asked me the cynical question: "What does co-existence mean? I don't understand it."

You see what a cynical person Mr. Dillon is. Of course, he and his like would prefer to exist alone, without the socialist countries. However, that is no longer within their power.

The question might be asked: If the imperialists oppose peaceful co-existence, how did they come to agree to the meeting of the heads of government which was to have been held in Paris?

One must bear in mind that the attitude to the question of peaceful co-existence is not everywhere the same in the imperialist countries. During the conversations I had in Paris with President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan, it seemed to me that they showed a certain understanding of the necessity for peaceful co-existence and were even persuading me themselves that the policy of co-existence must be the guiding principle in the future relations between states with different social systems.

Not all representatives of the ruling circles of the United States of America have as yet learned to pronounce the words "peaceful co-existence," and some of them, like Dillon, claim that they don't understand the meaning of these words and refuse to carry through their policy in a spirit of peaceful co-existence.

Time, however, is the best teacher and it will also teach those diehards. Sooner or later they will realise that the alternative to peaceful co-existence is a bloody war. Let them make their choice. And victory will be on our side!

As for the American people, it must be expected that they will draw the appropriate conclusions and will produce leaders who understand the necessity for peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems.

It must also be borne in mind that the imperialist countries are not monolithic; they have their internal contradictions. On the one hand, there is the working class, the working peasantry and the working intelligentsia, and on the other, there are the monopolists, the capitalists who wax fat on the exploitation of the working class, of all the working people.

The peoples of those countries, especially the working class, the peasantry, the working intelligentsia, and even part of the bourgeoisie, do not want a war or are afraid of war. Some do not want it and others are afraid of it. The slogans of the struggle for peace, against war, are close to the hearts of the peoples. And under the pressure of these popular forces the governments of the imperialist states were driven to consent to a meeting between the heads of government. But they planned in advance to wreck that meeting and to blame it on the Soviet Union. The persons who wrecked the conference are now shedding crocodile tears. They are grieving as Judas did after he had betrayed Christ.

They crucified that conference and now they allege that the Soviet Union is to blame because it did not of its own free will get caught in the snares which were laid by the imperialist powers.

We are not living in the days when the legend of Christ was created; we are living in the twentieth century. Sober-minded representatives of the capitalist world now admit that it is impossible to halt the progress of socialism. And this robs some gentlemen of their common sense; they resort to steps which can be bluntly called provocative. They are getting nervous, they are raving. In such conditions even persons who don't want to unleash war might get unduly frightened, press the wrong button, and the consequences would be irrevocable.

That is why it is necessary to arouse the conscience of the peoples, enhance their vigilance, organise and strengthen the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, against colonialism, and to support and help the peoples who are fighting to liberate themselves from imperialist, colonial oppression. It is necessary to assist those peoples who have already gained their political independence but are economically dependent and to enable them to grow stronger and firmly pursue a policy that is in keeping with the interests of peace. All this means that we must still more actively expose the evils of imperialism, its vices. In order to prevent war – including a local war, because a local war might grow into a world war – each people in their own country must bring pressure to bear on their government and force it to adhere to the principles of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems....

Though the Paris conference was wrecked by the aggressive circles of the United States, this did not remove the urgent problems still awaiting solution. In order to establish normal relations between states and to preclude the possibility of another world war, we must solve the problem of general disarmament, destroy the means of waging war and disband the national armed forces, it goes without saying, under appropriate international control. We must eliminate the remnants of the Second World War, conclude a peace treaty with the two German states and solve the problem of West Berlin on this basis....

What conclusion can be drawn from the collapse of the conference? If the United States government continues the policy

proclaimed by Herter, if it continues over flights – this will, of course, have the most serious consequences for the cause of peace.

The statesmen now directing United States policy have shown their aggressiveness and irreconcilability. They are so much blinded by hatred for Communism that this does not let them understand correctly the prevailing conditions in the world. The present leaders of the United States are evidently unable to cultivate in the proper way relations between states with differing social systems.

It is not for us, it is for the American people to decide who will be the next President of the United States. But our state, our people, who want to live in peace and friendship with the American people, are naturally interested in the election of such a President and the formation of such a government that would understand and correct the mistakes made by the present government of the United States.

The Soviet Union and the United States are great world powers. History itself has assigned them such a place. Much depends on our two powers how the international situation will develop in the future – along the road of strengthening peace or along the road of straining relations.

The Soviet government has done everything for the further development of the relations which had slightly improved between our two countries. But the American leaders are doing everything so that the world reverts to the worst times of the cold war. And this is not being done accidentally; it is being done according to plan, as Secretary of State Herter and the President of the United States have virtually admitted. For they have confirmed that the spy plane was deliberately sent into the Soviet Union. Naturally, every government and every thoughtful statesman understands that the dispatch of a spy plane and intrusion into the air-space of another country cannot be conducive to the improvement of relations between states, cannot facilitate a solution of the problems which should have been discussed at a summit meeting.

What line must we pursue in these conditions? Should we accept this “challenge” and give up the efforts exerted by the peoples of our countries to secure a relaxation of international tension, the ending of the cold war and the normalisation of international relations? No, such a policy would be incorrect. Had we embarked upon this road, it would have meant that we had taken the cue from the imperialists, who wax



rich on the cold war and arms race. This would have met their wishes. Consequently, they would have been, so to say, rewarded for their provocative actions. We cannot allow this to happen. By bringing down the U-2 we have not only brought down a spy and *agent provocateur*, but also the self-conceit of the American imperialists, of the Pentagon military.

All the peoples want peace, including the American nation. I did not doubt this before my visit to the United States and became even more convinced of this after I had been there. And if today some people are intoxicated by the torpedoing of the meeting, the lies, slander and the all-out efforts to stir up the cold war, this is a temporary circumstance which sooner or later will have to give way to a more healthy atmosphere.

What has happened is another convulsion of imperialism. Aggressive circles will continue their attempts to provoke us. This is why we, the representatives of the socialist world, the representatives of the working class, the representatives of the working peasantry, must bravely and resolutely rebuff the militarists and foil their aggressive designs.....

We do not intend to yield to provocations and to deviate from the general line of our foreign policy, which was laid down by the 20<sup>th</sup> C.P.S.U. Congress and approved in the Declaration of the Communist and Workers' Parties, adopted in 1957, during the celebrations of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

This is a policy of co-existence, a policy of consolidating peace, easing international tension and doing away with the cold war.

The thesis that in our time war is not inevitable has a direct bearing on the policy of peaceful co-existence proclaimed at the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Congresses of our party. Lenin's propositions about imperialism remain in force and are still a lodestar for us in our theory and practice. But it should not be forgotten that Lenin's propositions on imperialism were advanced and developed tens of years ago, when the world did not know many things that are now decisive for historical development, for the entire international situation.

Some of Lenin's propositions on imperialism date back to the period when there was no Soviet Union, when the other socialist countries did not exist.

The powerful Soviet Union, with its enormous economic and military potential, is now growing and gaining in strength; the great socialist camp, which now numbers over 1,000 million people, is growing and gaining in strength; the organisation and political consciousness of the working class have grown, and even in the capitalist countries it is actively fighting for peace. Such factors are in operation now as, for instance, the broad movement of peace champions; the number of countries coming out for peace among nations is increasing. It should also be pointed out that imperialism no longer has such a rear to fall back upon as the colonial system which it had formerly.

Besides, comrades, one cannot mechanically repeat now on this question what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said many decades ago on imperialism, and go on asserting the imperialist wars are inevitable until socialism triumphs throughout the world. We are now living in such a period when the forces of socialism are increasingly growing and becoming stronger, where ever-broader masses of the working people are rallying behind the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

History will possibly witness such a time when capitalism is preserved only in a small number of states, may be states for instance, as small as a button on a coat. Well? And even in such conditions would one have to look up in a book what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin quite correctly said for his time, would one just have to repeat that wars are inevitable since capitalist countries exist?

Of course, the essence of capitalism, of imperialism, does not change even if it is represented by small countries. It is common knowledge that a wolf is just as bloodthirsty a beast of prey as a lion or a tiger, although he is much weaker. That is why man fears less to meet a wolf than a tiger or a lion. Of course, small beasts of prey can also bite, essentially they are the same but they have different possibilities, they are not so strong and it is easier to render them harmless.

Therefore one cannot ignore the specific situation, the changes in the correlation of forces in the world and repeat what the great Lenin said in quite different historical conditions. If Lenin could rise from his grave he would take such people, as one says, to task and would teach them how one must understand the essence of the matter.

We live in a time when we have neither Marx, nor Engels, nor Lenin with us. If we act like children who, studying the alphabet, compile

words from letters, we shall not go very far. Marx, Engels and Lenin created their immortal works which will not fade away in centuries. They indicated to mankind the road to Communism. And we confidently follow this road. On the basis of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism we must think ourselves, profoundly study life, analyze the present situation and draw the conclusions which benefit the common cause of Communism.

One must not only be able to read but also correctly understand what one has read and apply it in the specific conditions of the time in which we live, taking into consideration the existing situation, and the real balance of forces. A political leader acting in this manner shows that he not only can read but can also creatively apply the revolutionary teaching. If he does not do this, he resembles a man about whom people say: "He looks into a book, but sees nothing!"

All this gives grounds for saying with confidence that under present conditions war is not inevitable.

He who fails to understand this does not believe in the strength and creative abilities of the working class, underestimates the power of the socialist camp, does not believe in the great force of attraction of socialism, which has demonstrated its superiority over capitalism with the utmost clarity.

Is the possibility of the imperialists unleashing war under present conditions ruled out? We have said several times and we repeat once again: No, it is not. But the imperialist countries cannot fail to take into account the power of the Soviet Union, the power of the socialist camp as a whole. Naturally, the imperialists do not want to trigger off war in order to perish in it. They would like to destroy the socialist countries. Therefore today even the stupid, frenzied representatives of the imperialist circles will think twice about our power before they start a military gamble.

Even the crazy Hitler, if he had believed that the war which he launched against the Soviet Union would end in the routing of his fascist hordes and in his hiding in a Berlin shelter in the fifth year of the war and shooting a bullet into his head, he would not have taken such a mad decision on war against our country. This is quite clear!

And if the imperialists do unleash a war, will our socialist camp be in a position to cut it short? Yes, it will. Let me cite an instance.

When France, Britain and Israel attacked Egypt in 1956, our intervention put an end to this imperialist war which had been started by the aggressive forces to deprive Egypt of her independence. We helped the people of Egypt who were heroically fighting for the freedom of their country.....

The Soviet government addressed messages to Anthony Eden, Guy Mollet, and Ben-Gurion, warning them that there was a country which could deal a devastating blow unless aggression was stopped. And the war ended literally 22 hours later. Eden and Mollet – that so-called socialist leader, but actually a rabid imperialist colonialist – and Ben-Gurion, their errand boy immediately had their tails between their legs.

Thus the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist camp fulfilled their duty and the war was ended. Was it not a demonstration of the strength of socialism? And this happened soon after the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of our party proclaimed the thesis that under the present conditions war is not inevitable and that, in the event of it being unleashed, we have the possibility of thwarting the adventurist plans of the aggressors, to make the developments take the desired turn.

It is to be remembered that this happened in 1956. Now, the Soviet Union has created such powerful military facilities of which the imperialists have no full idea, in spite of all their espionage flights.

Or let us take another example. In 1957 we prevented Syria from being attacked by Turkey, which was incited to this adventure by the United States imperialists. And in 1958, after the revolution in Iraq, the Americans and British concentrated their forces and were preparing to attack Iraq. The American imperialists egged on Turkey, Iran and Pakistan to attack Iraq. The Americans were in such a hurry preparing for this attack that they even violated Austria's sovereignty by flying their troops stationed in Germany right over the territory of neutral Austria to Lebanon and Jordan. But in that case as well they had to stop short and did not dare to start aggression against Iraq in view of the resolute warning served by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They flew there, stayed for a while and flew away with nothing to show for their efforts. And the Iraq Republic continues to exist and grow in strength.

It should be emphasised that in the case of Syria, as in the case of Iraq, the point in question was to beat off the aggression which the United States – the strongest imperialist state – was preparing against those countries.

The American imperialists and their adventurist policy have discredited themselves to such an extent that they have come to be hated, not only by the peoples of the socialist countries, but also by the population of their allied states.

The bloody puppet Syngman Rhee has been thrown out of South Korea with ignominy. The former Turkish Premier, Menderes, the obedient executor of the will of the Americans, is now in prison.

Even on Taiwan, that American-occupied island, the United States Embassy was smashed up in spite of the brutal terror of Chiang Kai-shek, that American lackey. You know very well that millions of Japanese are coming out against the American invaders with contempt and hatred. To put the matter in a nutshell, in the countries from which the American imperialists are not as yet being kicked out the peoples' anger is welling up and the forces of protest are maturing. And it is common knowledge that if lightning strikes, a thunderbolt is bound to come too....

The U.S.S.R. pursued a policy of peace even when it stood alone, facing the powerful camp of imperialist states. We are also pursuing this policy now when the forces of peace are undoubtedly superior to the forces of war and aggression.

This position of ours stems from our firm belief in the stability of the socialist system, in our system, and therefore don't worry about the future of socialism.

No world war is needed for the triumph of socialist ideas throughout the world. These ideas will get the upper hand in the peaceful competition between the countries of socialism and capitalism....

# THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY GREETS THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

Form the Broadest Anti-Imperialist United Front  
with the Unity of the Socialist Camp and the International  
Communist Movement as its core

## COMRADE PENG CHEN'S ADDRESS

Dear Comrades!

Entrusted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Communist Party Delegation, on behalf of all members of the Chinese Communist Party and the entire Chinese people, extends warm greetings to the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party and, through the Congress, conveys heartfelt respects to the glorious Rumanian Workers' Party and Rumanian people.

The heroic and industrious Rumanian people, led by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party headed by Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, relying on their creative labour, have scored tremendous achievements in socialist construction. Rumania's national economy is developing by leaps and bounds. This year, Rumania's industrial output will be five times that of the peak year before the

---

This is the text of an address by Peng Chen, head of the Delegation and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered to the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party on June 22, 1960, Bucharest. The text was published in *Peking Review*, No. 26, 1960.

Source: *Problems of International Development* (A Collection of Documents), Part II, pp. 68-73, Published by Shyamal Mukharji, 80, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

Second World War. The socialist transformation of agriculture in Rumania has also won important victories. Collectivised peasant households comprise more than 80 per cent of all the peasant households in the country. The standards of the Rumanian people's cultural and material life have also risen greatly. All these achievements have laid a firm foundation for the further advance of the cause of your socialist construction and at the same time have added to the strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Now yours is already a socialist country with a highly developed industry. The Rumanian People's Republic, like all other fraternal socialist countries, is becoming more prosperous and powerful day by day fully demonstrating the incomparable superiority of the socialist system over capitalism.

While building their motherland, the Rumanian people have also made important contributions to the struggles against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for the defence of world peace.

Loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the Rumanian Workers' Party has carried on resolute struggles against modern revisionism so as to safeguard the unity of the ranks of the international communist movement and defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party are elated and inspired by all these achievements and contributions of your Party and your people. Your victories are ours, just as our victories are yours.

Comrades! Your current Congress will discuss and adopt the Directives on the 1960-1965 Plan for the development of the National Economy and the Long-Term Economic Programme of your country. The Directives on the Six-Year Plan show that the basic tasks in economic construction during the six-year period will be: to develop the material and technical basis of socialism and develop the productive forces at high speed for the completion of socialist construction. By 1965, the gross industrial output value will be 2.1 times that of 1959; agricultural output will also increase by 70 to 80 per cent and the socialist transformation of agriculture will finally be completed. The magnificent Long-Term Economic Programme indicates to the Rumanian people the path of gradual transition to the building of communism. The Six-Year Plan and the Long-Term Programme will certainly further inspire the Rumanian people with enthusiasm and confidence in the cause of building socialism and communism. Under the leadership of your Party,

the Rumanian people will unite still more closely, take concerted steps and strive for new victories with a selfless spirit for labour, marching with giant strides towards the bright and beautiful future that mankind has cherished. The Chinese Communists warmly wish your current Party Congress every success.

At present the countries of our socialist camp are all vigorously marching forward. The great Soviet people, have already scored tremendous achievements in the extensive building of communism and are successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Plan. Other socialist countries in Europe and Asia have also won inspiring and important achievements in the cause of building socialism in their respective countries.

We Chinese people, inspired by the three precious things of the Party—the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, having effected great leaps forward in the national economy for two consecutive years and fulfilled the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan in two years, are striving energetically to bring about a sustained, still better and still more comprehensive leap forward in the national economy this year. Now our country is unfolding a nationwide campaign for technical and cultural revolutions. In the course of the campaign, the revolutionary spirit of our people has been brought into fuller play and our productive forces have registered still greater developments. We are deeply convinced that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people will be able to catch up with and surpass Britain in the output of major industrial products in ten years or less and then will further build China into a mighty socialist power with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture.

Though China and Rumania are far apart separated by mountains and seas, their common ideals and cause have united the two peoples and two Parties closely together. The friendly and co-operative relations between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples have developed to a still greater extent in the past few years. In the course of our socialist construction, we have continuously received your support. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to your Party and your people.

Comrades! The situation of the international struggle is most



favourable to the cause of the people of various countries striving for world peace and human progress; this is already an era in which the East wind prevails over the West wind. Things are daily getting better with us while the enemy rots with each passing day. At the same time, the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and its lackeys is mounting vigorously with the sympathy and support of the socialist camp. It has become an irresistible historical current. The heroic Cuban people have set a brilliant example for the Latin American peoples. The Algerian people, fighting courageously in a sanguinary struggle, are with their tenacious militant spirit inspiring the national and democratic movements of all the African peoples. A new battlefield against imperialism and its lackeys has now been opened in South Korea, Turkey and Japan, where the United States has maintained a tight grip. The Japanese people have launched, in one wave after another, a broad and heroic mass struggle against U.S. imperialism and its hirelings. They have smashed the plan of Eisenhower, chieftain of U.S. imperialism, to visit Japan this time. The battlefield of the people of the world against imperialism and its stooges is being continuously expanded. Indeed, the days of imperialism are numbered.

U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of the people of the world, is now more isolated than ever. In trying to extricate itself from its plight, it has, in the past few years, taken great pains to play the trick of faking peace while actually preparing for war. It has worked in every way to use peace as a camouflage for its aggression and preparations for a new war. However, it only serves as a good teacher by negative example. Recently the crimes of the United States in intruding into the Soviet air space and sabotaging the four-power conference of government heads have stripped U.S. imperialism and its head, Eisenhower, of all their disguises and bared the utterly ferocious features of U.S. imperialism. This has provided an instructive lesson to the people of the world. Imperialism is, after all, imperialism and its fine words can never be trusted.

The Chinese people fully support the just stand taken by Comrade Khrushchov at the preliminary meeting of the four-power conference of government heads towards the U.S. aggressors. They fully support the just struggle of the Soviet people against U.S. aggression. The

the Rumanian people will unite still more closely, take concerted steps and strive for new victories with a selfless spirit for labour, marching with giant strides towards the bright and beautiful future that mankind has cherished. The Chinese Communists warmly wish your current Party Congress every success.

At present the countries of our socialist camp are all vigorously marching forward. The great Soviet people, have already scored tremendous achievements in the extensive building of communism and are successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Plan. Other socialist countries in Europe and Asia have also won inspiring and important achievements in the cause of building socialism in their respective countries.

We Chinese people, inspired by the three precious things of the Party – the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, having effected great leaps forward in the national economy for two consecutive years and fulfilled the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan in two years, are striving energetically to bring about a sustained, still better and still more comprehensive leap forward in the national economy this year. Now our country is unfolding a nationwide campaign for technical and cultural revolutions. In the course of the campaign, the revolutionary spirit of our people has been brought into fuller play and our productive forces have registered still greater developments. We are deeply convinced that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people will be able to catch up with and surpass Britain in the output of major industrial products in ten years or less and then will further build China into a mighty socialist power with modern industry, modern agriculture, and modern science and culture.

Though China and Rumania are far apart separated by mountains and seas, their common ideals and cause have united the two peoples and two Parties closely together. The friendly and co-operative relations between the Chinese and Rumanian peoples have developed to a still greater extent in the past few years. In the course of our socialist construction, we have continuously received your support. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to your Party and your people.

Comrades! The situation of the international struggle is most

favourable to the cause of the people of various countries striving for world peace and human progress; this is already an era in which the East wind prevails over the West wind. Things are daily getting better with us while the enemy rots with each passing day. At the same time, the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and its lackeys is mounting vigorously with the sympathy and support of the socialist camp. It has become an irresistible historical current. The heroic Cuban people have set a brilliant example for the Latin American peoples. The Algerian people, fighting courageously in a sanguinary struggle, are with their tenacious militant spirit inspiring the national and democratic movements of all the African peoples. A new battlefront against imperialism and its lackeys has now been opened in South Korea, Turkey and Japan, where the United States has maintained a tight grip. The Japanese people have launched, in one wave after another, a broad and heroic mass struggle against U.S. imperialism and its hirelings. They have smashed the plan of Eisenhower, chieftain of U.S. imperialism, to visit Japan this time. The battlefront of the people of the world against imperialism and its stooges is being continuously expanded. Indeed, the days of imperialism are numbered.

U.S. imperialism, the most vicious enemy of the people of the world, is now more isolated than ever. In trying to extricate itself from its plight, it has, in the past few years, taken great pains to play the trick of faking peace while actually preparing for war. It has worked in every way to use peace as a camouflage for its aggression and preparations for a new war. However, it only serves as a good teacher by negative example. Recently the crimes of the United States in intruding into the Soviet air space and sabotaging the four-power conference of government heads have stripped U.S. imperialism and its head, Eisenhower, of all their disguises and bared the utterly ferocious features of U.S. imperialism. This has provided an instructive lesson to the people of the world. Imperialism is, after all, imperialism and its fine words can never be trusted.

The Chinese people fully support the just stand taken by Comrade Khrushchov at the preliminary meeting of the four-power conference of government heads towards the U.S. aggressors. They fully support the just struggle of the Soviet people against U.S. aggression. The

Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have always held that the socialist camp is an integrated whole, that aggression by U.S. imperialism against any fraternal country is aggression against China and against the entire socialist camp. If imperialism, with the United States at its head, dares to provoke the countries of the socialist camp, the Chinese people will stand together with the peoples of the other fraternal countries and resolutely deliver fatal counter-blows to the aggressors.

Comrades! The development of the international situation has fully testified to the correctness of the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries two and a half years ago. The Declaration pointed out on the one hand that "so long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars," that the aggressive circles of the United States are "the centre of world reaction" and "the sworn enemies of the people," and that "all the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism." On the other hand the Declaration pointed out that "the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting war." So long as there is unity among the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the international working class and its vanguard, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America struggling for their liberation, the peoples of various capitalist countries – fighting against monopoly capital and all peace-loving countries and peoples in the world, it is possible to check war and safeguard peace. This is to say that the aggressive and predatory nature of imperialism will never change, that U.S. imperialism is the arch enemy of world peace, and that the peoples of the world must never entertain any unrealistic illusions about imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. They must maintain a high degree of vigilance, carry on a persistent struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and maintain solidarity and mutual support in the struggle. This is also to say that the forces of the masses of the people of various countries and their struggle are the decisive factor in checking war and defending world peace. War can be held at bay and world peace preserved only by continually strengthening the forces of the people in the countries of the socialist camp, the liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in various capitalist

countries and by relying on their alliance in the resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys so as to isolate U.S. imperialism to the greatest extent.

In the face of the powerful growth of the struggle waged by the people in the world against imperialism and its lackeys, our sacred duty as Communists is to strengthen the unity of our socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of the Moscow Declaration. At the same time we must unite all the international forces with whom it is possible to unite to form the broadest anti-imperialist united front with this great unity as its core. The unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement is the most reliable guarantee for the cause of world peace, liberation of the working class and all the oppressed nations. Imperialism fears most this unity of ours and is trying by every means to disrupt it. Modern revisionists, represented by the Tito clique, exactly in keeping with the needs of imperialism, are doing their utmost to disrupt this great unity of ours, thus serving imperialism and especially U.S. imperialism. For the defence of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, we must carry the struggle against modern revisionism to the end. We must thoroughly expose them for the renegades they are, completely wipe out the ideological poison spread by them and utterly smash all their criminal sabotage activities.

Comrades! Our cause is great, our strength is powerful and our banner—Marxism-Leninism—is all conquering. Let us heroically march forward with full confidence towards the brilliant morrow of all mankind—communism.

## THE BUCHAREST COMMUNIQUE

On the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist  
and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries

Bucharest, June 24, 1960

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, attending the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party – the Albanian Party of labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labour, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – decided to take advantage of their stay in Bucharest to exchange opinions on current problems of the present international situation, and the conclusions for the fraternal parties coming from them.

The participants in the conference noted unanimously that all international events and the developments of the countries of the world socialist system fully reaffirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto adopted by the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957.

The participants in the conference reaffirmed their allegiance to the principles of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, which are the charter of the present-day Communist and workers' movement, a programme of its struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries believe that all the conclusions of the Declaration

---

*Source: Problems of International Development (A Collection of Documents), Part I, pp. 82-84, Published by Shyamal Mukharji, 80, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.*

and the Peace Manifesto – on peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars in the present period, on the need for vigilance of the peoples with regard to the danger of war, since the existence of imperialism means there is a basis for wars of aggression – can be fully applied in the present situation, too.

“The Communist Parties,” the Declaration emphasizes, “regard the struggle for peace as their paramount task. Shoulder to shoulder with all peace-loving forces they will do their utmost to prevent war.”

The Declaration also draws an important conclusion about the forms of the transition of countries from capitalism to socialism. “In the present conditions in a number of capitalist countries, the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the possibility...of breaking the resistance of reactionary forces and creating the necessary conditions for the peaceful accomplishment of the socialist revolution.” All the same, it is also necessary to take into account the possibility of the working class gaining victory for the socialist revolution by non-peaceful means.

The participants in this Meeting note with a feeling of profound satisfaction the tremendous successes achieved by all the countries of the socialist system in economic and cultural development, in the consolidation of the social and state system, in the further advancement of socialist democracy. The great commonwealth of the countries of socialism is developing and gaining strength day-by-day. The camp of socialism is flourishing. It is exercising a tremendous and everincreasing influence upon the whole course of development of mankind. The successes of the Soviet Union and of the People's Democracies inspire the working class and all the working people in the capitalist countries to struggle against the offensive of the exploiters upon their vital interests and for peace and socialism.

The participants in the Meeting declare that the Communist and Workers' Parties will continue to strengthen the solidarity of the countries of the socialist world system and to guard, as the apple of their eye, their unity in the struggle for peace and security of all peoples, for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Central Committee, Albanian Party of labour

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party  
Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party  
Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam  
Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany  
Central Committee, Communist Party of China  
Central Committee, Korean Party of Labour  
Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party  
Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party  
Central Committee, Rumanian Workers' Party  
Central Committee, Communist Party of Soviet Union  
Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia



## HOLDING HIGH THE MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF THE MOSCOW DECLARATIONS

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries attending the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party held a meeting in Bucharest and issued a communique on the meeting. The communique says, "The participants in the conference unanimously noted that all international events and the development of the countries of the world socialist system fully reaffirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theses of the Declaration and the Manifesto of Peace adopted by the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957." The Communique adds, "The participants in the conference reaffirmed their allegiance to the principles of the Declaration and the Manifesto of Peace which are a charter of the present day communist and workers' movement, a programme of its struggle for peace, democracy and socialism,"

We maintain that in the current situation, reaffirmation by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries of the correctness of the Moscow declaration of 1957 is necessary and of major significance.

The Moscow declarations of 1957 were drawn up in accordance with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the new characteristics of our epoch. In the Declarations, the analyses of the two world systems of socialism and capitalism, of the conditions of modern imperialism, of the question of war and peace, of the question of how to win world peace, of the question of the basis of the foreign

This is a translation of full text of a "*Renmin Ribao*" (People's Daily) editorial on June 29, 1960.

Source: *Problems of International Development* (A Collection of Documents), Part II, pp. 81-92, Published by Shyamal Mukharji, 80, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

policy of the socialist countries being peaceful co-existence between countries of two differing social systems, of the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, of the question of the different forms through which the various capitalist countries are to accomplish socialist revolution, whether by peaceful transition or by non-peaceful transition, of the question of the national liberation movement in colonies and semi-colonies, of the question of the mutual relationships and unity and cooperation among the socialist countries and among the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries in the world – all these analyses not only fully conform to the current situation but are also a guide for future struggle of the people of all countries in the world.

In the past two years and more since the publication of the Moscow declarations, the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union have achieved ever-greater victories in socialist construction and socialist transformation. The strength of the socialist camp is growing vigorously. The socialist camp is playing an ever-larger role in international life.

In these two years and more, the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of various countries of the world has been forging ahead continuously and has now entered a stage of new upsurge. The struggle for national independence, democratic freedoms and world peace is sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of the masses of the people headed by the working class against monopoly capital and the imperialist bellicose groups is shaking the heart of the capitalist world – North America and Western Europe.

In these two years and more, the imperialist bloc headed by the United States has sunk deeper in innumerable difficulties and its internal contradictions are growing steadily. U.S. imperialism has become more and more isolated from the people of the whole world. The general crisis of capitalism has become ever more acute and it has long since become impossible for the relative stability of capitalism to reappear.

In a word, the development of the world situation is continuously bearing out with new facts the theses of the Moscow Declaration: "The progress of socialism and of the national liberation movement has greatly accelerated the disintegration of imperialism"; "while socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline."

The characteristic of the current situation is the fact that the East

wind continues to prevail over the West wind, the forces of socialism surpass those of imperialism and the forces of peace surpass those of war. Under these circumstances, the possibility of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war exists and is increasing with each passing day. However, imperialism is after all imperialism. The monopoly capitalist class is after all the monopoly capitalist class. The imperialists will under no circumstances give up, of their own accord, their policies of aggression and war and, of their own accord withdraw from the stage of history just because of the sad plight in which they find themselves. The nearer they approach their doom, the more frantic the fight they will put up.

The Moscow Declaration exposes the aggressive predatory nature of imperialism and points out the danger of war arising from the existence of imperialism. It says: "The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, by pursuing the so-called 'positions of strength' policy, seek to bring most countries of the world under their sway and to hamper the onward march of mankind in accordance with the laws of social development". The U.S. imperialists "are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people".

In the past two years and more, the imperialist bloc headed by the United States has always tenaciously maintained the state of cold war and international tension which it created. U.S. imperialism is stepping up ever more earnestly arms expansion and war preparations, reinforcing its military bases overseas, rigging up military blocs of aggression, energetically fostering the forces of militarism in West Germany and Japan, planning for war against the socialist camp, encroaching upon the independence and sovereignty of numerous countries, and intervening in and suppressing the national independence movements and people's revolutionary movements in various countries. Recently, the U.S. Government sent spy planes to intrude into the territorial air of the Soviet Union and outrageously torpedoed the long-prepared four power conference of the heads of government. Eisenhower, chieftain of U.S. imperialism, has sown the seeds of war everywhere he visited in the course of his gangster trip to the Far-East, in an attempt to maintain and strengthen the U.S. front of aggression in Asia.

All this is not fortuitous, but arises from the nature of imperialism. The forces of monopoly capital in the imperialist countries headed by

the United States have become still more concentrated after the Second World War. Their plunder of the peoples of their own countries and the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries has been more ruthless. They have resorted to various means to increase their export of capital and extort high profits. U.S imperialism is further more gaining control of and looting numerous countries in the capitalist world in a frenzied and, at the same time, more cunning way through the form of so-called "U.S. aid". In order to achieve their purpose of plunder and with a view to removing obstacles in the way of achieving this purpose, the imperialists headed by the United States have stubbornly persisted in their policies of aggression and war.

The Moscow Declaration says: "So long as imperialism exists, there will always be soil for aggressive wars." Countless facts have proved that this thesis is fully correct. Of course, the Moscow Declaration points this out not for the purpose of making the people lose confidence in safeguarding world peace, but, on the contrary, for the very purpose of calling upon the people of all nations to "display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism," thereby enabling them to fight more effectively in defence of world peace.

The Moscow Declaration emphatically points out: "Peace and peaceful co-existence are now being demanded by the broad masses in all countries. The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. Together with all the peace-loving forces, they will do their best to prevent war."

The socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union have consistently adhered to a peaceful foreign policy, advocated peaceful co-existence among countries of different social systems, striven for the settlement of international disputes through negotiation and always worked untiringly for the relaxation of international tension. As early as in 1954, our country, together with India and Burma, initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and, in 1955, together with other Asian and African countries, jointly laid down the ten principles of peaceful co-existence at the Bandung Conference. Throughout the years, we have consistently followed these principles in handling relations between our country and the friendly neighbouring South-East Asian countries as well as other countries and have achieved

remarkable successes. This year, our country has signed friendship treaties of peaceful co-existence with Burma and Nepal respectively. Striving to settle major international problems, the Soviet Union has been directing its efforts in the past few years to bringing about the four-power conference of government heads. These efforts as well as the proposals for disarmament and other proposals set forth by the Soviet Union for the relaxation of international tension have consistently been supported by China and other socialist countries. After the United States wrecked the four-power conference of government heads, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries still did not abandon the path of peaceful negotiations. All these facts prove that obstacles to carrying out peaceful co-existence among countries of different social systems do not lie on the side of the socialist countries but on that of the imperialist countries headed by the United States.

Experience shows that the imperialists, unless driven to the wall, are never willing to conduct serious negotiations with the socialist countries. And agreements reached in negotiations have been scrapped or violated by the imperialists. The Potsdam Agreement signed at the end of the Second World War, for instance, has not been fully implemented because of the perfidy of the imperialists headed by the United States. The Korean and Indo-China armistice agreements have also been partially sabotaged by U.S. imperialism in the course of their implementation.

To compel imperialism to agree to negotiate and to make negotiations fruitful, it is necessary to constantly strengthen the might of the socialist countries and to constantly strengthen the struggle of the peoples of various countries of the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. If agreements are reached in negotiations, it is still necessary to rely on the unremitting efforts of the socialist countries and the peoples of various countries of the world to safeguard them against sabotage. At no time can imperialism be trusted lightly.

The Moscow Declaration emphatically points out that world peace can be safeguarded only by a united struggle of the powerful anti-imperialist forces. The Declaration says: "The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together

with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard – the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism would doom itself to destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices.”

The united struggle of these powerful anti-imperialist forces has in the past two years and more again and again thwarted and is continuing to thwart the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States. The Moscow Declaration points out: “At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting war.” The imperialist bellicose groups and their lackeys in various countries are only a handful in the whole world. The workers, peasants and the majority of the intelligentsia of all countries, the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations and the peace supporters in the capitalist countries are all victims of imperialist policy of war. They all stand or can stand on the side of safeguarding world peace and opposing imperialism. They constitute an absolute majority of mankind. The revolutionary people account for more than 90 per cent of the world’s population. Let us see then into whose hands the fruits of struggle will fall – into the hands of the revolutionary people who make up more than 90 per cent of the world’s population or into the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries of various countries who comprise less than 10 per cent ? Let us see who after all is the master of the world today?

At present, the primary task of the people in all countries the world over is to form the broadest united front against imperialism headed by the United States and wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. The people of all countries are striving for the realization of disarmament, for the liquidation of military bases overseas, for the prohibition of nuclear weapons, for the establishment of collective security in Europe and Asia and for independence for all

colonies, etc., in order to achieve the object of checking imperialist wars and defending the world peace. The more extensively the people of all countries in the world join in this united front against imperialism headed by the United States and wage a common struggle, the more will world peace be ensured. However, just as explained above, while imperialism still exists, we absolutely cannot entertain any unrealistic illusions about peace or slacken our vigilance to the danger of imperialism launching wars. Only when the imperialist system and the capitalist system are eliminated from the earth and only when classes are really abolished can there actually be an everlasting world peace.

No matter how frenziedly imperialism headed by the United States may carry out arms expansion and war preparation and put up a death-bed struggle, eventually it cannot escape the fate of final extinction. The Declaration rightly says: "By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers". The imperialist system will eventually be overthrown by the people of all countries; the capitalist system will eventually be replaced by the socialist system. This is an objective law of social development which is independent of the subjective will of any class, group, political party or individuals.

The Moscow Declaration deals with the question of different forms of transition from capitalism to socialism. It maintains that in a number of capitalist countries, the working class, headed by its vanguard, should, on the basis of concrete possibilities, "create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution". But, "in the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind".

The working class and the working people are, of course, willing to use peaceful methods to secure state power and the transition to socialism. It would be a mistake not to make use of such a possibility if it exists. But the ruling classes will never yield state power of their own accord, and will invariably use suppression by violence when the people rise and start revolution. Therefore, the working class and its political party absolutely cannot base all their work solely on the possibility of peaceful transition but must prepare at the same time for two possibilities, namely, the possibility of peaceful transition and the

possibility of non-peaceful transition. It would be utterly wrong if peaceful transition is groundlessly described as the only possibility.

The Moscow Declaration stresses "the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties". At the same time the Declaration maintains that "the main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, right-wing opportunism." The Declaration points out: "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source".

The Moscow Declaration says, "modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is 'outmoded' and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of Party organization and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society".

The points made in the Moscow Declaration about modern revisionism have increasingly demonstrated their correctness and importance in the course of the development of the international communist movement in the past two years and more. All Marxist-Leninist must persist in the struggle against modern revisionism. Of course, dogmatism must be opposed. Dogmatism is alienation from the masses and from reality. Without opposing dogmatism, it is impossible to lead our cause to victory. However, in no case is it permissible to discard the fundamental theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of combating dogmatism or to substitute revisionism for Marxism-Leninism.

The Moscow Declaration says: "To bring about real solidarity of the working class, of all working people and the whole of progressive mankind, of the freedom and peace-loving forces of the world, it is necessary above all to promote the unity of the Communist and Workers'



Parties, to foster solidarity between the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. This solidarity is the core of still greater solidarity, it is the main guarantee of the victory of the cause of the working class."

The unity of the international proletariat, of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, of the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the Chinese and Soviet Parties is built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow declarations. This unity is unbreakable and can stand all tests. Any provocation of the imperialist countries against any socialist country is a provocation against all the socialist countries. The resolute support given by socialist countries to the Just stand taken by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. at the preliminary meeting to the four-power conference of government heads in Paris once again manifested the great unity of the socialist camp. It is vain for the imperialists and the modern revisionists to sow dissension in an attempt to undermine our unity. Their purpose can never be realized.

The present world situation is excellent. The enemy rotting day-by-day while with us things are daily getting better. The policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States have roused ever-stronger opposition of the masses of people throughout the world. The national and democratic revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, the struggle of the heroic Japanese people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the struggle of the heroic Cuban people against U.S. imperialism, the struggle of the Algerian people against colonialism and for independence and the struggles of the South Korean and Turkish peoples – all these struggles have dealt heavy blows to the imperialists headed by the United States and have played a great role in defence of world peace. These struggles are supported by the people of all countries, the proletariat of the whole world, the entire socialist camp and those of all lands who cherish peace and stand for justice.

We believe that with the growth of the struggle of the people of various countries to defend world peace and oppose imperialism, the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries, the growth of the international communist movement and the development of Marxism-Leninism, the international solidarity of the proletariat will surely be steadily consolidated and developed. As, the

communique on the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries attending the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers's Party says : "The Communist and Workers' Parties will continue to strengthen the cohesion of the countries of the world socialist system and will preserve, like the apple of the eye, unity in the struggle for peace and the security of all peoples, for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism."

Let us advance courageously holding high the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary banner of the Moscow declarations.

## **“PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE IN PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS”**

The Great October Revolution marked the beginning of a new historical epoch whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism. Socialism has triumphed fully and definitively in our country: the Soviet people are successfully building a communist society. A world system of socialism has arisen and is growing stronger. No single phenomenon in the world can now be correctly understood unless one regards the world system of socialism as of paramount importance.

A third of mankind has cast off the yoke of capitalism, is creating a new type of society and has achieved gigantic successes in subduing the forces of nature and developing technology to an astounding extent. Millions of people have been freed from the yoke of colonialism. The question arises: In these conditions can the imperialists, as in the old days, arbitrarily drive the peoples into bloody slaughter? Will the bloody element of war rage over the globe as in the past?

An answer to this most important question was given by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., which on the basis of profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present day reached the conclusion that in our time there is no fatal inevitability of war. The transformation of socialism into a world system, the growth of the might of the Soviet Union, of all the countries of socialism, the growth of the consciousness and organisation of all the forces standing for peace in capitalist countries, the unprecedented development of the peace movement, the appearance of “peace zones” on the map of the world, the growth of the national liberation movement – all this has radically altered the world

---

This is the extract of an article by Yu Frantsev, a leading Soviet theoretician, published in *Pravda*, August 7, 1960.

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

situation. There are now no forces in the world that could halt the dynamic development of the world system on socialism.

The implementation of the economic plans of the U.S.S.R. and of all the other socialist countries will introduce still greater changes into the international situation. When the U.S.S.R. becomes the world's first industrial power, when the Chinese People's Republic becomes a mighty industrial power and all the socialist countries together turn out more than half the world's industrial production, then the influence of the socialist countries on the strengthening of the peace-loving forces will grow still further. The present-day Peace Partisan Movement, which has embraced all countries and all peoples, represents a great social force, whose activity in the struggle against war will grow more and more. The idea of the impermissibility of war will take still deeper root in the minds of the peoples. Relying on the might of the camp of socialism, the peace-loving peoples will then be able to compel the militant circles of imperialism to abandon their plans for a new world war. These ideas form the basis of the conclusions of the Twenty-first Congress of the C.P.S.U. to the effect that even before the complete victory of socialism on the earth and while capitalism continues to exist in part of the world, a real possibility will arise of excluding world war from the life of society.

The proposition that it is possible in our time to prevent war and preserve peace was developed in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted at the conference of fraternal parties in Moscow in the autumn of 1957. The principles of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, which constitute the charter of the present day communist and working-class movement, have triumphed in the struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism, which are contrary to the creative character of Marxism-Leninism and impede the mobilisation of all the forces of the socialist camp, of the revolutionary working-class and liberation movement, to the struggle for peace and socialism against imperialism.

The Conference of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries held in Bucharest in June 1960 confirmed with fresh force that the Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously support the conclusions of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses of the C.P.S.U., which have exerted a

tremendous influence on the international situation in the interests of peace and socialism, and support the principles of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto. The Conference in Bucharest demonstrated the fidelity of the international communist movement to Marxism-Leninism, the readiness of all the fraternal parties to continue to strengthen the solidarity of the world socialist camp and to preserve like the apple of their eye the unity of the international communist movement. The July Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. adopted unanimously a resolution on the results of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Bucharest. The Plenum fully and entirely approved the political line and activity of the C.P.S.U. Delegation headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov at this Conference and the communiqué of the Conference. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. confirmed its fidelity to the principles of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto and expressed complete solidarity with the Statement by the Communist and Workers' Parties which participated in the Bucharest Conference to the effect that the struggle for peace remains the cardinal task of the communist movement.

### **HAS THE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM CHANGED?**

Imperialism no longer dominates the whole globe, as in the past. Barring the way to the implementation of its plans there now stands not one socialist country in capitalist encirclement, but a world system of socialism. Imperialism does not have its former hinterland in the form of the colonial system. The peoples of countries which have liberated themselves from colonial oppression and also of countries which are struggling for their national independence are resolutely opposed to imperialism, to its rapacious colonial policy and predatory aggressive wars. On the international arena the number of states coming out for peace is increasing. Within the capitalist countries the organisation and consciousness of the working class is growing. Is the aggressive nature of imperialism changing in the course of these processes? No, it is not. By its social nature imperialism remains rapacious. But do the imperialists still have their former opportunities to manifest their rapacious nature unimpeded on the world arena? No, these opportunities are diminishing....

The aggressive nature of imperialism remains, but its opportunities are diminishing – this is the peculiarity of the present-day international situation. Whoever notices only one side of a question and closes his eyes to the other is not a Marxist and cannot correctly understand the present-day international situation.

Contemporary revisionists and reformists close their eyes to the aggressive nature of imperialism and proclaim that imperialism has allegedly changed since the time when the classics of Marxism-Leninism wrote about it, and that the wolves have allegedly been “transformed” into sheep. The point, the revisionists and reformists preach, is not that it is getting more and more difficult for the wolves to use their teeth but that the wolves do not have any teeth and no longer have any desire to live at the expense of others. In that case there would be no need to wage the struggle for peace.

On the other hand, the dogmatists and sectarians claim that while imperialism exists it retains its rapacious nature and even now the question of whether there will be a war or not allegedly depends on its whim. In this case, the struggle for peace loses its perspective.

The position of creative, consistent Marxism-Leninism on these questions is different....

At the present time there is no fatal inevitability of wars. But it would be mistaken to suppose that it is possible to ensure lasting peace without a struggle. The issue is decided by the struggle of the masses, in the first place by the assiduous and consistent struggle for peace of the camp of socialism and the world communist movement. Communists are not fatalists and are not Utopian dreamers. In the struggle for peace they rely on actual possibilities contained in the historical situation and convert these possibilities into reality. The characteristic feature of the present-day international situation consists precisely in the fact that imperialism, without changing its aggressive nature, is forfeiting its former opportunities of lording it on the world arena, while the opportunities of the world socialist system to curb the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists are growing.

War is the continuation of politics by other means. In order to continue imperialist policy on the world arena by force of arms, with the help of war, it is necessary to dispose of the appropriate means and opportunities. The desire alone of the imperialists is not enough. It is

well-known that the imperialists have undertaken wars, proceeding from the balance of forces, at a time when they have been able to count on success. Beasts of prey undertake wars in the hope of booty and not in order to break their teeth. This is the ABC of Marxism. Even a wild beast chooses the moment for the most successful attack and also chooses its victim, in accordance with its own strength. The issue of war is decided by the correlation of forces on the world arena. And at present the balance of these forces is not in favour of the imperialists....

The conclusions of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses of the C.P.S.U. and of the Declaration and Peace Manifesto on the possibility of averting war are based on a scientific analysis of the contemporary international situation; they are confirmed by the whole course of world events and retain their full validity. These conclusions are an expression of the creative character of Marxism-Leninism.

## **LENIN ON WAR AND PEACE IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALISM**

V.I. Lenin taught us to approach the question of wars from the point of view of dialectical materialism. But such an approach requires that one take account of the concrete situation, of the changed balance of strength in the world. In combating the right- and "left"-wing opportunists, Lenin stressed that the question of wars could be decided only in the light of the new historical situation....

V.I. Lenin showed that predatory wars stemmed from the fact that the imperialists enjoyed undivided sway in the world, from the fact that they had divided the world up amongst themselves and were waging a struggle for its redivision. He wrote about the first world war: "The objective conditions of socialism have fully ripened, and the present war is a war of capitalists for the privileges and monopolies which might defer the collapse of capitalism." The imperialists would like, with the help of war, to prolong the existence of capitalism, to slow down the historical process which is inevitably leading to the replacement of capitalism by a new, socialist system of society. The working class, the working people, on whom fall all the burdens of imperialist wars, are the opponents of these wars: predatory wars are at

variance with the socialist system, based on the international solidarity of the peoples, which is being created by the working people.

While fighting against the deception of the people by pacifist phrases, Lenin indicated to mankind the correct road to peace. He taught the working people that "the blessings which they expect from peace are impossible without a series of revolutions." He spoke out against the illusion that "present governments, present ruling classes, are *capable*, without being 'trained' (or removed) by a series of revolutions, of [achieving] a peace in some way satisfactory to democracy and the working class."

Why did Lenin write about a *series of revolutions* which alone can radically change the world situation and create conditions for the appearance of those blessings of peace awaited by the masses? Lenin did not entertain any illusions as to how the capitalist world would greet the socialist revolution after it had triumphed initially in one country: a country in which the socialist revolution triumphed might be subjected to intervention by capitalist states. The people, having taken the fate of their country into their own hands, would reply to this intervention with a just, defensive war. Lenin wrote that "socialism having triumphed in one country does not in any way immediately exclude all wars in general." He pointed out that this was a matter for the future, the result of a series of revolutions.

Now there has occurred a series of revolutions which have removed capitalism from tremendous expanses of the globe. There exists a world system of Socialism. The time has irrevocably past when international relations were an arena for the arbitrary will of imperialists, aggressors and invaders.

During Lenin's life there was no world system of socialism, but the brilliant strategist of the proletarian revolution foresaw that mankind would inevitably be faced with the historic "task of transforming a dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several of the advanced countries, capable of exerting a decisive influence on the whole of world politics)." At the present stage, as Lenin foresaw, the mighty world system of socialism is already capable of exerting and is exerting a decisive influence on world politics.



## THE GENERAL LINE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Leninism proceeds from the fact that in the final analysis the question of the victory of the new social system over the old is decided in the most important sphere of man's activity, in production. "Labour productivity," wrote Lenin, "is in the last analysis the most important and chief thing for the triumph of the new social system." This is one of the basic ideas of Leninism which determine the process of the transition from capitalism to communism. Socialism is developing its gigantic potentialities in the sphere of creative productive labour. Through the smoke of the battles of the civil war Lenin clearly saw this most important task of the new society. At the height of the fierce battles against Denikin's followers he pondered the question of relations with the technically and economically advanced capitalist countries "during the period when socialist and capitalist states will exit side by side." Lenin put forward and substantiated the principle of the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems.

For the contemporary historical period the principle of peaceful co-existence put forward by Lenin is the only correct and necessary one in the relations between the countries of socialism and capitalism. The policy of peaceful co-existence conforms to the interests of the working class, of all working people, to the interests of communism. Today, while struggling against the "cold war" policy, we are winning over to our side wide sections of the public in the capitalist countries and we are isolating the most aggressive representatives of monopoly capital both in the world arena and inside capitalist countries. This is promoting the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The struggle for peace, for the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, is the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist camp. The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states is meeting with the support and approval of all peoples. The Soviet proposals for universal and total disarmament, whose implementation could save mankind from the fear of a new war, are a graphic manifestation of this policy.

A new and immeasurably more favourable situation has now come about in the struggle for communism compared with the time when the working class in our country had only just taken power into its hands.

“Even at that time,” N.S. Khrushchov has noted, “we spoke of the broad opportunities which communism opens up before people, while we ourselves in fact were going around in torn breeches, barefoot and hungry. Certain bourgeois leaders hoped then that our people would be tempted by the ‘charms of bourgeois civilisation.’ But now the Soviet Union – a country where a communist society is being built – has the opportunity of demonstrating communism before the whole world not only as the most advanced doctrine but also of demonstrating the material and spiritual riches which the Soviet man is receiving as a result of building a socialist system.”

The nearer our country advances towards communism the less will the “charms of bourgeois civilisation” tempt the working people of the capitalist countries. The policy of the “carrot and the stick,” on which the bourgeoisie places its main reliance, will suffer one failure after another. The new world situation is bringing into prominence the struggle for the utilisation of all the gigantic advantages which the socialist system possesses. The imperialists have long feared this historical prospect. They have openly attempted to frustrate with the help of wars the peaceful competition of socialism with capitalism. Then, going over to the “cold war” methods, they tried, as N.S. Khrushchov has said, “to compel the socialist countries to expend their material means on non-productive purposes.” By imposing on us the arms race, they evidently counted not only on halting the development of the science and culture of socialist countries but in bringing them to ruin and in this way discrediting the socialist system. All these plans of the imperialists have failed.

The time is not far distant when the socialist camp will overtake the advanced capitalist countries in per capita production. The Soviet Union will be the country with the highest standard of living for the working people and with the shortest working day, and its population will be exempted entirely from taxes.

In peaceful competition with capitalism, socialism is winning great victories. Over the past six years our industrial production has increased by 90 per cent., while that of the U.S.A. has gone up by 15 per cent. Over the last six years per capita output of industrial products in the U.S.S.R. has grown by 71 per cent., and in the U.S.A. by 0.3 per cent. Industrial production as a whole in the countries of the socialist

system has grown almost six-fold compared with the pre-war level, while in the capitalist countries industrial production has increased approximately two-fold over the same period.

The successes of the Soviet Union and of the socialist camp are now acknowledged by all. Recently the *New York Times* wrote: "The times have long passed when Americans could permit themselves to scoff at communist plans for economic growth, and both our main parties have tacitly admitted this fact during the past few weeks."

Socialist society proposes to capitalism, instead of producing means of destroying people, to organise competition in the production of means of production and of means of consumption. The fact that the imperialists have waged the "cold war" without risking going over to open direct war against the socialist countries shows the growing might of the camp of socialism, in the first place of the Soviet Union. At the present time the Soviet Union, the world camp of socialism, has real possibilities of successfully fighting for the liquidation of the "cold war". The imperialists have repeatedly based their calculations on the hope that our party and the Soviet government would depart from the Leninist general line of their foreign policy and that people who are alien to Leninism would deflect communists from the Leninist path in the sphere of world politics. Then it would be easier for the imperialists to spread their absurd fables about the "aggressiveness of communism." The imperialists have for a long time frightened countries with these fables. But as a result of the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, of our Party, the imperialists have now been revealed in their true aspects as aggressors, and the mask of "peaceableness" has been torn off them. All people of common sense can see that the communists, the Soviet Union, all the countries of the socialist camp, are fighting undeviatingly for peace, and that communism is an ideology and policy of construction, of peaceful creation by the masses.

### **DO NOT SLACKEN VIGILANCE**

In 1918 the "left" phrase-mongers asserted that for the Soviet country to maintain peaceful relations with the capitalist countries would mean the "legalisation" of imperialism. In criticising the writings of the "left" communists, Lenin asked them: "Perhaps the authors think

that the interests of the international revolution required that it be given a *push*, and that such a push would be a war, and not peace, which might produce on the masses an impression that imperialism was being 'legalised'?" And Lenin answered this question most decisively: "Such a 'theory' would signify a complete break with Marxism, which has always rejected the idea of giving a 'push' to revolutions, which develop in accordance with the acuteness of the class contradictions which give rise to revolutions."

In present-day conditions a revival of views like those of the "left" communists would merely play into the hands of the imperialists by helping them to spread false stories about the "aggressiveness of communism." A revival of such left sectarian views would merely have a demoralising influence on the builders of the new society: why construct, build, create, if one knows in advance that all the fruits of one's labour will be destroyed by the tornado of war? Such views have nothing in common with communism. Nor can one fail to see that as a result of modern warfare the productive forces, including the main productive force – the working people – would suffer considerably and mankind would experience tremendous difficulties in erecting the new social system on the ruins remaining after a military catastrophe. A destructive war would only make difficult the process of constructing a new society.

The socialist system not only does not create military conflicts between peoples, it destroys the soil from which such conflicts can arise. It removes this soil in economics, politics and ideology. The socialist states are fighting for the elimination of the distrust between peoples which has been nurtured by capitalism.

Imperialism, in kindling enmity between peoples, is attempting to drown in the blood of the peoples everything of value that there is in modern civilisation.

By extending and intensifying its influence in world politics socialism is striving to set limits to the activity of the imperialists in the sphere of international relations so that the aggressors shall not be able at their own whim to unleash wars and doom the millions of working people to torment and destruction.

While the imperialists refuse to disarm, the greatest vigilance is necessary against all their intrigues, and readiness to deal a crushing

rebuff to any provocation by them. Through the efforts of the Party the Government and the whole people, we have created tremendous possibilities for once and for all discouraging the aggressors from undertaking military provocations.

Our Party, the Soviet Government, are waging an indefatigable struggle for peace, for peaceful co-existence. With pride in our Party, in our Government, we repeat today Lenin's words: "Our peaceful policy is approved by an overwhelming majority of the world's population." In the struggle for peace the whole Soviet people is taking part, enhancing by its selfless labour the influence of our State, of the whole socialist camp on the development of the world, bringing nearer the triumph of communism.

## A THREAT TO CUT OFF AID?

Now, when there is a great commonwealth of socialist countries forming a mighty bulwark of peace and social progress, it is necessary to approach in a new way the question of the conditions and the possibilities of victorious socialist construction in various countries. In the period when the U.S.S.R. was the only country of proletarian dictatorship in the world, it did not have the possibility of relying on anybody's direct economic or military aid. The working class and the working peasantry of the U.S.S.R. could count only on their own strength and resources both in the construction of a socialist economy and in ensuring the country's military security.

The situation is now completely different. The working class of any country knows well that, in the struggle for socialism, it will always receive fraternal support from the Soviet Union and the whole camp of socialism. Lenin's teaching about the victory of socialism in particular countries should now be considered in direct connection with the successes of the socialist camp.

Could one imagine the successful construction of socialism going on in present day conditions even in so great a country as, let us say, China, if that country were in a state of isolation and could not rely on the collaboration and aid of all other socialist countries? While being subjected to an economic blockade by the capitalist countries such a country would be subjected simultaneously to military blows from outside. It would experience the greatest difficulties even if it succeeded in withstanding the furious attacks of the enemy....

---

This is the extract from an article by S. Titarenko in *Sovyetskaya Latvia*, August 16, 1960. This article was reproduced in a number of Soviet provincial papers on the same day.

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

## “OUTSTANDING FACTOR OF OUR TIMES”

Under the onslaught of the peoples rising to freedom, the last mainstays of present-day imperialist slave owners in colonial countries are crumbling. Academician E. Zhukov writes in *Pravda* today in an article headlined “Outstanding Factor of our Times,” in which he analyses the most essential problems of the contemporary national liberation movement.

The emergence of new national states and the progressive development of certain states which have existed relatively for a long time as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, the author stresses, is a significant phenomenon of our days. Dogmatists and sectarians, Academician Zhukov goes on, who fail to understand the laws of social development, contend that the realisation of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence retards the development of the national liberation movement and dooms it to stagnation. Describing this point of view as deeply erroneous, Zhukov goes on: The experience of development of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist nations, their active policy of peace and the unselfish aid they are rendering to underdeveloped countries inspire the peoples of these countries and strengthen their confidence in the success of their just cause.

Further, Academician Zhukov writes: Only petty-bourgeois leftists and hopeless dogmatists can deny the great historic significance of the fact of the formation of national states in Asia and Africa, even though many of these states have not yet attained economic

---

This is the Text of Tass summary in English, August 26, 1960. Reproduced in *Summary of World Broadcasts* (London: B.B.C.), Part 1, SU/421/B/1. The article was written by Academician E. Zhukoy for *Pravda*.

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

independence and have not solved a number of pressing social problems advanced by life.

After noting that most of the new national states of Asia and Africa are headed by bourgeois politicians appearing under the flag of nationalism, the author notes that this, however, does not detract from the progressive historic significance of the present break through of the front of imperialism. Doctrinaires and "leftists," the article goes on, who allow themselves to sneer at such forms of national liberation movement as do not fit into the customary sociological schemes forget that there exists no such thing in nature as "pure" revolutionary processes. It is quite natural that in the national liberation anti-imperialist movement, the front of participants is much wider than in a social revolution. Failure to understand multiplicity of forms of national liberation movement, Zhukov goes on, and a haughty attitude towards anti-imperialist actions when, in definite historic conditions, non-proletarian elements come to the forefront, represent sectarianism of a most dangerous kind leading to self-isolation. Citing then Lenin's words about the unequal development of capitalism in various countries, the author writes: Hence it follows that it is impossible to skip over a definite historic stage and consequently the task of socialist transformation cannot be mechanically placed on the order of the day in all countries [at the same time, Tass Russian version added]. What is needed is a concrete historic approach to the solution of the question of the paths of development of any given country.

Speaking about the relations between socialist countries and states fighting for independence, the author goes on: The main and most essential thing which unites socialist states and non-socialist national states is their common anti-imperialist position, their common interest in the earliest liquidation of the colonial system and in the all-round economic and cultural progress of peoples who temporarily fell back in their development, in establishing genuine equality of nations and consolidating lasting peace on earth.

Only imperialist provocateurs, the author stresses, who have made anti-communism their banner in the policy of aggression and fresh colonial adventures, raise the cry of "Communist conspiracy" about any just national liberation struggle of the peoples, no matter who stands at its head. Marxism-Leninism, Academician Zhukov writes in this



connection, resolutely condemns as a reactionary Utopia the very idea of "exporting" revolution to other countries and rejects any imposition upon other countries of social systems and institutions which are not the product of internal development. The Soviet Union, the article says, is rendering and will continue to render unselfish support to national states defending their sovereignty from imperialist encroachments and in doing so it has no other aims except seeing these states free and prosperous as quickly as possible.

The continuing disintegration of the colonial system, Academician Zhukov writes in conclusion, strikes the imperialist colonialist with fear. This is eloquently attested by the events in the Congo, where the colonialists are attempting to confront a young sovereign state which expresses the indomitable will of the Congolese people to independence and freedom with their own united front, using for this purpose "N.A.T.O. solidarity," the venality of certain tribal chiefs and the obsequiousness of highly-placed manipulators from the United Nations machine. Colonialists spare no efforts to retard the historic process of regeneration of formerly enslaved peoples. Vain efforts! The lesson of life is: Wherever the people rise to freedom the entire process of social life is accelerated, along with an intense upsurge of national economy and culture.

## **“THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IS THE PRIMARY TASK”**

The international “weather” is changeable. Do you remember how clearly the barometer turned to “clear” when N.S. Khrushchov’s visit to America took place? But recently, as a result of a number of provocations by American rulers the wind of the “cold war” has again blown up. This changeability reflects to a certain extent the effect on the world scene of two conflicting forces – the progressive forces of socialism and the reactionary forces of capitalism. And although with every year we can see more clearly the tendency towards a steady improvement of the international situation, which is an undoubted achievement of the progressive forces, the forces of reaction sometimes manage to halt the approach of warm weather and even to induce some fog.

There are, however, people who do not see and do not wish to see which is the predominant tendency. Their whole attention is absorbed by current changes in the international situation. They can’t, as we say, see the wood for the trees.

Some of them exploit every bright period on the international horizon to shout repeatedly at the top of their voices: “We have long been asserting that imperialism is now nothing like what it was when Marx and Lenin described it, it has become good – ‘humane,’ ‘popular,’ ‘peace-loving.’...”

The others – they usually raise their voices imperiously when the international situation has deteriorated – declare gloomily: “Our epoch is the epoch of imperialism, wars and proletarian revolutions; so

---

This is the extract of an article by G. Nikolinikov in *Pravda Ukrainy*, August 30, 1960.

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

long as imperialism exists, wars are inevitable, and so said Lenin." Yes, they base themselves on Marxism-Leninism but not on its essential features, not on its living soul but on the letter, the formality, forgetting that Lenin himself more than once ridiculed those who treat Marx's teaching as a dogma. Lenin himself more than once stressed the creative character of Marxism and its continuous development in accordance with changes in the life of society. Failing to take these changes into account, the prophets of gloom draw obviously incorrect conclusions from Lenin's formulae: If, they say, wars are inevitable under imperialism, then what sort of peaceful co-existence can you talk about? And the struggle for peace, they say, has no future, it only distracts revolutionary parties from their main tasks in the development of the class struggle. People who make such assertions are dogmatists and sectarians....

Even now, such weapons are being produced that their use in the event of war would have catastrophic consequences for the whole of humanity. The Soviet Union's great service lies in the fact that it has not permitted the imperialists to acquire a monopoly over the new weapons and has equipped its army with powerful weapons which are superior to the weapons of foreign military adventurers. Today even the most rabid maniacs from the Pentagon must realise that with modern weapons war will be suicide for the person who launches it.

And even with such superiority we are against war. The first secretary of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Antonin Novotny, has stated: "We are fighting with all our strength for the final defeat of imperialism. But we are convinced that our strength gives us the possibility of achieving complete victory by peaceful means. The devastation which would be brought about by another war would be too great a price to pay for our victory; it would throw humanity back hundreds of years and would inflict great harm on the cause of proletarian revolution.... We are fighting for the victory of life over death and therefore our banner is peace...."

The adventurist policy of the Trotskyists and the Bukharinists of playing at revolution in 1918 almost spelled the end of the young Soviet Republic. In our time the emergence of views, similar to the views of the "left communists," can only play into the hands of the communists

who spread false stories about the aggressive nature of world communism....

Any kind of attempt to assess the policy of peaceful co-existence, of averting wars and the struggle for disarmament as a retreat from Marxist-Leninist positions on the class struggle of the proletariat, attempts to spread doubt about the correctness of the theoretical principles laid down by the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses of the C.P.S.U., is a retreat from Marxism-Leninism, a demonstration of dogmatism and sectarianism which is capable of causing serious harm to the development of the international communist movement....

## **“LENIN’S THEORY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS”**

There are two erroneous approaches to Lenin’s theory of the socialist revolution – the revisionist and the dogmatic.

The revisionists try to impose the idea, openly or covertly, that this theory has allegedly become outdated....

The supporters of the other erroneous theory, the dogmatic one, shut their eyes to the new factors which the present era introduces into the theory of scientific socialism. Admitting in words that big shifts have occurred in the world in the last couple of dozen years, the supporters of this point of view nevertheless fail to draw the necessary conclusions from them. They question the new principles of theory and tactics of a socialist revolution worked out by the communist movement in recent years, and try to dispute them, referring to quotations from the works of V.I. Lenin taken out of context. In these cases Lenin’s ideas are either misinterpreted or else are mechanically extended to new historical conditions.

It must be emphasised that in general such a bookish approach is unacceptable in Marxism-Leninism as a creative teaching and is absolutely inapplicable to the theory of a socialist revolution. It must be rejected in principle as being contrary to the spirit of Leninism....

An appreciation of the internal situation of the world capitalist system as a whole and of each country in particular remains the starting point, as before. However, it is impossible to limit ourselves to this under present-day conditions. Today it is necessary to take into account

---

This is the extract from an article by A. Belyakov and F. Burlatsky in *Kommunist*, No. 13, 1960.

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

not only the tendencies in the development of imperialism, but also the new position which capitalism occupies in the world, the balance of forces of the two systems, the influence of the successes in the building of socialism and communism on the world liberation movement, and the part played by the national liberation fight of the peoples....

Today, when the U.S.A. no longer holds a monopoly in atomic weapons, when the might of the world system of socialism has grown out of all knowledge, the possibility of paralysing imperialist interference in a revolution, in the internal affairs of this or that country, has tremendously increased. Is not that proved by the stopping of the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt on the demand of the U.S.S.R. and other peace-loving forces? Is not that proved by the successful development along the revolutionary road by the heroic people of Cuba, despite the burning hatred of the American imperialists and all their attempts to strangle the revolution?...

Generally speaking, the relationship between war and revolution is much more complicated than some people imagine. It must be considered from every angle, and that is a concretely historical way. The influence of wars on the social processes, on the liberation movement of the masses and the conditions of its development have always been of a contradictory character. Wars have always been tremendous disasters for the popular masses, causing the worker starvation and destruction in the rear and death and disablement at the front. They led to the destruction of the productive forces of the community and thereby obstructed its progress. Besides that, the preparations for a predatory war and the war itself led to a strengthening of reaction, to an active attack by the ruling classes against the rights and liberties of the masses and against their militant organisations....

It is notable that the October revolution was carried out under the banner of peace, whilst the civil war was started, not by the communists, but by the forces of internal and foreign counter-revolution....

A world war with the employment of thermo-nuclear weapons would make no distinctions between front and rear. It would lead to the complete destruction of the main centres of civilisation and the wiping out of whole nations, and would bring immeasurable disaster to the

whole of humanity. It is only madmen who could wish for such a catastrophe....

It is obvious, therefore, that modern nuclear war of itself could in no way be a factor which would hasten revolution or bring nearer the victory of socialism. On the contrary, it would throw back humanity, the world revolutionary workers' movement and the cause of building socialism and communism for many dozens of years....

The policy of peaceful co-existence assists in taking advantage of the struggle between two tendencies among the ruling circles of the capitalist countries – the militant aggressive one and the moderate sober one – in the interests of peace. People are to be found, however, who assert that the thesis of peaceful co-existence almost amounts to preaching “class peace.” Such people misinterpret Lenin's conception of peaceful co-existence which, as is well known, applies to the sphere of inter-state (and by no means inter-class) relations and in no way implies a cessation of the fight between the two systems or some kind of armistice in the contradictions between socialism and capitalism. The contradictions continue and the class war in the international arena continues, but the forms of that war are different – economic competition and an ideological fight in place of war....

Thus there can be no doubt that the strengthening of peace and peaceful co-existence is a factor which favours the expansion of the liberation movement and the activation of the class war in the capitalist countries. Lasting peace creates more favourable conditions for accelerating the development of the socialist system, improves the prospects of the liberation movement and increases the possibilities for a revolutionary snapping of more links in the capitalist system....

Anti-fascist unity was achieved on a wide scale during the Second World War. Peoples-Democratic revolutions which developed in the countries of Europe and Asia served as an obvious example of the importance which universal democratic aims and movements have assumed in our days. These revolutions developed under anti-fascist democratic slogans (and in places where survivals of feudalism had been preserved, under anti-feudalist slogans as well). Experience has also shown that under proper direction by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties, democratic revolutions have a tendency to develop into socialist revolutions relatively swiftly....

In the post-war period, the communist parties in the capitalist countries have enriched the tactics of the democratic, anti-monopolistic fight with new ideas and forms. The new features which have been introduced by the communist parties into this question can be found in a summarised form in the decisions of the Rome conference of representatives of the communist parties of the capitalist countries held in November 1959. The programme for the anti-monopoly war proposed by this conference is a model of a creative approach to the assessment of the modern conditions of the fight of the working class and the working out of the tactical slogans and forms of this fight....

Communists are by no means opposed in principle to regulation of the economy by the state. The working class accepts battle on the field which has been created by the process of the objective development of capitalism itself. If the ruling groups of monopolistic capitalism resort on a wide scale to measures of government interference in economic life, the working class does not of necessity have to reject state interference as such. We are talking about something different. Would it not be possible by means of an organised fight by the working class and all the popular masses to achieve the introduction of such regulating measures as would be directed against the ruling sections of the bourgeoisie, the monopolies, and would be in the interests of the people? In other words, government regulation becomes one of the new objectives around which the fight of the main social forces of the modern capitalist society develops....

Dogmatically minded people spring up to ask: "But is any fight for democratic transformation really necessary? Would it not be better to immediately carry out a socialist revolution which would once and for all settle the problems of peace and the problems of democracy? Does not the fight for democratic transformations distract the working class from the prospects of revolution?" Some people even maintain that the decisions of the Rome conference are contrary to the Marxist theory of the class war, since they do not contain any call for the direct revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. It would be a good thing to remind such people of the following statement by Lenin on combining the fight for the immediate and final objectives of the working class, for reform and revolution: "For a genuine revolutionary the greatest danger, and even



perhaps the only danger, is to exaggerate revolutionary feelings, to disregard the limits and conditions for an able and successful application of the revolutionary method. It was this that led real revolutionaries, more than anything else, to break their necks, when they began to write 'Revolution' in capital letters, to exalt 'Revolution' into something almost divine, to lose their heads, to lose the capacity to realise, weigh up and make sure, in the most cool-headed and sober way, at what moment and in what circumstances, in what sphere of action it was necessary to be able to act in a revolutionary way, and at what moment and in what circumstances, in what sphere of action it was necessary to change to a reformist type of action" (*Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 86-87)....

In the process of the fight for peace and democracy the masses are able to recognize the true features of the monopolies as being the chief enemies of peace, independence and national liberty, the people responsible for the deterioration of the position of various sections of the population. It is only in the course of a fight of this kind that there can be forged a coalition of the anti-monopolist forces, where the working class will assume its leading position, whilst its allies will acquire confidence in its leadership and its programme of radical social transformations....

Lenin constantly stressed that the proletariat must become proficient in all forms of fighting, both non-peaceful and peaceful. He wrote that the revolutionary class, in order to secure its ends, "must master *all*, without the smallest exception, forms and sides of social activity" and must be prepared to make "the most sudden and unexpected switch from one form to another" (*Works*, Vol. 31, p.76). This principle rests today, as formerly, at the foundation of the approach of the Marxist-Leninist parties to the problem of the means by which the working class is to capture power. Any attempt to ignore the diversity of methods for the seizure of power by the working class, to identify revolution with an armed rising and civil war, throws the workers' movement back....

When Marx and Engels were prepared to admit a peaceful transition to socialism in Britain and the U.S.A., they indicated the main internal factor which distinguished these countries from the countries of the European continent, the comparative weakness of the military and bureaucratic castes. At the same time the working class already

predominated in the population of Britain. Under such conditions a socialist overthrow would not of necessity cause the bourgeoisie to use the most extreme forms of violence and therefore would not call for corresponding counter-measures by the proletariat. In the era of monopoly capitalism, when these countries did not differ from the countries of the European continent in the increase of militarism and bureaucracy, the question of a peaceful proletarian revolution in the U.S.A. and Britain ceased to apply, as Lenin pointed out....

The case may be different in a transition to socialism under conditions of peace and peaceful co-existence. Here, for a number of countries, it is more probable than it was formerly that there may be peaceful roads to revolution, a conquest of power without a civil war or an armed rising. But for this it would be necessary that the ruling classes should be deprived of the possibility of taking up arms, of using the police, army and government machinery to crush the revolutionary movement of the masses. A situation of this kind might develop from a number of causes – the weakening of militarism as the result of a successful disarmament policy; a considerable part of the army and the government machine coming over onto the side of the people; the recognition by the ruling circles of the hopelessness of an open fight against the masses. It is obvious that if such favourable conditions are absent, the revolutionary struggle will inevitably assume non-peaceful forms.

## **“THE PATH OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION IS THE COMMON PATH OF THE LIBERATION OF MANKIND”**

Forty-three years ago, the proletariat and all other working people of Russia, led by V.I. Lenin, the great teacher of revolution, continuing the cause of the Paris commune, carried out an armed uprising, overthrew the counter-revolutionary rule of the landlord-capitalist class and won a great victory in the world-shaking proletarian revolution. Subsequently, after three years of heroic struggle, they smashed the armed intervention by fourteen capitalist countries, crushed the domestic counter-revolutionary rebellions and safeguarded the great victory of the October Revolution. As Lenin pointed out, “Revolutionary violence won a magnificent victory in the October Revolution.”...

Fundamentally speaking, the path of the October Revolution is the common bright path of advance of entire humanity. Historical facts have times on end proved to us that without smashing the state machine of the capitalist class by revolutionary means, without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no socialism, no genuine liberation of the proletariat and the other labouring people. Lenin had more than once pointed out that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most important component of Marxism and “only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois.” Lenin had also constantly pointed out that to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat required that the

---

This article was published in *Red Flag*, No. 20-21, 1960. This extract of the article is taken from text released by NCNA, October 31, 1960.

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

Party go deep among the tens of millions of the labouring masses, devote its main efforts to leading the masses to carry out struggle, constantly raise their revolutionary level, make long, painstaking and persistent preparations for realising the dictatorship of the proletariat, combine the struggle for the immediate interests of the proletariat with the struggle for its long-term interests and oppose the erroneous tendency of sacrificing the fundamental interests of the proletariat in favour of the immediate interests. To put into effect the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin, in leading the revolution, waged persistently a firm struggle against the opportunists and revisionists of the second international and their Russian counterparts, the Mensheviks. On the eve of the October Revolution, these opportunists and revisionists did everything to oppose the launching of an armed uprising by the Russian proletariat. After the October Revolution, they again tried their utmost to oppose the conversion of the Soviets into a state organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dissolution of the reactionary constituent assembly of the capitalist class, the defeat and rout of the reactionary troops etc. Lenin stressed: "The point is whether the old state machine (bound by thousands of threads to the bourgeoisie and permeated through and through with routine and inertia) shall remain, or be destroyed and replaced by a new one. Revolution consists not in the new class commanding, governing with the aid of the old state machine, but in this class smashing this machine and commanding, governing with the aid of a new machine. Kautsky slurs over this basic idea of Marxism, or he has utterly failed to understand it."...

Lenin wrote the great work *The State and Revolution* on the eve of the outbreak of the October Revolution, theoretically defending and developing the fundamental idea of Marxism on smashing the state machine of the capitalist class and realising the dictatorship of the proletariat, further elucidating in detail the path of the Paris Commune and laying a solid theoretical foundation for the victory of the Russian proletariat in the October socialist revolution and the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was of extremely great significance for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat of the whole world and the cause of mankind's liberation....

The experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries prove that only under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat

is it possible to realise the socialist transformation of the national economy and carry out socialist and Communist construction....

The declaration of the Moscow meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries which is of great historic significance sums up the experience of the international Communist movement in the past hundred years, especially the past forty years. The declaration points out that the "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 is a major universal law." The modern revisionists represented by the Yugoslav Tito clique deny the historical necessity of carrying out the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and do all they can to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their "revision" of Marxism-Leninism is precisely an attempt to depart from the highroad of the liberation of the proletariat. Therefore, the task of all Communists is to resolutely oppose revisionism and defend this Marxist-Leninist path blazed by the October Revolution.

Compared with forty-odd years ago, the situation of the world has changed considerably. Socialism has triumphed in areas inhabited by more than one-third of the population of the globe and comprising one-fourth of its territory. The socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, aiding each other and working closely together, are successfully building socialism, and enjoying an economic upsurge in common. With the support of the socialist and other progressive forces of the world, the national liberation movement has made tremendous progress in the colonies and semi-colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the world-wide peoples' movement for peace, have also grown remarkably. As a result of these changes, the domain of imperialism has become daily smaller, the contradictions within the imperialist system are steadily sharpening, and the imperialist countries are having a very hard time. The situation in the world today shows that we are living in a new epoch in which the forces of peace prevail over the forces of war, the forces of the people over the forces of reaction and the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism, a new epoch which is unprecedentedly favourable to the

proletarian revolution in different countries of the world, a new epoch which is unprecedentedly favourable to the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, a new epoch in which the collapse of the imperialist system is being further accelerated and the victory of the people throughout the world and their awakening are constantly mounting. At present, the primary task of the peoples of the world is to form the broadest united front against imperialism headed by the United States, resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism's policies of aggression and war, stand firm against colonialism, promote the growth of the national liberation movement and facilitate the progress of the revolutionary struggle of the working people in the imperialist countries against the bellicose groups and monopoly capital, so as to achieve the aim of preventing imperialism from starting a world war and safeguarding world peace.

Imperialism will never reconcile itself to its doom. Imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, is making frantic efforts to expand armaments and prepare for war, to uphold everywhere the system of national oppression and enslavement and foster reactionary governments and forces in all parts of the world, and sparing no effort to plot for the subversion of the socialist countries. The socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union is the strong bulwark for the defence of world peace and the struggle for the liberation of mankind. To continue to develop and increase the might of the socialist camp and consolidate its unity is the sacred duty of the peoples of the socialist countries. The Chinese people have done, are doing and will continue to do their utmost to fulfill this sacred duty. Imperialism and its running dogs, the modern revisionists, have used all despicable tactics to undermine the unity of the countries of the socialist camp. However, their acts of sabotage have invariably ended in ignominious failure, and will inevitably suffer one defeat after another in the future as well....

## **“A BASIC SUMMING-UP OF EXPERIENCE GAINED IN THE VICTORY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE’S REVOLUTION”**

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Karl Marx put forward the famous proposition that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes....

Why was the great October Revolution able to succeed? Because the Russian proletariat under the leadership of the great Lenin’s Bolshevik Party thoroughly smashed the old Russian militarist, bureaucratic state machine, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and set up a new Soviet state machine, transforming the state from an instrument for suppression of the majority of people by the exploiting few into one of suppression of the exploiting few by the majority.

The establishment of the system of the people’s democracies in a series of European and Asian countries towards the end of and after the Second World War was also due to the smashing of the old militarist, bureaucratic state machine in these countries, by their own people, or by their own people with the assistance of the Soviet Army which was pursuing the bandit troops of the German fascists.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has stressed repeatedly that the Chinese Revolution was the continuation of the October Revolution. Why was the great revolution of the Chinese people able to succeed? For the same reason. How could victory have been achieved if we did not overthrow the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and smash

---

The article appeared in *Red Flag*, No. 20-21, 1960. The extract of the article is taken from text released by NCNA, November 2, 1960.

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

the old state machine of the warlords, bureaucrats and secret agents? The victory of the Chinese revolution substantiated afresh, in a big eastern country, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution.

The specific historic conditions underlying the revolution are usually not completely identical in various countries; they often vary from country to country. The concrete process whereby the reactionary state machine was smashed and the revolutionary state machine established during the Chinese revolution had its own characteristics.

The October Revolution started with the armed uprising of the Russian working class in the capital. Its course of development was characterised by the taking over first of the cities and then of the countryside. But the Chinese revolutionary war which began in the autumn of 1927, namely the revolutionary war under the independent leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, first succeeded in a number of rural areas on the basis of the agrarian revolution, then the success was gradually extended and finally victory was achieved in the cities. In other words, its course was characterised by growth from setting up small revolutionary bases in the rural areas to large revolutionary bases; from the establishment of a few revolutionary bases to the establishment of many and from encirclement of the cities by the rural areas to the ultimate taking over of the cities.

This process means that the seizure of political power by the Chinese people took place at first in one place and then another and area by area, and so did their smashing of the reactionary state machine. Through this process of revolutionary development, which took twenty-two years to accomplish, the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people won victory throughout the country and achieved their aim.

This course of development of the Chinese revolution was propounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung...

After the betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek, the former capitulationists represented by Ch'en Tu-hsiu joined hands with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and became liquidationists. They declared that the Chinese revolution had ended and held that the Chinese people should not touch Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary state machine but should only engage in legal activities under the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek, with a "National Assembly" as the central slogan. They also shamelessly acclaimed Chiang Kai-shek's counter-



revolutionary wars and slandered the revolutionary wars and guerrilla wars of the peasants led by the proletariat as a "Movement of Roving Insurgents" which was doomed to fail. Comrade Mao Tse-tung refuted the counter-revolutionary babble of the Trotskyite - Ch'en Tu-hsiu liquidationists and held firmly to the banner of the Chinese people's revolution. He maintained that "a single spark can start a prairie fire" and that revolutionary armed forces and revolutionary bases, though small and existing only in the rural areas as they did, had great vitality and an unlimited future.

On the other hand, there were in our revolutionary ranks at that time a group of petty-bourgeois "Left" adventurists who controlled the leading organs of the party for several years and beat down a large number of correct leading comrades headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung so that they could not raise their heads. These "Left" adventurists denied the protracted nature and the tortuous character of China's revolutionary struggle, failed to comprehend that the Chinese revolution had to pass through a process of developing from small to big and from the countryside to the cities and impatiently wanted to take big cities. They were unwilling to carry out among the people the arduous task of building up the forces of the revolution, engaged in wishful thinking that the Chinese revolution could be won overnight and that Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary state machine could be smashed root and branch in one, single "decisive battle." It was in fact, impossible for "Left" adventurism to achieve the aim of overthrowing the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek and really strengthen and extend the forces of the revolution. On the contrary, such blind actions could only lead to the weakening of the revolutionary forces, and the position of the revolution. During the ten years' civil war in 1927-36, Comrade Mao Tse-tung unceasingly opposed this anti-Marxist-Leninist "Left" opportunist line and forcefully drew attention to the necessity of establishing a solid foundation of revolutionary bases in the countryside "thus placing ourselves in an invincible position."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung maintained that above all the bases in the countryside which at the beginning were small in area and still few in number should be firmly held and continuously expanded and developed; in this way it would be possible "to come ever nearer the goal of attaining nationwide political power." Comrade Mao Tse-tung's

victory against "Left" adventurism in 1935 led to the quick resuscitation of the forces of the revolution which had dwindled at that time to only one-tenth of their former strength and guaranteed the Chinese revolution a path of sound development....

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said during the period of the war of resistance to Japanese aggression in his *Problems of War and Strategy*, "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the main component of the political power of the state. Whoever wants to seize state power and to keep it must have a strong army."

Armed revolution against armed counter-revolution, which the Chinese people conducted for a long period, was precisely a process of unceasingly smashing the armed forces of the counter-revolution and building up the armed forces of the revolutions precisely a process of unceasingly shattering the state machine of the counter-revolution and building up the state machine of the revolution, and precisely a process of unceasingly reducing the area under the rule of the counter-revolution and expanding the revolutionary bases and the liberated areas.

In the same article mentioned above, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The task of the proletarian parties in the capitalist countries is to prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism by educating the workers and building up strength through a long period of legal struggle. There we find long legal struggle, the utilisation of the platform of the legislative body, economic and political strikes...." And he further said that in those countries, "War or... armed insurrection should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless, until the majority of the proletariat are determined to take up arms and wage war and until the peasant masses are willing to give assistance to the proletariat." But China was in a condition different from this. According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China, there was no parliament to be utilised, nor did there exist the legal right to organise the workers to conduct strikes. "In China the main form of struggle is war and the main form of organisation is the army." Such a war was mainly a peasants' war and such an army was an army with the peasants as its main component.

We Communists are aware that even in the capitalist countries parliaments are only an ornament of the bourgeois dictatorship. To fail to understand this is utter stupidity. Of course it is also stupidity if,

when the circumstances call for it, the political parties of the proletariat do not make use of such an instrument as the parliament to conduct legal struggle. In China, we say, there was no parliament to make use of, and so our main form of struggle was revolutionary war and our main form of organisation was the army; but this by no means signified that all the possible conditions for carrying on legal struggle should not be made use of; such a notion was also stupid. But in the period of the ten years' civil war the "Left" opportunists within our party committed precisely this stupidity.

Either to restrict revolutionary struggle solely to legal struggle or to refuse completely to make use of such legal struggles as are possible and necessary is equally mistaken. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always sharply criticised such errors.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always maintained that a revolutionary party must seize every opportunity to make use as far as possible of the contradictions of the enemy, develop the progressive forces, win over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the reactionary forces. He has opposed all kinds of one-sidedness. He said that our policy "is neither unity to the exclusion of struggle nor struggle to the exclusion of unity, but a combination of both...."

Combating Right opportunism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly stated the following truth: "Without armed struggle there would be in China no place for the proletariat, the people or the Communist Party and no victory for the revolution." (Introductory remarks to *The Communist*.)

Is not this the fact?

The Chinese Communist Party held a series of talks with Chiang Kai-shek in the period after the Japanese surrender and before Chiang Kai-shek launched a new, all-out counter-revolutionary civil war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally went to Chungking for direct talks with Chiang Kai-shek and agreement was reached on peace and national reconstruction. The "summary of conversations between the representatives of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party," signed on October 10, 1945, laid down in its very first article "The Basic Policy on Peace and National Reconstruction," providing unequivocally for "determined efforts to avert civil war." But, three days after the signing of the agreement, on October 13, Chiang Kai-

shek secretly released an order for so-called "Bandit suppression," for attacks on the liberated areas. The political consultative conference closed on January 31, 1946, yet scarcely ten days later, on February 10, an incident occurred at Chiao-chang-kou, Chungking, in which Kuomintang secret agents wrecked the mass rally held to celebrate the Political Consultative Conference and committed brutal acts of suppression there. From January to June 1946, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party concluded cease-fire agreements on three occasions, yet each was immediately violated by ever bigger military attacks by Chiang Kai-shek....

Chiang Kai-shek often made this proposition to Chinese Communists: You hand over your army, and I will give you democracy and let you join the organs of political power. The Right opportunists lent a willing ear to these words from Chiang Kai-shek and showed much interest in them. Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the contrary always reminded us that we must not fall into this trap laid by Chiang Kai-shek. In circumstances where the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries continuously strengthened their counter-revolutionary state machine, would it have been possible to win democracy peacefully? Would it have been possible to win political power peacefully? Obviously not.

The Right opportunists did not believe that the masses of the people are the creators of history and did not see the great strength of the people; what they perceived was only the phenomenon of the superficial strength of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, not the weakness which was the essence. The Right opportunists' illusions about Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang meant in fact that they were cowed by its superficial strength. Marxist-Leninists scorned this weak-kneed, impotent attitude of the Right opportunists and held that the task was to expose the reactionaries as only outwardly strong but really weak inside, and so to inspire the masses of the people to dare to wage struggle and seize victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung fulfilled precisely this task. At a time when Chiang Kai-shek with the backing of U.S. imperialism expanded his army to well over four million men, that is to say at the time when the counter-revolutionary state machine of China's big landlords and big bourgeoisie reached its peak, Comrade Mao Tse-tung penetratingly pointed out that the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries were nothing but paper tigers and that the Chinese people should prepare

themselves, and indeed they had the strength, to overthrow the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, found a new China of people's democracy and make themselves the masters of their country.

Things turned out exactly as Comrade Mao Tse-tung predicted; the massive counter-revolutionary army under Chiang Kai-shek, hammered and battered by the People's Liberation Army, rapidly fell to pieces in just over three years....

As Lenin once pointed out in contending with the renegade Kautsky; "Not a single great revolution has ever taken place, or ever can take place, without the 'disorganisation' of the army. For the army is the most ossified instrument for supporting the old regime, the most hardened bulwark of bourgeois discipline, buttressing the rule of capital, and preserving and fostering among the working people the servile spirit of submission and subjection to capital." (Lenin: *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.) By this Lenin meant that it was not possible for the oppressed classes to gain emancipation and put themselves in the ruling position unless they smashed the old, counter-revolutionary army, unless they smashed this principal component of the counter-revolutionary state machine. These words of Lenin, written after the October Revolution, take us back some forty years, but can we say they have become outdated? Of course not. In the forty years and more since the great October Revolution the revolutionary experience of a whole series of countries in Europe and Asia, the experience of the great revolution of the Chinese people, plus the experience gained from the revolutionary struggles which the people of various countries are now waging, have proved, and are still proving with ever greater force, that these words of Lenin have not become outdated at all; they have proved, and are still proving with ever greater force the vitality of the truth revealed in Lenin's words.

For the proletariat and the masses to take political power, smash the old, reactionary state machine and set up a new, revolutionary state machine is one thing. It is quite another thing, having taken political power and relying on it, to proceed to the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production. The two must not be confused. Only when the former exist can the latter be done. This is how it was in the Soviet Union; this is how it was in the socialist countries

in Europe and Asia, and this is how it was in the People's Republic of China, too.

It is muddle-headed to confuse these two things – the seizing of political power by the proletariat and the carrying out by the proletariat of socialist transformation by peaceful means after it seizes political power. Such muddle-headedness conceals the most fundamental question, expounded time and again by Lenin, namely: “The basic question in any revolution is that of state power.”

History tells us that people's revolutions in all countries stem from the needs of the people and are the result of the development of class struggle. These revolutions are made within a country by certain oppressed classes to overthrow certain oppressing classes, by certain exploited classes to overthrow certain exploiting classes. Marxist-Leninists have always held that revolution cannot be imported, nor can it be exported. To say that revolution can be imported or exported is entirely wrong. Precisely this is the slander the imperialists and reactionaries in various countries hurl against the people's revolution in any country, but such slanders can in no way check the advance of the revolutionary movement in any country or prevent the rise of revolution in any country.

No Marxist-Leninist party advocates that the socialist countries resort to war between states to spread revolution. The Titoist clique of Yugoslavia slanders the socialist countries with intending to use “war between states” to spread revolution. This is nothing but nonsense in the service of imperialism.

The development of the revolutionary forces of the people in the various countries and their successes in revolution are fundamental factors in preventing imperialism from launching a world war and in preserving world peace. The victory won by the Chinese people in their great revolution and the founding of the Chinese People's Republic have added to the strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, expanded the forces standing guard over world peace and to a great extent frustrated the adventurist policies and plans of the imperialists for starting a new world war. The stronger the socialist camp becomes, the greater the development of the people's revolutionary movements in the various countries and the more countries that win victory in their revolution, the greater will be the safeguards for world

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

peace. The modern revisionists and certain muddle-headed people pit the revolutions in the various countries against world-peace, alleging that revolution cannot be carried out if world peace is to be preserved. This is a completely preposterous standpoint which runs fundamentally counter to Marxism-Leninism....

The socialist revolution cannot triumph at a single stroke in all the countries of the world simultaneously. It will come, separately and gradually, as a result of the inherent factors of society in the various countries and the political awakening of the people themselves, their own efforts and their preparations for revolution....

in Europe and Asia, and this is how it was in the People's Republic of China, too.

It is muddle-headed to confuse these two things – the seizing of political power by the proletariat and the carrying out by the proletariat of socialist transformation by peaceful means after it seizes political power. Such muddle-headedness conceals the most fundamental question, expounded time and again by Lenin, namely: “The basic question in any revolution is that of state power.”

History tells us that people's revolutions in all countries stem from the needs of the people and are the result of the development of class struggle. These revolutions are made within a country by certain oppressed classes to overthrow certain oppressing classes, by certain exploited classes to overthrow certain exploiting classes. Marxist-Leninists have always held that revolution cannot be imported, nor can it be exported. To say that revolution can be imported or exported is entirely wrong. Precisely this is the slander the imperialists and reactionaries in various countries hurl against the people's revolution in any country, but such slanders can in no way check the advance of the revolutionary movement in any country or prevent the rise of revolution in any country.

No Marxist-Leninist party advocates that the socialist countries resort to war between states to spread revolution. The Titoist clique of Yugoslavia slanders the socialist countries with intending to use “war between states” to spread revolution. This is nothing but nonsense in the service of imperialism.

The development of the revolutionary forces of the people in the various countries and their successes in revolution are fundamental factors in preventing imperialism from launching a world war and in preserving world peace. The victory won by the Chinese people in their great revolution and the founding of the Chinese People's Republic have added to the strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, expanded the forces standing guard over world peace and to a great extent frustrated the adventurist policies and plans of the imperialists for starting a new world war. The stronger the socialist camp becomes, the greater the development of the people's revolutionary movements in the various countries and the more countries that win victory in their revolution, the greater will be the safeguards for world



*The Documents of the Great Debate*

peace. The modern revisionists and certain muddle-headed people pit the revolutions in the various countries against world-peace, alleging that revolution cannot be carried out if world peace is to be preserved. This is a completely preposterous standpoint which runs fundamentally counter to Marxism-Leninism....

The socialist revolution cannot triumph at a single stroke in all the countries of the world simultaneously. It will come, separately and gradually, as a result of the inherent factors of society in the various countries and the political awakening of the people themselves, their own efforts and their preparations for revolution....

## **“HOLD HIGH THE RED BANNER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION. MARCH FROM VICTORY TO VICTORY”**

Since the great October Revolution, the national liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies have entered a new stage. Today, the nationalist, democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are in a new upsurge. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have given warm support and tremendous encouragement to the national independence movements in various countries; the people in all the countries which are struggling for national independence look upon the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as their most faithful friends. The successful development of national independence movements has greatly weakened the strength of the imperialist system and at the same time rendered tremendous support to the building of socialism in the socialist countries and to the struggle of the world's people for peace. The October Revolution has closely linked together the cause of socialist revolution of the proletariat in all countries and the struggle of all oppressed nations for liberation. The linking together of the socialist revolution and the national liberation movement has accelerated the collapse of the imperialist system and speeded up the victorious progress in the struggle of all oppressed nations for national independence, democracy and freedom....

---

This article was prepared by the editorial board of *People's Daily*, and published in *People's Daily*, November 7, 1960. The extract of the article is taken from text released by NCNA on same day.

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

## KOZLOV'S ANNIVERSARY SPEECH

The emergence of socialism beyond the confines of a single country represents one of the greatest victories in the age-old struggle between labour and capital.

It has entailed fundamental changes in the political, economic and ideological life of all mankind. The time of the universal rule of imperialism is gone irrevocably. The world socialist system, the formation of which constitutes the greatest event in history after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is now becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society.

On the world scene there has also emerged a group of states which refuse to take their cue unconditionally from the imperialist powers. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who in hard-fought struggle against the colonialists have won independence or are fighting for it, are taking an increasingly active part in international life and are making their contribution to the weakening of the positions of imperialism.

The positions of the working class have become stronger in the countries of monopoly capital. There has been an increase in the influence of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of which there are now 87 uniting 36 million communists. The working class has greatly increased its ability to rally the vast majority of the people in the struggle to isolate the reactionary aggressive monopoly circles, for new victories in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

In these conditions even more vital becomes the policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems proclaimed

---

This is the extract of the speech, delivered by Kozlov on the occasion of 42<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of Bolshevik revolution in Moscow, from text in *Soviet News* (London: Soviet Embassy), No. 4371, November 7, 1960.

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

and substantiated by V.I. Lenin. This policy answers the demands of contemporary social development and the real balance of world forces. It is in the interests of all peoples.

Creatively developing Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union drew an important conclusion at its 20<sup>th</sup> Congress: Today war is not fatally inevitable; war can be averted. This conclusion enlisted the unanimous support of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties in a document of programmatic importance – in the Declaration of the Moscow conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries. The theses of the Moscow Declaration were reaffirmed in the communiqué of the Bucharest conference of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

A further advance of the theory of Marxism-Leninism was the conclusion of the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which said: "Even before the complete victory of socialism on earth, given the preservation of capitalism in a part of the world, there is a real possibility of excluding world war from human society."

In drawing this conclusion our party proceeded from the fact that the fresh successes of the socialist camp would lead to the further growth of the peace forces throughout the world, while the number of countries advocating the consolidation of peace would increase. Our party took into consideration the fact that the idea of the impermissibility of war would strike ever deeper roots in the minds of the peoples, and, backed by the might of the socialist camp, they would be able to compel the bellicose circles of imperialism to abandon their plans for unleashing new wars.

The entire course of developments reaffirms the correctness of the analysis made by the communists. The socialist camp, backed by all the peace forces, has in recent years more than once cut short attempts by imperialist aggressors to engineer local wars through which imperialism threatens mankind with a new world war. This is striking evidence showing that the inception of the world socialist system and the successes of socialism have fundamentally changed the balance of power in the world in favour of socialism and the supporters of peace. Real forces have taken shape in the world in our time able to curb the imperialist aggressors. Imperialism can no longer settle at its discretion the issue of whether there will or will not be war.

Fighting for peace, the Marxist-Leninists, of course, take into consideration that the cause of war remains as long as imperialism exists. The reactionary forces representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies might seek to unleash war. Imperialism has been and remains aggressive: its wolfish nature has not changed and will not change. That is why the socialist countries and all the peace forces must maintain the greatest vigilance and be ready to administer a crushing rebuff if the imperialists should risk starting a war.

Peace is the most cherished desire of all the peoples of the world. Men and women now have no greater desire than to avert the threat of another war of extermination.

But peace cannot be consolidated without fighting for it. That is why the pursuit by the socialist states of an active foreign policy whose general line is the principle of peaceful co-existence, the further mobilisation of all peace forces, making the peoples confident that another world war can now be averted – that is why all this is an urgent necessity of our time. Lenin said: “We must help the peoples to intervene in the issues of war and peace.” Our party follows this behest of Lenin with the consistency and persistence inherent in communists.

Striving for peace, our party well remembers Lenin’s directive that socialism victorious exerts the main influence on the destinies of mankind by its economic successes. And these successes can be multiplied only in conditions of peace. In peaceful economic competition with capitalism, socialism will undoubtedly gain a decisive economic victory and will ensure the peoples of its countries higher living standards than they now have. This will demonstrate even more clearly than now the superiority of our socialist system and will provide for all the peoples of the world a powerful impetus in their struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

Comrades, all of us have witnessed the resolute actions of the Soviet government in defence of peace.

The Soviet Union has fought persistently for the realisation of the proposals for general and complete disarmament which were supported last year by the United Nations General Assembly. As a result of the persistent actions of the Soviet government in the struggle for general and complete disarmament a 10-power committee was formed. We hoped that this committee would be able to clear away the obstacles

which had piled up in the disarmament talks. Last January we adopted a new law on a new unilateral reduction of the Soviet armed forces by 1,200,000 men.

Our economic contacts and cultural relations with many states have been extended. We continue to render selfless aid to underdeveloped countries.

N.S. Khrushchov's tours of South-East Asia and France, as well as his visit last year to the United States, helped to spread a correct understanding of the policy of the socialist countries, to clear the international atmosphere, to expose the insidious designs of imperialism, and they created a favourable climate for a summit meeting.

But the strengthening of the cause of peace went against the grain in imperialist circles, who abhor a development of international relations which is favourable to the people. Under the pressure of monopolies, which are making enormous profits out of the arms race, the United States government adopted the path of direct provocations against our country, against the cause of peace. American air pirates intruded into the Soviet skies and Eisenhower and the American government cynically proclaimed their "right" to violate our sovereignty, allegedly for the purpose of ensuring their "security."

By sending espionage planes over our country and refusing to plead guilty honestly to these acts of brigandage, the United States government torpedoed the summit meeting. By impermissible delays, by their refusal to conduct serious negotiations on disarmament the western powers made the further participation of socialist countries in the 10-power committee impossible. The imperialists provoked a new flare-up of the "cold war" in order to give another push to the arms race, to feverish military preparations.

But such a line in international relations bodes no good for the imperialists....

We offer to the western powers to conduct honest international negotiations on the outstanding questions of international relations and we consider that this is the most rational way for reducing international tension.

Some western leaders, and in particular the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, have more than once spoken in favour of such negotiations. The latest steps of the British government, however, compel

us to question seriously the sincerity of Mr. Macmillan's statements about the striving of the British government to reduce international tension. Only a few days ago Mr. Macmillan announced to Parliament the conclusion of an agreement between Britain and the United States, under which the American Navy will get a base in Scotland near Glasgow, Britain's second biggest city, [*sic*] for submarines armed with missiles and nuclear weapons....

It is worth noting that Mr. Macmillan negotiated the establishment of this base during his stay in the United States at the 15<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly, which has been discussing disarmament as one of the main items.

With the Americans he discussed the question of the base. And with the Soviet delegation Mr. Macmillan discussed the question of the need for negotiations to solve international problems ripe for settlement. Apparently the British government is trying to move simultaneously in two diametrically opposite directions....

Comrades, of the greatest importance for the historical destinies of the peoples is the immediate abolition of the remnants of colonialism which are still strangling tens of millions of human beings. We can no longer resign ourselves to this disgrace.

The Soviet government's proposal that the United Nations should adopt a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and countries is a vital demand of our time, the voice of mankind's conscience. Some prominent leaders of imperialist states, attempting to minimize the tremendous impression produced by this Soviet proposal upon world opinion, attempting to minimise the tremendous force of attraction of the declaration for the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, allege that the declaration contains nothing but "incitement to rebellion" in the colonies.

Such a police yardstick suits only very narrow-minded and embittered persons who refuse to notice the tremendous changes which are occurring in the world and recognize only their profits, their "right" to plunder other peoples. But no such right exists. This is not a "right" but an iniquity and the peoples reject it.

By its proposals in favour of peace the Soviet government has given an impetus to the struggle for the peaceful solution of most acute international problems and has considerably widened the front of that

struggle. Today people in all parts of the world see more clearly the path of the peoples to decide their own destinies.

The vigorous foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., of all the socialist countries, and the successes of the peace movement have already yielded tangible results. The imperialist policy is in the throes of a deep crisis. The moral and political isolation of American imperialism – the mainstay of the militarism and colonialism which are loathed by the peoples – is increasing each day. This is confirmed by the overthrow of the bloody Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea, the fall of the openly pro-American Bayar-Menderes regime in Turkey, the indignation which the American-Japanese military alliance aroused among the Japanese people, and the mounting tide of the national liberation movement of African peoples.

The peoples of Latin America, inspired by the example of heroic Cuba, are intensifying their struggle. All this means that the positions of imperialism continue to grow weaker while the positions of the fighters for peace, for the national independence of the peoples, for socialism, grow ever stronger.

Comrades, the most important prerequisite to ensure lasting peace on earth and new victories of the working people in the struggle against the imperialists is the unity of the countries and peoples of the great socialist camp, the unity of all Communist and Workers' Parties. Our party and our people are sparing no efforts to strengthen this unity.

Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, communists are guided by Lenin's thesis that "only knowledge of the fundamental features of a given epoch can serve as a basis for taking into account the more detailed traits of some particular country." These remarkable words of Lenin serve as a foundation for the understanding and correct correlation of the international and national tasks of each detachment of the international communist movement. Communists are the most consistent fighters for the fundamental national interests of their peoples. At the same time they express the common interests and aims of all toiling mankind. ✦

Loyalty to the principles of creative Marxism, the ability to understand Leninism correctly and apply it in new historical conditions, international solidarity – therein lies the great strength of the international communist and labour movement.



The fraternal cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the friendship and mutual assistance of the socialist states constitute the source of the invincibility of the countries of the socialist camp, a guarantee of their successful advance to socialism and communism.

Faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our government, the working people of our country will firmly and consistently strengthen the unity and might of the socialist camp, the unity of the international communist and labour movement and will steadily pursue the Leninist policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and strengthen the friendship of all peoples....

## COMMUNIQUE OF THE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

In November 1960 a conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties who attended the celebrations on the occasion of the 43<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was held in Moscow.

Taking part in the conference were delegations of 81 parties: the Communist Party of Australia, the Communist Party of Austria, the Albanian Party of Labour, the Algerian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Argentina, the Communist Party of Belgium, the Communist Party of Burma, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Bolivia, the Communist Party of Brazil, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Venezuela, the Party of Working People of Vietnam, the Peoples' Unity Party of Haiti, the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, the Guatemalan Party of Labour, the Socialist Unity Party Germany, the Communist Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Honduras, the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Denmark, the Dominican People's Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Israel, the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Jordani Communist Party, the Iraqi Communist Party, the People's Party of Iran, the Irish Workers' League, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Communist Party of Spain, the Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Canada, the Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working people, the Communist Party of China, the Communist Party of Colombia, the Korean Party of Labour, the Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica, the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Communist Party of

---

*Source : Documents of the meeting of representatives of the communist and Worker's Parties, Moscow, Nov.-Dec. 1960. Communist Party of India Publication, December 1960.*

Luxemburg, the Communist Party of Malaya, the Moroccan Communist Party, the Communist Party of Martinique, the Mexican Communist Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of Nepal, the Communist Party of Netherlands, the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, the Communist Party of New Zealand, the Communist Party of Norway, the People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, the Peruvian Communist Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Portuguese Communist Party, the Communist Party of Reunion, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Salvador, the Communist Party of San Marino, the Syrian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Sudanese Communist Party, the Communist Party of Thailand, the Tunisian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Turkey, the Communist Party of Uruguay, the Communist Party of Finland, the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of Ceylon, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Chile, the Swiss Party of Labour, the Communist Party of Sweden, the Communist Party of Ecuador, the Communist Party of the Union of South Africa, the Communist Party of Japan, and other Parties.

The participants in the conference exchanged experience and familiarised themselves with each other's views and positions, discussed topical problems of present international developments and the communist movement in the interest of the joint struggle for the common aims – peace, democracy, national independence and socialism – and unanimously adopted a statement of Communist and Workers' Parties and also an appeal to all the peoples of the world.

The discussion of all questions took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship on the foundation of the immutable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

## ***STATEMENT***

### **MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties have discussed at this Meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The Communist and Workers' Parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These programme documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international Communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure toward uniting the efforts of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the banner and guide to action for the whole of the international Communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

*The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in*

---

*Source: Documents of the meeting of representatives of the communist and Worker's Parties, Moscow, Nov.-Dec. 1960. Communist Party of India Publication, December 1960.*

*the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.*

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. This situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

## I

### MAIN CONTENT OF OUR EPOCH

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

*It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.*

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force – fascism – to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of socialist countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart. As the world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favour of the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

*Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.*

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavour, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionising the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot rescue capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are

in irreconcilable contradiction to the interest of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop the decayed pillars of capitalism by militarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing to some degree or other, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more acute on a national as well as international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis. The anarchical nature of capitalist production is becoming more marked. Capitalist concentration is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all through intensification of labour. Automation and "rationalisation" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its pressing demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below pre-war. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad peasant masses and large sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and which, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism", that it has established a so-called

“welfare state” capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crises and assuring wellbeing for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new inter-state organisations which are established under the slogan of “integration” actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines, of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U.S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world – the United States of America – has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing under-capacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the post-war years and has been barely above the growth of population. Over-production crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarised economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. U.S. capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. *U.S. imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.*

The U.S. imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic “aid”. They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which has allied itself with U.S. imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the U.S. imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the



masses for social progress. U.S. imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on its own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under U.S. leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national liberation, working class and socialist movements. *International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.*

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on between their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The U.S. imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs, which causes increased resistance on the part of the people. The United States remains the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the U.S. monopolies, are stepping up expansion. The West German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting under way between the forces of labour and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America. An anti-colonial movement for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national uprising in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, for peace, democracy and national independence, is under way in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defence of democracy show the militant resolve of the working

people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working-class strikes in the U.S.A., Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium and other capitalist countries. The actions of the Negro people in the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character. There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Tyrannical military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national-democratic movement, directed against the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies, is developing in South Vietnam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defence of peace is gaining ground in all continents. All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist, national liberation, anti-war and class struggles is rising ever higher.

*A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism.* This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one-third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism; the tremendous new upsurge of the national liberation struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism; the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism, the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole; the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology. This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by

the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement – these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress.

## II NEW STAGE IN DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM

*A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society. Other countries of the socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.*

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this doctrine opens up immense opportunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilisation; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence

of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favour of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people's democratic republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy; the exploitation of man by man has been abolished forever or is successfully being liquidated. The success of the policy of socialist industrialisation has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry; agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

In recent years all the People's Democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale co-operative farming on socialist lines. Lenin's co-operative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private land ownership was a long-standing tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations. The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme

principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger. In the course of socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the socialist reorganisation of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary cooperation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the People's Democracies. The working class has become the main force of society; its ranks are growing; its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from age-long poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the flesh of the working people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of society, for the all-round and complete development of the gifts and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily thanks to economic progress.

An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multinational socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities, and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the People's Democracies, socialist ideology has achieved notable successes in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature; day after day it gives rise to a Communist attitude to

labour and other elements of the future Communist society. The methods of socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic and cultural development; certain functions of the state are being gradually transferred to public organisations.

*Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system.*

Thanks to the heroic effort of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the Communist and Workers' Parties, most favourable objective opportunities have been provided in the past three years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist Parties heading the socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and withstood serious tests, the Communist Parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing socialist construction. The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist system; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal cooperation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilisation of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the

socialist countries cherish the unity of the socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system of international division of labour through the coordination of national economic plans, specialisation and cooperation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standard. It requires study of collective experience; extended cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance; gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilisation and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every socialist country.

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in *per capita* output and in the standard of living. To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labour to be achieved through continuous technical progress, economic planning, strict observance of

the Leninist principle of providing material incentives and moral stimuli to work for the good of society by heightening the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labour and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national economy, and mechanisation and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a communist society. On this basis it is necessary to develop communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new, communist society.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity; by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms. In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterised by antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and to the consolidation of all the forms of cooperation between them. Under socialism, the development of national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater



consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmoniously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples, born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism in politics. Every Communist Party which has become the ruling party in the state, bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The Declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism. The Declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copying of the policies and tactics of the Communist Parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead to the party of the proletariat being isolated from reality, from the masses, and may injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the Communist and Workers' Parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

*The Communist and Workers' Parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and tolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solid unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of the peoples of the socialist*

*countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.*

In blazing a trail to communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international working-class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role and influence on the course of world events are growing from year to year.

*The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.*

### III ON STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centers of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

*The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war.* Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction. The U.S. imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France and West Germany, have drawn many countries into N.A.T.O., C.E.N.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and other military blocs under the guise of combating the "communist menace"; it has enmeshed the so-called "free world", that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries. The existence of these blocs and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also imperils the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the U.S. militarists.

The imperialist forces of the U.S.A., Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West-German imperialism. In West Germany militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals, which the U.S. imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West-European countries. The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West-German imperialism is increasing. The West German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise the borders established after the Second World War. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West-German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn state has become the chief enemy of peaceful co-existence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West-German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe. An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West-German militarists is played by the German Democratic Republic. The Meeting regards it as the duty of all the

countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic – the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The U.S. imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving countries. The U.S. invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Vietnam; they have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles. Threatening Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organisation of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America in the realisation of their aggressive schemes.

The U.S. imperialists have set up a huge war machinery and refuse to allow its reduction. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race is going on. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly in the African continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The U.S. militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests; military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.

The U.S. ruling circles have wrecked the Paris meeting of the Heads of Government of the four Great Powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown.

The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. U.S. imperialism has exposed

itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt, and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq and some other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom. The peoples of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

*The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.*

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems – the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression – a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organised forces: the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology; the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organisations, above all the

Communist Parties; the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war and advocate peaceful co-existence. The policy of peaceful co-existence is also favoured by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by U.S. imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermo-nuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. *The struggle against the threat of a new world war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.*

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and manoeuvres of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organise the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote cooperation with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war.

The struggle of the peoples against the militarisation of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace

movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories and offices.

The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time, involving people of diverse political and religious creeds, of diverse classes of society, who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament, the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarised free city, thwart the aggressive designs of the West-German revanchists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermo-nuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new war. *No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organisations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.*

The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives, women's and youth leagues and organisations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In

conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The U.S.S.R. will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. *In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world.* The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of wars.

The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful co-existence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. The Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful co-existence and, at the same time, underestimation of the danger of war.

In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Congresses of C.P.S.U., and in the documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Five Principles jointly advanced by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung Conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful co-existence of countries with different systems or destructive war – this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the U.S. doctrine of "cold war" and



“brinkmanship,” for it is a policy leading to thermo-nuclear catastrophe. By upholding the principles of peaceful co-existence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations.

The policy of peaceful co-existence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige and international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful co-existence is a policy of mobilising the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. 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. In conditions of peaceful co-existence favourable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national liberation struggle promote peaceful co-existence. The Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful co-existence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the Communist Parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas.

But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

*The Meeting considers that the implementation of the programme for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind.* To realise this programme means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realise owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this programme into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results – the banning of the testing and manufacturing of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

The arms race is not a war-deterrent, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war. Only a handful of monopolies and war speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries, the people constantly demand that military expenditures be reduced and the funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses. In each country, it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement for the use of the funds and resources to be released through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the

greatest vigilance towards imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

*The Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The Communist Parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission.*

#### IV

### VICTORIES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen post-war years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin-American peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

*The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.*

The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-wide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the Second World War, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of the world socialist system. The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working-class movement.

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism. Communists have always recognised the progressive, revolutionary significance of national liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid", drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war bases there. The imperialists endeavour to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-free countries, to misrepresent the principle of self-determination of nations, to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of "interdependence", to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral aggressive military alliances to achieve these ends. The imperialists' accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national rebirth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nations united in a single national-democratic front. The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom, are: the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratisation of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempts to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and extension on a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry — a sector independent from foreign monopolies and gradually becoming a determining factor in the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance forms the basis of a broad national front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability. A big role can be played by the national-patriotic forces, by all elements

of the nation prepared to fight for national independence, against imperialism.

In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles, is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, and therefore can participate in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie.

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions grow the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses will play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

In the present historical situation, favourable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social

organisations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of colonial yoke.

The Communist Parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose; they work for a genuine democratisation of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the Communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anti-communism" and isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement, weakens the national movement; it is contrary to the national interests of the people and threatens the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel. They cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression.

The class-conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realised that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists. Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural rebirth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the people of their own countries.

The entire course of the world history of recent decades shows the need for the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance in easing international tension and consolidating universal peace. This Meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The Meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence – an important step towards complete emancipation. The Meeting extends heart-felt greetings and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national independence, and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It indignantly condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The Meeting demands non-interference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the international working-class and Communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.



V

**NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN THE NEW PERIOD**

The new balance of world forces offers the Communist and Workers' Parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution in keeping with the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle, the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the bulwark of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state-monopoly capitalism, which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against U.S. imperialist domination, and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. The exploitation of working people is gaining in intensity; so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute. The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming increasingly heavier for all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society – that between labour and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish, or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries, fascism is developing in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been stripped of democratic content and purely formal in character. Many democratic organisations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground, thousands of fighters for the working-class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the Communists of the world, this Meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy languishing behind prison bars in the U.S.A., Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The Meeting urges launching a powerful world-wide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favourable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalisation of the key branches of economy

and democratisation of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms, improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realised, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for democratic reforms, large sections of the population come to realise the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its Communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success.

Communists advocate general democratisation of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organisations and institutions.

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with the masses, increase their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realise the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist Parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution. Marxists-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that socialism alone is a real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry,

the youth, the women, in sports organisations, and the unorganised sections of the population. There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism. Lenin's great behest – to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them – must become a major task for every Communist Party.

The restoration of unity in the trade-union movement in countries where it is split, as well as on the international scale, is essential for heightening the role of the working class in political life and for the successful defence of its interests. The working people may belong to different trade unions, but they have common interests. Whenever different trade-union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent years, they usually succeeded, precisely because of their unity, in winning the demands of the working people. The Communist Parties believe that there are real prerequisites for re-establishing trade-union unity, and will work perseveringly to bring it about. In those countries where no trade-union democracy exists in practice, the struggle for trade-union unity calls for continuous efforts amid at achieving trade-union independence and recognition and observance of the trade-union rights of all working people without political or any other discrimination.

It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements be restored. Unity among the mass organisations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace, national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights, the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights.

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, which represents the main motive force of social revolution.

The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the Right-wing Social-Democratic leadership and reactionary trade-union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment

of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this split.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort, along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and divide the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs, they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the Right-wing leadership has succeeded in making the Social-Democratic Parties adopt programmes in which they openly disowned Marxism, the class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans. Thereby they have again done a service to the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the Right-wing leaders is mounting in the Social-Democratic Parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the Social-Democratic Party functionaries. The forces favouring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority of the Social-Democratic Parties, particularly the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

Communists will continue to criticize the ideological positions and Right-wing opportunist practices of the Social-Democrats. They will continue activities aimed at inducing the Social-Democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences which exist between themselves and the Social-Democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

Communists regard Social-Democrats among the working people as their class brothers. They often work together in trade unions and other organisations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist the national liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of Social-Democrats and some Social-Democratic Parties have already in some form or another come out in favour of solving these problems. It is safe to say that *on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.*

In the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of national independence, for peace-loving nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist Parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist Parties. The Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically substantiated and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with Social-Democrats for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing cooperation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist

revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is a result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it. *The Communist Parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.*

The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organisation and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes. Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for the working people.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard – the Marxist-Leninist Party – seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-

class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as 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.

The actual possibility of one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-Communism – a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat – and for winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle



against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and insidious. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organisations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism – that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness. It is necessary to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experiences of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war; lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty, general well being and a high standard of living; freedom from fear of economic crises; a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole; freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual; all-round spiritual development of man; the fullest development of talent; unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

## VI

### UNITY AND CONSOLIDATION OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The world Communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. As it fights bitterly against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the Communist movement is making steady headway, is becoming consolidated and tempered.

There are now Communist Parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36,000,000. This is a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class. Like-minded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist Parties consider it their internationalist duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working-class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the Communist Parties and their organisational consolidation, the victories of the Communist Parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the greater influence of the world communist movement open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the Communist Parties.

Marxist-Leninist Parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism; they consider that they must cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly to adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organisational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading Party bodies in the life of the Party, to work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the Party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, not to allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists, vigorously to promote the activity of Communists, and to encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

The Communist Parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each Communist Party and the international Communist movement as a whole have become still stronger, ideologically and organisationally, in the struggle against revisionism, Right-wing opportunism.

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 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, remain an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist "theories".

The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts – against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism, Right-wing opportunism, 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 demobilizes 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.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties, unless combated unrelentingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions; they isolate Communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or Leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent the Communist Parties from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger, and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

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 co-ordinate 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.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognised vanguard of the world Communist movement, being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international movement. The experience which the C.P.S.U. has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in socialist construction and in the full-scale construction of communism, is of fundamental significance

for the whole of the world Communist movement. The example of the C.P.S.U. and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the Communist Parties in their struggle for peace and socialism, and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the C.P.S.U. are not only of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and communist construction in the U.S.S.R., but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All Communist and Workers' Parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties embody the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a socialist system. This demands extensive work by the Party on the Communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of Party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international Communist, working-class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes, and it is only on its

basis that all the tasks facing the Communist and Workers' Parties can be effectively accomplished.

*The Meeting sees the further consolidation of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working-class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.*

## APPEAL

We, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the five continents, gathered in Moscow for the 43<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, filled with a sense of responsibility for the future of mankind, call on you to wage

*a universal struggle in defence of peace, against the threat of a new world war.*

Three years ago the Communist and Workers' Parties issued a Peace Manifesto to the peoples of all the world.

Since then, the peace forces have won notable victories in the struggle against the warmongers.

Today we are able, with still greater confidence in the victory of the cause of peace, to oppose the war danger that menaces millions of men, women and children. Never before in the history of mankind have there been such valid chances to realise the age-old aspirations of the peoples – to live in peace and freedom.

In fact of the threat of a military catastrophe which would cause vast sacrifice, the loss of hundreds of millions of lives, and would lay in ruins the key centres of world civilisation, the question of preserving peace troubles all mankind more than ever before.

We Communists are fighting for peace, for universal security, for conditions in which all men and all peoples will enjoy peace and freedom.

The goal of every socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole is to assure lasting peace for all peoples.

Socialism does not need war. The historic debate between the old and the new system, between socialism and capitalism, should be settled, not by a world war, but in peaceful competition, in a competition

---

*Source : Documents of the meeting of representatives of the communist and Worker's Parties, Moscow, Nov.-Dec. 1960. Communist Party of India Publication, December 1960.*



as to which social system achieves the higher level of economy, technology and culture, and provides the people with the best living conditions.

We Communists consider it our sacred duty to do everything in our power to deliver mankind from the horrors of a modern war.

Acting upon the teachings of the great Lenin, all the socialist countries have made the principle of the *peaceful co-existence* of countries with different social systems the cornerstone of their foreign policy.

In our epoch the peoples and states have but one choice: peaceful co-existence and competition of socialism and capitalism, or nuclear war of extermination. There is no other way.

Where does the threat to world peace come from?

All governments speak of peace. Yet it is not words that count, but deeds.

Today as in the past, it is the reactionary, monopoly and military groups in the imperialist countries that organise and instigate aggressive wars. Peace is menaced by the policy of the governments of the imperialist powers, which, contrary to the will of their own peoples, impose upon nations a disastrous arms race, fan the cold war against the socialist and other peace-loving countries, and suppress the peoples' aspiration for freedom.

### *LET THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES!*

The peoples welcomed the proposals for universal, complete and controlled disarmament made by the Soviet Union and enthusiastically supported by all the socialist countries. Who opposes the implementation of these proposals? It is the governments of the imperialist countries headed by the United States of America, which, instead of controlled disarmament, propose control over armaments, and try to turn disarmament negotiations into empty talk.

The peoples rejoice that for two years now three great powers have made no tests of nuclear weapons. Who obstructs a new step forward and a decision to ban the deadly tests for all time? It is the governments of the imperialist powers, which constantly declare that they intend to resume atomic weapons tests, and continuously threaten

to wreck the test-ban negotiations they were compelled to enter into under the pressure of the peoples.

The peoples do not want foreign military bases to remain in their sovereign territories. They oppose aggressive military pacts, which curtail the independence of their countries and endanger them.

Who wants the policy of aggressive pacts and bases?

It is the governments of the Atlantic bloc countries, which furnish war bases on foreign soil to the West-German militarists and revenge-seekers, put weapons of mass annihilation in their hands and speed up the atomic arming of N.A.T.O. troops.

It is the ruling circles of the United States of America which have imposed aggressive military pacts upon Japan, Pakistan and other countries in the Middle and Far East, which incite them against the peace-loving countries, which have occupied South Korea and made it their bridgehead and which are reviving Japanese militarism. It is they who are interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and South Vietnam, backing the Dutch imperialists in West Irian, the Belgian imperialists in the Congo, the Portuguese in Goa and other colonialists, preparing an armed intervention against the Cuban revolution, and involving Latin-American countries in military pacts.

It is the United States that has occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan, that keeps on sending military aircraft into the air space of the People's Republic of China, and rejects the latter's legitimate right to have its representatives in the United Nations.

Combat-ready rocket installations, depots stocked with nuclear weapons, airborne H-bomb patrols, combat-ready warships and submarines cruising the seas and oceans, and a web of military bases on foreign soil – such are the present-day practices of imperialism. In such a situation, any country on earth, big or small, may suddenly be enveloped by the flames of a nuclear war.

Imperialism is pushing the world to the brink of war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of big monopolies and colonialists.

The enemies of peace spread falsehoods about an alleged threat of "Communist aggression". They need these falsehoods to camouflage their true goals, to paralyse the will of the peoples and justify the arms race.

*WORKERS, PEASANTS, INTELLECTUALS!  
PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL ALL OVER THE WORLD!*

There is no task more pressing for mankind today than the struggle against the menace of a nuclear-missile war, for general and complete disarmament, for the maintenance of peace. There is no duty more lofty today than participation in that struggle.

*Is lasting world peace possible?*

We Communists reply:

*War is not inevitable, war can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.*

This conviction of ours is prompted not only by our will for peace and hatred of the warmongers. The possibility of averting war follows from the actual facts of the new world situation.

The world socialist system is becoming an increasingly decisive factor of our time. Embracing more than one-third of mankind, the socialist system with the Soviet Union as its main force uses its steadily growing economic, scientific and technical might to curb the actions of imperialism and handcuff the advocates of military gambles.

The international working-class movement, which holds high the banner of struggle for peace, heightens the vigilance of the peoples and inspires them actively to combat the aggressive policies of the imperialists.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, many millions strong, who have won their freedom and political independence, and peoples fighting for national emancipation, are becoming increasingly active champions of peace and natural allies of the peace policy of the socialist countries.

The neutral countries, which disagree with the aggressive policy of the imperialists, work for peace and peaceful co-existence.

The World Peace Movement now numbers many millions of people. In every country, the members of that movement strive to safeguard their homeland from a new military conflagration.

By rallying to a resolute struggle, all these forces of peace can foil the criminal plans of war, safeguard peace and reinforce international friendship.

Peace does not come of itself. It can be defended and consolidated only through joint struggle by all the forces of peace.

*We Communists appeal to all working people, to the peoples of all continents:*

Fight for an easing of international tension and for peaceful co-existence, against cold war, against the arms race! If used for peaceful purposes, the vast resources squandered on armaments would make it possible to improve the condition of the people, to reduce unemployment, to raise wages and living standards, to expand housing construction and to enhance social insurance.

Prevent the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the arming of the German and Japanese militarists with weapons of mass annihilation!

Demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarised free city!

Combat attempts by the governments of the imperialist powers to involve new countries in the cold war, to draw them into the orbit of war preparations!

Demand the abolition of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries, and prohibition of the establishment of new bases. Fight for the liberation of your countries from the aggressive military pacts imposed upon them! Work for agreements on nuclear-free zones!

Do not let the U.S. monopolies rob the heroic Cuban people of their freedom by economic blockade or armed intervention!

We Communists, who are fighting for the cause of the working class and the peoples, hold out our hand to the Social-Democrats and members of other parties and organisations fighting for peace, to all members of trade unions, to all patriots: Work in concert with us in defence of peace, for disarmament. Let us achieve concerted action!

Let us build up a joint front to combat imperialist preparations for a new war!

Let us jointly defend democratic rights and freedoms and fight against the sinister forces of reaction and fascism, against racism and chauvinism, against monopoly domination, against the militarisation of economy and political life.

*The struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence*

*weakens the forces striving for war and multiplies the forces of peace.*

Africa, whose peoples have suffered most from the scourge of colonial slavery and brutal exploitation, is awakening to a new life. As they establish their independent states, the peoples of Africa emerge in the arena of history as a young, increasingly independent and peace-loving force.

But colonialism, doomed as it is by history, has not yet been completely destroyed.

Brute force and terrorism bar the road to freedom for the peoples of East Africa in the British and Portuguese colonies. A cruel racist regime reigns in the Union of South Africa. For more than six years the gallant people of Algeria have been fighting for the right to national independence, shedding their blood in a war forced upon them by the French colonialists, who are supported by their Atlantic accomplices. In the Congo, the imperialists use all kinds of underhand methods and bribery in an effort to overthrow the lawful government and transfer power to their obedient puppets.

The peoples who have won the right to independent statehood continue to wage a strenuous struggle against colonialism in its new forms, against the U.S. and West German colonialists and against their old British, French and other oppressors, who seek at all costs to retain control of the natural resources, mines and plantations of the newly-free countries, to prevent their industrial development and to saddle them with corrupt and reactionary governments.

*Brothers in countries which have freed themselves from colonialism and in countries which are fighting for their liberation!*

*The final hour of colonialism is striking!*

We Communists are with you! The mighty camp of socialist countries is with you!

Together with you, we insist on the immediate and unqualified recognition of the right of all peoples to an independent existence.

May the riches of your countries and the efforts of the working people serve the good of your peoples alone!

Your struggle for full sovereignty and economic independence, for your freedom, serves the sacred cause of peace!

*We, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, call*

*The Documents of the Great Debate*

*on all men, women and young people;*

*on people of all trades and all walks of life;*

*on all people, irrespective of political or religious creed, of nationality or race;*

*on all who love their country and hate war.*

*Demand the immediate prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass annihilation.*

*Insist on the immediate conclusion of a treaty on general, complete and controlled disarmament.*

May modern science and technology no longer serve the manufacture of weapons of death and destruction! May they serve the good of people and the progress of mankind!

May friendly cooperation and extensive commercial and cultural exchanges between all countries triumph over war alignments!

In our epoch

***THE PEACE FORCES ARE SUPERIOR TO THE FORCES OF WAR!***

The peoples will achieve the lofty and cherished goal of safeguarding peace if they pool their efforts and fight resolutely and actively for peace and friendship among nations. Communists will devote all their energies to this cause.

***PEACE WILL TRIUMPH OVER WAR!***

**REJECT THE REVISIONIST THESES  
OF THE XX CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE  
ANTI-MARXIST STAND OF KHRUSHCHOV'S  
GROUP! UPHOLD MARXISM-LENINISM**

Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81  
Communist and Workers' Parties in  
Moscow on November 16, 1960

by **ENVER HOXHA**  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Party of Labour of Albania

**INTRODUCTION**

*In his speech delivered at the Conference of the 81 communist and workers' parties in Moscow on November 1960, Comrade Enver Hoxha made an all-round analysis of the main problems that were concerning the international communist movement and firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism. This speech is one of the most important phases of the principled fight which the Party of Labour of Albania has waged to expose modern revisionism and consolidate the unity of the international communist and workers' movement.*

*The battle the Party of Labour of Albania has waged against the revisionist views of the Khrushchovite Soviet leadership began*

**Source:** "The Party of Labour of Albania in Battle with Modern Revisionism", A Collection of Speeches and Articles, The *Naim Frasheri* Publishing House, Tirana, 1972. [Reproduced from "Important Documents of the Party of Labour of Albania," Vol. III]. Introduction by the Editor of the above source.

*immediately after the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Although this battle was not waged directly and openly at the beginning, the Party of Labour of Albania had made known all its reservations and objections to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Party of Labour of Albania tried in every way to avoid publicising its differences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lest that would put weapons into the hands of the enemies of communism. On the other hand, it was not yet cognizant of Khrushchov's real intentions, therefore it tried to settle the differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit. While maintaining a principled stand, it strove and hoped to make the Soviet leaders realise their mistakes and take the right path.*

*The real treacherous features of the Soviet revisionists became more and more evident to the Party of Labour of Albania. The more their treachery was revealed, the harsher and more irreconcilable became the battle the Party of Labour of Albania waged against Khrushchovite revisionism in order to expose and crush it completely.*

*At the June 1960 Bucharest meeting the Party of Labour of Albania came out in the open in defense of Marxist-Leninist principles and cried "Halt!" to the Khrushchovite revisionists who attempted to hatch up a dangerous plot against the Communist Party of China and against the entire international communist movement.*

*After the Bucharest meeting the Soviet revisionist leaders launched a savage attack against the Party of Labour of Albania in order to force it into line with them and their deeds. Under these conditions, the Party of Labour of Albania became more thoroughly convinced that its principled stand on all the basic issues of the international communist movement should be maintained with the utmost courage and determination. It did this at the 1960 November Conference in Moscow.*

*In his speech at the Conference, Comrade Enver Hoxha, openly, frankly and with Marxist-Leninist courage, submitted the principled views of the Party of Labour of Albania on the main issues of the international communist movement about which differences had arisen and sharply criticised N. Khrushchov's revisionist group, both for its erroneous anti-Marxist views and actions as well as for its brutal interference in the internal affairs of the Party of Labour of Albania and the savage attacks it had launched against it.*



*The Party of Labour of Albania launched this absolutely principled criticism against the Soviet leaders in order to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, because unity cannot be preserved without exposing faults and alien manifestations, without condemning them forthrightly and without correcting them on Marxist-Leninist lines.*

*At the Moscow meeting, the Khrushchovites did their utmost to refute the criticism against their revisionist views and divisive acts. Their attempt was in vain.*

*Following the determined and principled stand of the Party of Labour of Albania on all the problems that were preoccupying the international communist movement, and after the speech of the Chinese delegation, the representatives of all the participating parties at the meeting were obliged to express their attitude one way or the other. Faced with this situation, the revisionists tried to draw the attention of the participants at the meeting away from principled issues and to turn the meeting into a platform of vicious attacks against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China. But this attempt also met with failure. The principled, internationalist stand of the Party of Labour of Albania in defense of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement was seconded by the Communist Party of China and by the delegations of a number of other parties. The Khrushchovite revisionists were obliged to back down.*

*Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech was a major contribution to the successful outcome of the Moscow Conference. Thanks to the determined battle waged by the Communist Party of China, by the Party of Labour of Albania and by some other parties, the Moscow Conference approved the Declaration. Included in the Declaration were certain incorrect conclusions and erroneous theses. On these assessments and theses, the Party of Labour of Albania entertained quite contrary views which it had also expressed openly at the Conference. The delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania signed the Declaration considering its content correct in general. While making concessions on partial matters for the sake of unity, the Party of Labour of Albania made no concessions whatsoever on the main issues which were connected with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.*

*The Party of Labour of Albania was of the opinion that unity in the*

*international communist movement could be established if every party carried out the Declaration in good faith, and that the differences could be settled only by observing the norms governing the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties without making public these differences to the enemies of socialism. This is why the Party of Labour of Albania refrained from publishing Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference at that time, but persisted in carrying out the Declaration which was approved there.*

*Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Conference clearly shows that from that time onward, the Party of Labour of Albania would wage an open battle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Nevertheless, this battle had not yet assumed that breadth and depth which it assumed later as a logical consequence of the embitterment of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and of the degeneration of the Soviet revisionist leaders into a gang of renegades from and traitors to socialism. The whole document bears the seal of the time and circumstances under which it came to being. It is published without modification.*

Dear Comrades!

This Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties is of historic importance to the international communist movement, for it makes a detailed analysis of the international political situation, drawing up a balance sheet of the successes and of the mistakes that may have been verified along our course, helping us see more clearly the line we should pursue henceforth in order to score further successes to the benefit of socialism, communism, and peace.

The existence of the socialist camp with the Soviet Union in the lead is already an accomplished fact in the world. The communist movement in general has been enlarged, strengthened and tempered. The communist and workers' parties throughout the world have become a colossal force to lead mankind forward towards socialism, towards peace.

As the draft-statement which has been prepared emphasises, our socialist camp is much stronger than that of the imperialists. Socialism rises higher and stronger day by day while imperialism grows weaker and decays. We would make use of all our means and exert all

our efforts to speed up this process. This will come about if we abide loyally and unwaveringly by Marxism-Leninism and apply it correctly. Otherwise, we will retard this process, for we have to cope with a ruthless enemy – imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism whom we must defeat and destroy.

We want peace, while imperialism does not want peace and is preparing for a third world war. We must fight with all our might to avert a world war and to bring about the triumph in the world of a just and democratic peace. This will come about when imperialism will have been forced to disarm. Imperialism will not disarm of its own free will. To believe anything of the kind is merely to deceive oneself and others. Therefore we should confront imperialism with the colossal economic, military, moral, political and ideological strength of the socialist camp, as well as with the combined strength of the peoples throughout the world. We should sabotage by every means the war which the imperialists are preparing.

The Party of Labour of Albania has neither kept nor will it ever keep secret from its people this situation and threat from imperialism menacing peace-loving mankind. We can assure you that the Albanian people, who detest war, have not been alarmed by this correct action of their Party: they have not become pessimistic nor have they been marking time as far as socialist construction is concerned. They have a clear vision of their future and have set to work with full confidence, being always on guard, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

We hold the view that U.S.-led imperialism should be mercilessly exposed politically and ideologically. At no time should we permit flattery, prettification or softness towards imperialism. No concessions of principle should be made to imperialism. Tactics and compromises on our part should help our cause not that of the enemy.

Facing a ruthless enemy, the guarantee for the triumph of our cause lies in our complete unity which will be secured by eliminating the deep ideological disagreements which have been manifested, and by basing this unity on Marxist-Leninist foundations, on equality, on brotherhood, on a comradesly spirit and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is of the opinion that, not only should we not have any ideological divisions, but that we should maintain a unified political stand on all issues. Our tactics and strategy towards the enemy should

be worked out by all our parties, based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on correct political criteria complying with the concrete existing situations.

Our socialist camp, headed by the glorious Soviet Union, has become a colossal force from all points of view, both as to its economic and cultural as well as to its military potential. At the center of the successes, at the center of the strength of our camp lies the colossal moral and political, economic, cultural, and military strength of the Soviet Union. The successes in industry, agriculture, education and culture, in science and in the military field in the Soviet Union are exceptionally great. At the same time they are of immeasurable assistance to the achievement of major successes in the other countries of the socialist camp.

It is rightly pointed out in the draft-Statement that the great and inexhaustible strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the decisive factor in the triumph of peace in the world, it is the moral, political and ideological force which inspires the peoples of the world who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of the blood-sucking colonialists, from the clutches of imperialism and capitalism, it is its force of example and its economic aid which helps and inspires other peoples to win the battle for total liberation from the exploiting capitalists.

It is for this major reason that the Soviet Union and the socialist camp have become the center and hope of the peoples of the world, their moral, political and economic prop, their firm and loyal champions against the threats of the warmongering U.S., British, French aggressors and their allies.

All the peoples of the world aspire to and fight for freedom, independence, sovereignty, social justice, culture and peace. These sacred aspirations of theirs have been and are being trampled upon by the capitalists, the feudal lords and imperialists and it is natural that the struggle of these peoples should be waged with great severity against the capitalists, feudal chiefs and imperialists. It is also natural for the peoples of the world to seek allies in this battle for life which they are waging against the executioners. It is only the Soviet Union and the socialist camp that are their great, powerful and faithful allies.

Therefore, in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress in the world, the socialist camp is not alone against the imperialist camp but in close alliance with all the progressive people of the world, while the imperialists stand isolated against the socialist camp.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The states where capital, the scourge, and the bullet reigned supreme, are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the people are taking their destiny into their own hands. This has been achieved thanks to the struggle of these people and the moral support given them by the Soviet Union, People's China, and the other countries of the socialist camp.

Traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and intriguers like Josif Broz Tito, try in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolic schemes like the creation of a third force, to mislead these people and the newly-set up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to hitch them up to U.S. imperialism. We should exert all our efforts to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism.

We are witnessing the disintegration of imperialism, its decomposition, its final agony. We live and fight during the epoch which is characterised by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All of the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, teachings that have never become outdated, though the revisionists claim they have, are being confirmed in practice.

World imperialism is being dealt hard blows which clearly go to show that it is no longer in its "golden age", when it made the law as and when it wanted. The initiative has slipped from its hands and this is not on account of its own desires. The initiative was not wrested from it by mere words and discourses but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself forced upon the proletariat by the strength of people who were rising to smash the world of hunger and misery, the world of slavery. This glorious page was opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the great Soviet Union, by great Lenin.

Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents such as the socialist camp and its great

alliance with all the peoples of the world, U.S.-led world imperialism is mustering, organising, and arming its assault forces. It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this, is blind. He who sees it but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that, in spite of the major difficulties we encounter on our way to establish peace in the world, to bring about disarmament and settle the other international problems, there is no reason to be pessimistic. It is only our enemies who are losing, they are and should be pessimistic. We have won, we are winning and will continue to win. That is why we are confident that our efforts will be crowned with success.

But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism is not only bad but also harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military, moral strength is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, disregards the strength of the opponents, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless, and is entirely at our mercy, he is not a realist. He bluffs, lulls mankind to sleep before all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the revolutionary drive of the masses, not its slackening, its disintegration, decomposition and relaxation. "Waters sleep, but not the enemy" is a wise saying of our long-suffering people.

Let us look facts straight in the eye. World imperialism headed by its aggressive detachment, U.S. imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war. It is arming itself to the teeth. U.S. imperialism is rearming Bonn's Germany, Japan, and all its allies and satellites with all kinds of weapons. It has set up and perfected aggressive military organisations, it has established and continues to establish military bases all around the socialist camp. It is accumulating stocks of nuclear weapons and refuses to disarm, to stop testing nuclear weapons, and is feverishly engaged in inventing new means of mass extermination. Why is it doing all this? To go to a wedding party? No, to go to war against us, to do away with socialism and communism, to put the peoples under bondage.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that if we say and think otherwise we will be deceiving ourselves and others. We would

not be called communists if we were afraid of the vicissitudes of life. We, communists, detest war. We, communists, will fight to the end to smash the diabolic and warmongering schemes the U.S. imperialists are up to, but if they launch a war, we should deal them a mortal blow that will wipe imperialism from the face of the earth once and for all.

Faced with the nuclear blackmail of the U.S.-led world imperialists, we should be fully prepared economically, politically, morally as well as militarily to cope with any eventuality.

We should prevent a world war; it is not fatally unavoidable. But no one will pardon us if we live in a dream and let the enemy catch us unawares, for it has never happened that the enemy is to be trusted, otherwise, he would not be called an enemy. The enemy is and remains an enemy and a perfidious one at that. He who puts his trust in the enemy will sooner or later lose his case.

We should do everything, strive with all our means, in order to prevent war. The policy of the Soviet Union and of our socialist camp has been and remains a policy of peace. All the Soviet proposals and those of the Governments of our countries of the People's Democracy made in the international arena have aimed at easing tension among nations, at solving unsettled issues through negotiations and not through war.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and of the countries of the socialist camp has exerted a major influence in exposing the aggressive intentions of imperialism, in mobilising the people against the warmongers, in promoting their glorious struggle against the imperialist oppressors and their tools. The examples of heroic Cuba, the struggle of the Japanese people and the events in South Korea and Turkey are the best proof of this.

But, in spite of all this, many concrete problems that lie on the table, like the proposals for disarmament, the summit conference, etc., have not yet been resolved and are being systematically sabotaged by the U.S. imperialists.\*

---

\*In December 1959, N. Khrushchov, Head of the Soviet Government, who preferred to settle the important international issues only through talks with the chiefs of imperialism, made arrangements through diplomatic channels to call a top level conference with the participation of the Heads of the Governments of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Britain and France. This conference was to be held in May 1960, but it was not held because of the sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and the vacillating adventurist stand of N. Khrushchov.

What conclusions should we draw from all this? The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that imperialism and, first and foremost, U.S. imperialism, has not changed its skin, colour or nature. It is aggressive and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its mouth. And being of an aggressive nature, it may plunge the world into a war. Therefore, as we emphasised at the meeting of the Editorial Committee, we insist that it should be brought home clearly to all the peoples that, there is no absolute guarantee against world war until socialism has triumphed throughout the world, or at least in the majority of countries. The U.S. imperialists make no secret of their refusal to disarm. They are increasing their armaments, preparing for the war, therefore we should be on our guard.

We should make no concessions of principle to the enemy, we should entertain no illusions about imperialism because, despite our good intentions we would make things worse. In addition to rearming and preparing war against us, the enemy is launching an unbridled propaganda to poison the spirit and benumb the minds of the people. They spend millions of dollars to recruit agents and spies, millions of dollars to organise acts of espionage, diversion and of outrage in our countries. U.S. imperialism has given and is giving billions of dollars to its loyal agents, the treacherous Tito gang. It does all this with a view to weakening our internal front, to sowing dissention, to wakening and disorganising our rear areas.

A lot is said about peaceful co-existence, some even go so far as to assert such absurdities as that People's China and Albania are allegedly opposed to peaceful co-existence. Obviously, such harmful and erroneous views should be rejected once and for all. There can be no socialist state, there can be no communist who is opposed to peaceful co-existence, who is a warmonger. Great Lenin was the first to put forward the principle of peaceful co-existence among states of different social orders as an objective necessity as long as socialist and capitalist states exist side by side in the world. Standing loyal to this great principle of Lenin's, our Party of Labour has always held and still holds that the policy of peaceful co-existence responds to the vital interests of all the peoples, responds to the purpose of the further consolidation of the positions of socialism, therefore, this principle of Lenin's is the basis of the entire foreign policy of our people's State.



Peaceful co-existence between two opposing systems does not imply, as the modern revisionists claim, that we should give up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle must continue; the political and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, should become ever more intense. In our persistent struggle to establish Leninist peaceful co-existence while making no concessions of principle to imperialism, we should further promote the class struggle in capitalist countries as well as the national liberation movement of the people of colonial and dependent countries.

In our view, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries should strive to establish peaceful co-existence between their countries which are still under the capitalist system and our socialist countries. This strengthens the positions of peace and weakens the positions of capitalism in those countries and, in general, helps the class struggle in those countries. But their task does not end there. In these countries, it is necessary to promote, intensify and strengthen the class struggle. The labouring masses, guided by the local proletariat headed by the communist party and in alliance with all the proletariat of the world, should make life impossible for imperialism, should crush its fighting and economic potential, should wrest from its hands its economic and political power and proceed to the destruction of the old power and the establishment of the new power of the people. Will they do this by violence or by the peaceful parliamentary road?

This question has been clear and it was not necessary for Comrade Khrushchov to confuse it in the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress, and do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to resort to so many parodies of Lenin's clear theses and the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labour of Albania is quite clear about and does not shift from Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence.

It is incorrect for some comrades to claim that they assumed power without bloodshed, for they forget that the glorious Soviet Army shed streams of blood for them during the Second World War.

Our Party thinks that, in this matter, we should be prepared and prepared well for both eventualities, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this eventuality, the other

eventuality has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow to the head and crushes you because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can be protected and still work, nor the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.

The Party of Labour of Albania is and will be for peace and peaceful co-existence and will fight for them in the Marxist-Leninist way, as Lenin taught us, and on the basis of the Moscow Peace Manifesto. It has been, is and will be striving actively for general disarmament. On no occasion and not even for a moment will the Party of Labour of Albania cease to wage a political and ideological struggle against the activities of the imperialists and capitalists and against bourgeois ideology, it will not cease to wage a bitter, uninterrupted and uncompromising battle against modern revisionism and, particularly, against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism. There may be comrades who reproach us Albanians, with being stubborn, hot-blooded, sectarian, dogmatic and what not, but we reject all these false accusations and tell them that we do not deviate from these positions, for they are Marxist-Leninist positions.

They say that we are in favour of war and against co-existence. Comrade Kozlov has even put to us, Albanians, these alternatives: either co-existence, as he conceives it, or an atomic bomb from the imperialists, which will turn Albania into a heap of ashes and leave no Albanian alive. Until now, no representative of U.S. imperialism has made such an atomic threat against the Albanian people. But here it is and from a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to whom? To a small heroic country, to a people who have fought, through centuries, against savage and innumerable enemies and who have never bent the knee, to a small country and to a people who have fought with unprecedented heroism against the Hitlerites and Italian fascists, to a people who are bound like flesh to bone to the glorious Soviet Union, to a party which abides loyally, consistently and to the last by Marxism-Leninism and by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But comrade Frol Kozlov, you have made a mistake in the address, you cannot frighten us into yielding to your wrongly calculated wishes and we never confound the glorious

Party of Lenin with you who behave so badly, with such shamelessness, towards the Albanian people and towards the Party of Labour of Albania. The Party of Labour of Albania will strive for and support all the correct and peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp as well as of the other peace-loving countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania will exert all its efforts, use all its prerogatives and obligations to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, a Marxist-Leninist unity. It is absurd to think that little socialist Albania may detach itself and live apart from the socialist camp, apart from our fraternity of socialist peoples. Albania is indebted to no one for its presence within the ranks of the socialist camp; the Albanian people themselves and the Party of Labour of Albania have placed it there with their blood and sweat, their work, their sacrifices, with their system of government and through the Marxist-Leninist line they pursue. But let no one ever think that, because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party it should do what someone else say when it is convinced that someone is mistaken.

As I said earlier, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that, our socialist camp, which has the one aim, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, should also have its own strategy and tactics and these should be worked out together by our parties and states of the socialist camp. Within the ranks of our camp we have set up certain forms of organisation of work, but the truth is, that these have remained somewhat formal, or to put it better, they do not function in a collective way, for instance, the organs of the Warsaw Treaty and of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. Let me make it quite clear. This is not a question of whether we too, should be consulted or not. Of course, no one denies us the right to be consulted, but we should hold meetings for consultation. We raise this problem on principle and say that these forms of organisation should function at regular intervals, problems should be taken up for discussion, decisions should be adopted and there should be a check up on the implementation of these decisions.

The development and further strengthening of the economies of our socialist countries have been and always are the main concern of our Parties and Governments and constitutes one of the decisive factors of the unconquerable strength of the socialist camp.

The construction of socialism and communism is proceeding at a rapid rate in our countries. This is due to the great efforts of our peoples and to the reciprocal aid they render one another. A role of major importance in this direction has been and is being played by the coordination of the plans of our countries and by the Council of Mutual Economic Aid.

So far, the People's Republic of Albania has given economic aid to no one, first because we are poor, and, second, because no one stands in need of our economic aid. But within correct norms we have made and are making every effort to help the countries which are our friends and brothers to some extent through our exports. We have been aided by our friends, first and foremost by the Soviet Union. We have been helped by credits and specialists without which it would have been very difficult for our country and our economy to develop at the rate they have developed.

The Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania have utilised this generous aid of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of People's Democracy as well as they could to the best advantage of our people. Our people are forever grateful to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, to the people, parties and governments of the countries of People's Democracy for this aid. We have considered, consider, and will consider this aid not as charity but as a fraternal, internationalist aid.

Our people who have been in dire poverty, who have fought with heroism, who have been murdered and burnt out, felt it their duty to seek the aid of their friends and brothers bigger and economically better off than they. And it was and still is the internationalist duty of their friends to give this aid. Therefore, it is necessary to reject any sinister and anti-Marxist view that any one may hold about the nature and purpose of this aid. The economic pressures on the Party of Labour of Albania, on the Albanian Government, and on our people will never be of any avail.

I wish to propose here that the aid of the economically stronger to the economically weaker countries, as is the case of our people, should be greater. The Albanian people do not, in any way, intend to fold their arms and open their mouths to be fed by others. That is not their habit. Nor do our people expect the standard of living in our country to be

raised at once to the standard of living in many other countries of People's Democracy, but greater aid should be given to our country to further develop its productive forces. We think that the economically stronger countries of the socialist camp should accord credits also to neutral capitalist countries and to peoples recently liberated from colonialism, provided the leaders of these capitalist countries are opposed to imperialism, support the peaceful policy of the socialist camp and do not hinder or oppose the legitimate struggle of the revolutionary forces, but first of all, the needs of the countries of the socialist camp should be looked into more carefully and be fulfilled. Of course, India stands in need of iron and steel but socialist Albania stands in more urgent need of them, Egypt stands in need of irrigation and electric power but socialist Albania stands in more urgent need of them.

On many political issues of first rate importance, our socialist camp has held and holds identical views. But, since collective consultations have not become a regular habit, on many occasions it has been noted that states from our socialist camp take political initiatives, not that we are opposed in principle to taking initiatives, but these initiatives very often affect other states of the socialist camp as well. Some of these initiatives are not correct, especially when they should be taken collectively by the members of the Warsaw Treaty.

An initiative of this kind is that of the Bulgarian Government which, with total disregard for Albania, informed the Greek Government that the Balkan countries of People's Democracy agree to disarm if the Greek Government is prepared to do so. From our point of view, this initiative was an erroneous one, for, even if the Greek Government had endorsed it, the Albanian Government would not have accepted it. Albania is in agreement with the Soviet proposal made by Nikita Khrushchov in May 1959\*, but not with the Bulgarian proposal which intends to disarm the Balkan countries and leave Italy unaffected. Or have the Bulgarian comrades forgotten that bourgeois and fascist Italy has attacked Albania a number of times during this century?

---

\*Through this proposal and the notes the Soviet Government addressed on May 25, 1959 to the Governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Britain and the U.S.A., the creation was sought of a zone free of nuclear weapons and missiles in the Balkans and the Adriatic region.

On the other hand, can the Bulgarian comrades, without consulting at all the Albanian Government with which they are bound by a defensive treaty, be allowed to propose a treaty of friendship and non-aggression to the Greek Government at a time when Greece maintains a state of war with Albania and makes territorial claims against our country? It seems to us, that is dangerous to take such unilateral actions. From this correct and legitimate opposition of ours, perhaps the Bulgarian comrades may have arrived at the conclusion that we, Albanians, do not properly understand co-existence, that we want war, and so forth. These views are erroneous.

Similar gestures have been made also by the Polish comrades at the United Nations, when comrade Gomulko stated in an unilateral way at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation, that Poland proposes to preserve the statusquo on the stationing of military forces in the world and, concretely, that no more military bases should be created, that those that have been set up already should remain, that no more missiles should be installed but the existing ones should remain, that those States that have the secret of the atomic bomb should keep it and not give it to other States. In our opinion such a proposal is contrary to the interests of our camp. No more missiles to be installed, but by whom and where? All the N.A.T.O. allies including Italy, West Germany and Greece have been equipped with missiles. Not to give the secret of the atomic bomb, to whom? Britain, France and West Germany have it. It is clear that a proposal of this kind will oblige us, the countries of People's Democracy not to install missiles, or any other country of the socialist camp except the Soviet Union, not to have the atomic bomb.

We pose the question, why should Communist China not have the atomic bomb? We think that China should have it and when she has the bomb and missiles, then we will see in what terms U.S. imperialism will speak, we will see whether they will continue to deny China her rights in the international arena, we will see whether the U.S. imperialists will dare brandish their weapons as they do at present.

Some one may pose the question: will China win her rights over the United States of America, by possessing and dropping the bomb? No, neither China nor the Soyiet Union will ever use the bomb unless they are attacked by those who have aggression and war in their very blood. If the Soviet Union did not possess the bomb, the imperialists

would speak in other terms with us. We will never attack with the bomb, we are opposed to war, we are ready to destroy the bomb but we keep it for defensive purposes. "It is fear that guards the vineyard," is a saying of our people. The imperialists should be afraid of us and terribly afraid at that.

Based on Marxism-Leninism and on the Moscow Declaration and Statement on peace\*, the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line in matters of international policy and in the important problems of socialist construction. In international relations, the line of our Party has been in accord with the policy of the socialist camp and has followed the direction of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union.

The Party of Labour of Albania has considered, considers, and will consider the Soviet Union as the savior of our people, and its great experience as universal, very necessary and indispensable to all. The Party of Labour of Albania has followed, implemented, and adopted this great experience unreservedly in all fields and has scored successes. We have scored successes in setting up and strengthening our industry, in collectivising agriculture, in developing education and culture which has made great progress, in building our state and our Party. Our Party has now gained maturity and a rich experience in work in this direction.

Our Party has educated, educates, and will continue to educate our people with a great love and loyalty towards the peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This love has been tempered and will be tempered each passing day for it is kneaded with blood, for it has developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have loved, and still love the Soviet people from the bottom of our hearts and the Soviet people, on their part, have loved and love the people and the Party of Labour of Albania in the same way. This is friendship between peoples, friendship between Marxist-Leninist parties and, therefore, it will flourish through the ages and will never die. This is the unshakable conviction of the Albanian communists, a conviction they have deeply implanted and will continue to implant among our people. We have said and we repeat it now that, without this

---

\*The reference here is to the documents approved by the meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties which was held in Moscow in November 1957.

friendship, there could not have been freedom for our people. This is the fruit of Leninism.

The major problems of the time have preoccupied the Party of Labour of Albania and our people. Our People's Republic has been and is surrounded geographically by capitalist states and the Yugoslav revisionists. We have had to be highly vigilant and tie down people and considerable funds to defend our borders, to defend the freedom and sovereignty of our country from the innumerable attempts of the imperialists and their satellites and lackeys.

We are a small country and a small people who have suffered to an extraordinary degree but who have also fought very hard. We are not indebted to any one for the freedom we enjoy today, for we have won it with our own blood. We are continually aware, day and night of our imperialist enemies, of their maneuvers against the socialist camp and our country in particular, therefore we have never had nor will ever entertain illusions about their changing their nature and their intentions towards our peoples, our camp, and towards socialist Albania in particular. Our Party has been and is for peace, and will fight unceasingly, by the side of the Soviet Union, of People's China, of the other countries of the socialist camp and of all the progressive peoples of the world, to defend peace. For this sacred purpose the Party of Labour of Albania and our Government have supported with all their strength the peaceful policy of the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union and of all the countries of the socialist camp. On every issue and on every proposal we have been in solidarity with them.

The U.S. and British imperialists have accused us Albanians of being "savage and warlike". This is understandable, for the Albanian people have dealt telling blows at their repeated attempts to put us under bondage and have smashed the heads of their agents who conspired against the Party of Labour of Albania and our regime of people's democracy.

Tito's gang, that of the Greek monarcho-fascist chauvinists, the rulers in Rome have accused and accuse us of being "warmongers and disturbers of the peace in the Balkans", because, without hesitation, we have always, and will always hit them hard, for their intentions have been, remain, and will always be to chop up Albania among themselves, to enslave our people.



We do not think we need prove at this meeting that war is alien to the socialist countries, to our Marxist-Leninist parties, but the question remains: why do the imperialists and their agents accuse China and Albania of being warlike and, allegedly, opposed to peaceful co-existence?

Let us take the question of Albania. Against whom would Albania make war and why? It would be ridiculous to waste our time in answering this question. But those who accuse us of this are trying to cover up their aggressive intentions towards Albania.

Rankovich wants us to turn our borders into a roadhouse with two gates through which Yugoslav, Italian and Greek agents and weapons could go in and out freely, without visas, in order to bring us their "culture of cutthroats", so that Tito may realise his dream of turning Albania into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia, so that the reactionary Italian bourgeoisie may put into action for the third time their predatory intentions towards Albania, or so that the Greek monarcho-fascists may realise their crazy dream of grabbing southern Albania. Because we have not permitted and will never permit such a thing, we are "warmongers". They know very well that if they violate our borders they will have to fight us and the whole socialist camp.

Their aim, therefore, has been and is to isolate us from the camp and from our friends, to accuse us of being "warmongers and savage", because we do not open our borders for them to graze freely, to accuse us of being, allegedly, opposed to peaceful co-existence. But the irony of fate is that there are comrades who give credit to this game of the revisionists and to these slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania. Of course, we are opposed to any co-existence for the sake of which we Albanians should make territorial and political concessions to Sophocles Venizelos. No, the time has gone forever when the territory of Albania could be treated as a medium of exchange. We are opposed to such a co-existence with the Yugoslav state which implies that we should give up our ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, these agents of international imperialism, these traitors to Marxism-Leninism. We are opposed to such co-existence with the British or the U.S. imperialists for the sake of which we should recognise, as they demand, the old political, diplomatic and trading concessions King Zog's regime had granted them.

As a general conclusion, the Party of Labour of Albania is absolutely convinced that our great cause, socialism and peace, will triumph. Through determined action, the combined forces of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, of the international communist and workers movement and of all the peace-loving peoples, have the possibility of compelling the imperialists to accept peaceful co-existence, of averting a world war. But, at the same time, we will intensify our revolutionary vigilance more and more so that the enemy may never catch us unawares. We are convinced that victory will be ours in this noble struggle for world peace and socialism. The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, just as heretofore, will spare nothing, will assist with all their might the triumph of our common cause. As always, we will march forward in steel-like unity with the whole socialist camp, with the glorious Soviet Union, and with all the international communist and workers' movement.

Dear Comrades!

The unity of the international communist and workers' movement is the decisive factor in realising the noble aims of the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. This question is especially emphasised in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the draft-Statement prepared for our meeting. In the 1957 Declaration it is stressed that "the communist and workers' parties bear an exceptionally serious historic responsibility for the fate of the world socialist system and the international communist movement. The communist and workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that they will spare no effort to strengthen their unity and comradely collaboration in the interests of the further unity of the family of socialist states, in the interest of the international workers' movement, in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism". It must be said that, especially in recent times, in the international communist movement and in the relations among certain parties, there have arisen deep ideological and political disagreements, the deepening of which can only bring damage to our great cause. Therefore, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that, in order to forge ahead together towards fresh victories, it is necessary to condemn the mistakes and negative manifestations which have appeared so far and to correct them.

We want to refer here to the Bucharest meeting at which our Party, as you know, refrained from expressing its opinion concerning the disagreements which have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but reserved the right to do so at this meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. At that time the Party of Labour of Albania was accused by the Soviet comrades and by some comrades of the other fraternal parties, of everything imaginable, but no one took the trouble to think for a moment why this party maintained such a stand against all this current, why this party, which has stood loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration is unexpectedly accused of allegedly "opposing" Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration, why this party, so closely bound to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, suddenly comes out in opposition to the leadership of the Soviet Union?

Now that all the comrades have in their hands the information materials of both the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties, let them reflect on them themselves. We have read and studied both the Soviet and Chinese materials, we have discussed them carefully with the Party activists, and come to this meeting with the unanimous view of the Party as a whole.

As we all know, on the occasion of the Congress of the Rumanian Labour Party on June 24 this year, the Bucharest Conference was suddenly organised on the initiative of the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union without any previous warning, at least, as far as our Party was concerned. Instead of "exchanging opinions" and setting the date for this Conference we are holding today, which was agreed upon by the letters of June 2 and 7\*, it

---

\*In its letter on June 2, 1960, the CC of the C.P.S.U. proposed to call a meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist camp towards the end of June in order "to exchange views on the problems of the present international situation and to map out a further commonline". But on June 7, 1960, the CC of the C.P.S.U., in another letter, expressed the opinion that this meeting should not be held in June but at a date to be set by a preliminary gathering of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries at the time of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party in Bucharest.

took up another topic, namely, the ideological and political accusation directed against the Chinese Communist Party, on the basis of the "Soviet informative" material. On the basis of this material, entirely unknown up to a few hours before the meeting of the Conference, the delegates of the fraternal communist and workers' parties were supposed to pronounce themselves in favour of the views of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at a time when they had come to Bucharest for another purpose and had no mandate (at least as regards the delegation of our Party) from their parties to discuss, let alone decide, on such an important issue of international communism. Nor could a serious discussion be thought of about this material which contained such gross accusations against another Marxist-Leninist party, when not only the delegates but, especially the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties were not allowed to study it from all angles and without allowing the necessary time to the Party accused to submit its views in all the forms which the accusing Party had used. The fact is that the overriding concern of the Soviet leadership was to have its accusations against the Chinese Communist Party passed over quickly and to have the Chinese Communist Party condemned at all costs.

This was the concern of comrade Khrushchov and the other Soviet comrades in Bucharest, and not at all the international political issues worrying our camp and the world as a whole.

Our Party would have been in full agreement with a Conference of this kind, with whatever other Conference of whatever agenda that might be set, provided that these Conferences were in order, had the approval of all the Parties, had a clear agenda set in advance, provided the communist and workers' parties were given the necessary material and allowed enough time to study these materials so that they could be prepared and receive the approval of the Party Political Bureau and, if necessary, of the plenums of the Central Committees, on the decisions that eventually might be taken at these Conferences. The Conferences should be conducted according to the Leninist norms governing the relations among communist and workers' parties. They should be conducted in complete equality among parties, in a comradely communist and internationalist spirit and with lofty communist morality.

The Bucharest Conference did not comply with these norms, therefore, our Party, although it took part in it, denounced and denounces that Conference as out of order and in violation of Leninist norms.

We think that the Bucharest Conference did a great disservice to the cause of the international communist movement, to the cause of the international solidarity of the workers, to the cause of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, to the cause of setting a Marxist-Leninist example in settling ideological, political and organisational disputes that may arise within the ranks of the communist and workers' parties and which damage Marxism-Leninism. The blame for this falls on the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who organised this Conference, who conceived those forms and who applied those non-Marxist norms in this matter.

The aim was to have the Chinese Communist Party condemned by the international communist movement for faults which do not exist and are baseless. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is fully convinced of this on the basis of the study of facts, of the Soviet and Chinese materials which the Party of Labour of Albania now has at its disposal, based on a detailed analysis which the Party of Labour of Albania has made of the international situation and the official stands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party.

The whole Party of Labour of Albania holds the unanimous view that the Soviet comrades made a grave mistake at Bucharest, by unjustly condemning the Chinese Communist Party for having, allegedly, deviated from Marxism-Leninism, for having, allegedly, violated and abandoned the 1957 Moscow Declaration. They have accused the Chinese Communist Party of being "dogmatic", "sectarian", of being "in favour of war", of being "opposed to peaceful co-existence", of "wanting a privileged position in the camp and in the international communist movement", etc.

The Soviet comrades made a grave mistake also when, taking advantage of the great love and trust which the communists have for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they tried to impose their incorrect views towards the Chinese Communist Party on the other communist and workers' parties.

Right from the start, when the Soviet comrades began their feverish and impermissible work of inveigling the comrades of our delegation in Bucharest, it became clear to the Party of Labour of Albania that the Soviet comrades, resorting to groundless arguments and pressure, wished to lead the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania into the trap they had prepared, to bring them into line with the distorted views of the Soviet comrades.

What was of importance to comrade Khrushchov, (and comrade Antropov said as much to comrade Hysni Kapo) was whether we would "line up with Soviet side or not". Comrade Khrushchov expressed this opinion in other ways also, in his interjections against our Party at the Bucharest meeting. This was corroborated also by the unjust and unfriendly gestures of the comrades of the Soviet leadership and the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana after the Bucharest meeting which I will refer to later. What was important for the comrades of the Soviet leadership was not the views of a Marxist-Leninist party such as ours but only that we should maintain the same attitude in Bucharest as the Central Committee of the Soviet Union.

No warning was given to the Party of Labour of Albania by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which organised the Bucharest meeting that, on the occasion of the Congress of the Rumanian Labour Party, accusations would be brought against the Chinese Communist Party for, allegedly grave mistakes of its line. This came as a complete surprise to the Party of Labour of Albania. While now we hear that, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Chinese Communist Party, the Party of Labour of Korea, the Workers' Party of Vietnam, other parties of the camp were cognizant of the fact that a Conference would be organised in Bucharest to accuse China. If this is so, then it is very clear that the question becomes very much more serious and assumes the form of a faction of an international character.

Nevertheless, our Party was not taken unawares and it did not lack vigilance, and this happened because it always observes the Leninist norms in relations with other parties, because it holds in great Marxist esteem the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party and all the other Communist and Workers' Parties, because it respects the feeling of equality among parties, an equality

which the other parties should respect towards the Party of Labour of Albania regardless of its being a small one in numbers.

Right from the beginning, our Party saw that these norms were being violated at the Bucharest Meeting and that is why it took the stand you all know, a stand which it considered and considers, as the only correct one to maintain towards the events as they developed.

Some leaders of fraternal parties dubbed us as "neutralists", some others reproached us with "deviating from the correct Marxist-Leninist line", and these leaders went so far as to try to discredit us before their own parties. We reject all these with scorn because they are slanders, they are not honest and neither are they compatible with communist morality.

We pose the questions to those who undertook such contemptible acts against the Party of Labour of Albania: Has a party the right to express its opinions freely on matters as it views them? What opinion did the Party of Labour of Albania express in Bucharest? We expressed our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and this is corroborated by the entire life and struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania. We manifested our loyalty to the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Peace Manifesto and this is corroborated by the line pursued with consistency by the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed our loyalty to and defended the unity of the socialist camp and socialism and this is corroborated by the whole struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed our affection for and loyalty to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet people and this is corroborated by the whole life of the Party of Labour of Albania. We did not agree to "pass judgement" on the "mistakes" of the Chinese Communist Party and, even less, "to condemn" the Chinese Communist Party without taking into account also the views of the Chinese Communist Party on the problem raised in such a distorted, hasty, and anti-Marxist way against it. We counselled caution, coolheadedness, and a comradely spirit in treating this matter so vital and exceptionally serious to international communism. This was the whole "crime" for which stones were thrown at us. But we think that the stones which were raised to strike us fell on the heads of those who threw them. The passage of time is confirming the correctness of the stand maintained by the Party of Labour of Albania.

Why did comrade Khrushchov and the other Soviet comrades make such great haste to accuse the Chinese Communist Party groundlessly and without facts? Is it permissible for communists and, especially for the principal leaders of so great and glorious a party as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to perpetrate such an ugly act? Let them answer this question themselves, but the Party of Labour of Albania also has the full right to express its opinion on the matter.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that the Bucharest meeting was not only a great mistake but also a mistake which was deliberately aggravated. In no way should the Bucharest meeting be cast into oblivion but it should be severely condemned as a black stain in the international communist movement.

There is not the least doubt that the ideological differences have been and are grave, and that these have arisen and have been developed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party. These should have been settled in due time and in a Marxist-Leninist way between the two parties concerned.

According to the Chinese documents, the Chinese Communist Party says that these differences of principle were raised by the Communist comrades immediately following the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Some of these matters have been taken into consideration by the Soviet comrades while others have been rejected.

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that, if these differences could not be settled between the two parties concerned, a meeting should have been sought of the communist and workers' parties at which these matters could be brought up, discussed and a stand taken towards them. It is not right that these matters should have been left unsettled, and the blame for this, must fall on the Soviet comrades who had knowledge of these differences but disregarded them because they were dead certain of their line and its "inviolability", and this, we think, is an idealist and metaphysical approach to the problem.

If the Soviet comrades were convinced of the correctness of their line and their tactics, why did they not organise such a meeting in due time and have these divergences settled? Were the problems raised so trivial, for example, the condemnation of Joseph Stalin, the great problem of the Hungarian counter-revolution, that of the ways of taking



power, not to speak of other very important problems that emerged later? No, they were not trivial at all. We all have our own views on these problems because as communists we are interested in all of them, because all our parties are responsible to their peoples but they are responsible to international communism, as well.

In order to condemn the Chinese Communist Party for imaginary faults and sins, comrade Khrushchov and the other Soviet leaders were very concerned to present the case as if the divergences existed between China and the whole international communist movement, but, when it came to problems like those I just mentioned, judgment on them has been passed by Khrushchov and his companions alone, thinking that there was no need for them to be discussed collectively at a meeting of the representatives of all the parties, although these were major international problems in character.

The Hungarian counter-revolution occurred but matters were hushed up. Why this tactics of hushing things up when they are not to their advantage, while for things which are to their advantage, the Soviet comrades not only call meetings like that of Bucharest but do their utmost to force on others the view that "China is in opposition to the line of all the communist and workers' parties of the world?"

The Soviet comrades made a similar attempt towards us also. In August this year, the Soviet leadership addressed a letter to our Party in which it proposed that "with a view to preventing the spark of divergences from flaring up", the representatives of our two parties should meet so that our Party would align itself with the Soviet Union against the Chinese Communist Party and that our two Parties present a united front at this present meeting. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party refused such a thing and, in its official reply, described this as an entirely non-Marxist deed, a factional act directed against a fraternal third party, against the Communist Party of China. Of course, this correct principled stand of our Party was not to the liking of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that these matters are of first rate importance. There is no doubt that they concern us all, but neither is there any doubt for the Party of Labour of Albania that the way the question was raised in Bucharest was tendencious and aimed at condemning the Chinese

Communist Party and isolating it from the whole international communist movement.

For the Party of Labour of Albania this was monstrous and unacceptable, not only because it was not convinced of the truth of these allegations, but also because it rightly suspected that a non-Marxist action was being organised against a great and glorious fraternal party like the Chinese Communist Party, that under the guise of an accusation of dogmatism against China, an attack was being launched against Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Manifesto of Peace.

At the meeting, the Chinese Communist Party was accused of many things. This should have figured in the Communiqué. Why was it not done? If the accusations were well grounded, why all this hesitation and why issue a communiqué which did not correspond to the purpose for which the Conference was called? Why was there no reference in it to the "great danger of dogmatism", allegedly threatening international communism?

No, comrades, the Bucharest Conference cannot be justified. It was not based on principle. It was a biased one to achieve certain objectives, of which the main one was, in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania, that by accusing the Chinese Communist Party of dogmatism, to cover up some grave mistakes of line which the Soviet leading comrades have allowed themselves to make.

The Soviet comrades stood in need of the support of the other parties on this matter. That is why they tried frankly to catch them unawares. The Soviet comrades achieved half their aim and won the right to raise in these parties the condemnation of China as the outcome of an "international Conference of communism". In the communist and workers' parties, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania and certain other communist and workers' parties, the question was raised of "the grave errors of policy committed by the Chinese Communist Party", the "unanimous" condemnation of China in Bucharest was reported in an effort to create opinion in the parties and among the people in this direction. The Party of Labour of Albania was also condemned at some of these party meetings.

After the Bucharest Conference, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania decided, and decided rightly, to discuss in the Party only the Communiqué, to tell the Party that there existed

divergences of principle between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party which should be taken up and settled at the coming November Conference in Moscow. And this was what was done.

But this stand of our Party did not please the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and this we very soon felt. Immediately following the Bucharest meeting, an unexpected, unprincipled attack was launched, brutal intervention and all-round pressure was undertaken against our Party and its Central Committee. The attack was begun by comrade Khrushchov in Bucharest and was continued by comrade Kozlov in Moscow. The comrades of our Political Bureau who happened to pass through Moscow were worked upon with a view to turning them against the leadership of our Party, putting forward that "the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania had betrayed the friendship with the Soviet Union", that "the line pursued by the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania is characterised by 'zig-zags'", that "Albania must decide to go either with the 200 millions (with the Soviet Union) or with the 650 millions (with People's China)" and finally that "an isolated Albania is in danger, for it would take only one atomic bomb dropped by the Americans to wipe out Albania and all its population completely", and other threats of the kind. It is absolutely clear that the aim was to sow discord in the leadership of our Party, to remove from the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania those elements who, the Soviet leaders thought, stood in the way of their crooked and dishonest undertakings.

What came out of this divisive work was that comrade Liri Belishova, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, capitulated to the cajolery of the Soviet leaders, to their blackmail and intimidation and took a stand in open opposition to the line of her Party.

The attempt of the Soviet comrades in their letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to present this question as if the friends of the Soviet Union in Albania are being persecuted is a falsehood. The million and a half Albanians and the Party of Labour of Albania have been, are, and will be, life-long friends of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, sworn friends of the Soviet people. They have

forged and steeled this friendship, tempered in blood, not the various capitulators, splitters and deviators.

But attempts to arouse suspicion about the correct stand of our Party in Bucharest were not confined to Moscow alone. They were made with even more fervor in Tirana by the employees of the Soviet Embassy with the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana himself in the lead.

As I said before, prior to the Bucharest Conference, one could not imagine closer, more sincere, more fraternal relations than those between us and the Soviet comrades. We kept nothing from the Soviet comrades, neither Party nor State secrets. This was decided upon by our Central Committee. These relations reflected the great love and loyalty which our Party had tempered in blood between the Albanian and Soviet peoples.

It was these sacred sentiments of the Party of Labour of Albania and of our people that certain sickly elements, with the Soviet Ambassador at the head, trampled underfoot. Taking advantage of our friendly relations, taking advantage of the good faith of our cadres, they began feverishly and intensively to attack the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania, to split the Party, to create panic and confusion in its ranks, to alienate the leadership from the Party, and the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana went so far as to attempt to incite the Generals of our Army to raise the People's Army against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian State. But the saw struck a nail, and this came to naught, for the unity of our Party is steel-like. Our cadres, tempered in the National-liberation War and in the bitter life and death struggle with the Yugoslav revisionists defended their heroic Party in a Marxist way. They know well enough how to draw the line between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and the splitters, they know well enough how to defend and temper their love and loyalty towards the Soviet Union. And in fact they put these denigrators in their place.

Nevertheless, the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana, with the Ambassador in the lead, succeeded, through impermissible anti-Marxist methods, in making the Chairman of the Control Commission of the Party of Labour of Albania, who, 15 days before had been at one with the line pursued by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania in Bucharest, fall into the clutches of these

intriguers, deviate from Marxism-Leninism and come out flagrantly against the line of his Party. It is clear that these contemptible acts of these Soviet comrades aimed at splitting the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, at alienating it from the masses and from the Party. And this, as a punishment for the "crime" we had committed in Bucharest, for having the courage to express our views freely as we saw fit.

The functionaries of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana went even further. They turned to the Albanians who had studied in the Soviet Union with a view to inciting them against the Albanian leadership, taking them to be a fitting contingent by whom to further their sinister intentions. But the Albanians, whether those who had completed or were still pursuing their studies in the Soviet Union, as well as all the rest, entertained, entertain, and will always entertain a fervent, sincere and untarnished affection for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and are and will be aware of the fact that the base methods used by the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana are altogether alien to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Albanians are the sons and daughters of their own people, of their own Party, they are Marxist-Leninists and internationalists.

We can list many other examples, but in order not to take so much time of this important meeting, I will mention only two other typical cases. The pressure on our Party continued even during the days when the commission was meeting here in Moscow to draw up the draft-Statement which has been submitted to us; when the Soviet comrades urged that we should look ahead and not back. That day in Moscow, the member of the Central Committee and Minister of the Soviet Union, Marshal Malinovsky, launched an open attack on the Albanian people, on the Party of Labour of Albania, on the Albanian Government and on our leadership at an enlarged meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty countries. This unfriendly and public attack has much in common with the diversionist attack of the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana, trying to incite our People's Army against the leadership of our Party and our State. But Marshal Malinovsky makes as grave an error as the Soviet Ambassador. No one can achieve this end, and even less that of breaking up the friendship of our people with

the peoples of the Soviet Union. The correct struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against these subversive acts strengthens the sincere friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union and with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Nor can this friendship be broken up by the astonishing statements of Marshal Grechko, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty, who not only told our military delegation that it was difficult for him to meet the requirements of our Army for some very essential armaments for the supply of which contracts have been signed, but said bluntly, "You are in the Warsaw Treaty only for the time being", implying that Marshal Grechko seems to have decided to throw us out. But, fortunately, it is not up to the Comrade Marshal to take such a decision.

In October this year, Comrade Khrushchov declared solemnly to the Chinese comrades, "We will treat Albania like Yugoslavia". We say this at this meeting of international communism so that all may see how far things have gone and what attitude is being maintained towards a small socialist country. What "crime" has the Party of Labour of Albania committed for our country to be treated like Tito's Yugoslavia? Have we by any chance betrayed Marxism-Leninism as Tito's clique has done? Or did we break away from the camp and hitch up with U.S. imperialism as revisionist Yugoslavia has done? No, and all the international communist movement, all the concrete political, ideological and economic activity of our Party and our State during the whole period of the National Liberation War and during these 16 years since the liberation of the country bear testimony to this. This is borne out also by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, which, in its 1960 August 13 letter to the Central Committee of the Party of Albania, stressed: "The relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union based on the principles of proletarian internationalism have always been truly fraternal. The friendship between our parties and peoples has at no time been obscured by any misunderstanding or abatement. The stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on all the most important issues of the international communist and workers' movement and of foreign policy have been identical." Of what then are we guilty? Our only

“crime” is that in Bucharest we did not agree that a fraternal communist party like the Chinese Communist Party should be unjustly condemned; our only “crime” is that we had the courage to oppose openly, at an international communist meeting (and not in the marketplace) the unjust action of Comrade Khrushchov, our only “crime” is that we are a small Party of a small and poor country which, according to Comrade Khrushchov, should merely applaud and approve but express no opinion of its own. But this is neither Marxist nor acceptable. Marxism-Leninism has granted us the right to have our say and we will not give up this right for any one, neither on account of political and economic pressure nor on account of the threats and epithets that they might hurl at us. On this occasion we would like to ask Comrade Khrushchov why he did not make such a statement to us instead of to a representative of a third party. Or does Comrade Khrushchov think that the Party of Labour of Albania has no views of its own but has made common cause with the Communist Party of China in an unprincipled manner, and therefore, on matters pertaining to our Party, one can talk with the Chinese comrades? No, Comrade Khrushchov, you continue to blunder and hold very wrong opinions about our Party. The Party of Labour of Albania has its own views and will answer for them both to its own people as well as to the international communist and workers’ movement.

We are obliged to inform this meeting that the Soviet leaders have in fact passed from threats to treating Albania in the same way as Titoite Yugoslavia, to concrete acts. This year our country has suffered many natural calamities. There was a big earthquake, the flood in October and, especially, the drought which was terrible, with not a drop of rain for 120 days in succession. Nearly all the grain was lost. The people were threatened with starvation. The very limited reserves were consumed. Our Government urgently sought to buy grain from the Soviet Union, explaining the very critical situation we were faced with. This happened after the Bucharest Meeting. We waited 45 days for a reply from the Soviet Government while we had only 15 days bread for the people. After forty-five days and after repeated official requests, the Soviet Government, instead of 50,000 tons, accorded us only 10,000 tons, that is, enough to last us 15 days, and this grain was to be delivered

during the months of September and October. This was open pressure on our Party to submit to the wishes of the Soviet comrades.

During those critical days we got wise to many things. Did the Soviet Union, which sells grain to the whole world, not have 50,000 tons to give the Albanian people who are loyal brothers of the Soviet people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist camp, at a time when, through no fault of their own, they were threatened with starvation? Comrade Khrushchov had once said to us: "Do not worry about grain, for all that you consume in a whole year is eaten by mice in our country." The mice in the Soviet Union might eat but the Albanian people could be left to die of starvation until the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania submits to the will of the Soviet leaders. This is terrible, comrades, but it is true. If they hear about it, the Soviet people will never forgive them, for it is neither Marxist-Leninist, internationalist, nor humane. Nor is it a friendly act not to accept our clearing for buying grain in the Soviet Union but to oblige us to draw the limited gold reserve from our National Bank in order to buy maize for the people's bread in the Soviet Union.

These acts are linked with one another, they are not just accidental. Particularly in recent days, Comrade Khrushchov's attacks on our Party of Labour have reached their climax. Comrade Khrushchov, on November 8 you declared that "the Albanians behave towards us just like Tito". You said to the Chinese comrades: "We lost an Albania and you, Chinese, won an Albania". And, finally, you declared that the Party of Labour of Albania is your weak link.

What are all these monstrous accusations, this treatment of our Party, our people and a socialist country as something to be bought or sold or lost and won as in a card game? What appraisal is this of a sister party which, according to you, happens to be the weak link in the international communist movement? For us it is clear, and we understand it only too well, that our correct and principled Marxist-Leninist stand, that our courage, to disagree with you and condemn those acts of yours which are wrong impel you to attack our Party, to resort to all kinds of pressure against it, to pronounce the most extreme monstrosities against our Party. But there is nothing comradely, nothing communist in this. You identify us with the Yugoslav revisionists. But everybody knows how our Party has fought and continues to fight against the Yugoslav



revisionists. It is not we who behave like the Yugoslavs but you, comrade Khrushchov, who are using methods alien to Marxism-Leninism against our Party. You consider Albania as a market commodity which can be gained by one or lost by another. There was a time when Albania was considered a medium of exchange, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania should or should not exist, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. You were repeating the same thing when you decided that you had "lost" Albania or that some one else had "won" it, when you decided that Albania is no longer a socialist country, as it turns out from the letter you handed to us on November 8, in which our country is not mentioned as a socialist country.

The fact that Albania proceeds along the path of socialism and that it is a member of the socialist camp is not determined by you, comrade Khrushchov, it does not depend on your wishes. This has been determined by the Albanian people headed by their Party of Labour, by their struggle and there is no force capable of turning them from that course.

As regards your claim that our Party of Labour is the weakest link in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, we say that the twenty-year history of our Party, the heroic struggle of our people and our Party against the fascist invaders and the sixteen years that have elapsed since the liberation of the country to this day, during which period our small Party and our people have faced up to all the storms, show the contrary. Surrounded by enemies like an island amidst the waves, the People's Republic of Albania has courageously withstood all the assaults and provocations of the imperialists and their lackeys. Like a granite rock it has held and holds high the banner of socialism behind the enemy lines. You raised your hand, comrade Khrushchov, against a small country and its Party, but we are convinced that the Soviet people who shed their blood in defense of our people, also, that the great Party of Lenin are not in agreement with this activity of yours. We have full confidence in Marxism-Leninism, we are certain that fraternal parties which have sent their delegates to this meeting will size up and pass judgment on this issue with Marxist-Leninist justice.

Our Party has always considered the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union as a mother-Party and has done this because it is the oldest Party, the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks, it has spoken of its universal experience, of its great maturity. But our Party has never accepted nor will ever accept that some Soviet leaders may impose on it their views which it considers erroneous.

The Soviet leaders viewed this matter of principled importance in an altogether erroneous way, in an idealistic and metaphysical way; they have become swellheaded over the colossal successes attained by the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and violate Marxist-Leninist principles, consider themselves infallible, consider every decision, every act, every word they say and every gesture they make infallible and irrevocable. Others may err, others may be condemned, while they are above such reproach. "Our decisions are sacred, they are inviolable". "We can make no concessions to, no compromise with the Chinese Communist Party", the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said to our people. Then why did they call us together in Bucharest? Of course, to vote with our eyes blindfolded for the views of the Soviet leaders. Is this the Marxist way? Is this a normal procedure?

Is it permissible for one party to engage in subversive acts, to cause a split, to overthrow the leadership of another party or of another State? Never! The Soviet leaders accused Comrade Stalin of allegedly interfering in other parties, of imposing the views of the Bolshevik Party upon others. We can bear witness to the fact that at no time did comrade Stalin do such a thing towards us, towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, he always behaved as a great Marxist, as an outstanding internationalist, as a comrade, brother and sincere friend of the Albanian people. In 1945, when our people were threatened with starvation, comrade Stalin ordered the ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet people, who also were in dire need of food at that time, and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people. Whereas, the present Soviet leaders permit themselves these ugly deeds.

Are such economic pressures permissible; is it permissible to threaten the Albanian people, as the Soviet leaders did after the Bucharest Meeting? In no way whatsoever! The Soviet Union has always aided us in a generous way through credits and by all other means. New

Albania could not be built without this aid, first and foremost, from the Soviet Union and from the other countries of People's Democracy.

To tell the truth, we are very grateful to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union for the great aid they have given our country to build up its industry, to set agriculture on its feet, in short, to improve the life of our people and speed up socialist construction. We know that this aid is an internationalist aid given our small people who, before the war, suffered great, all round misery, and that the Second World War burnt and devastated our country though never downing the Albanian people who, under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania, fought with great heroism and liberated themselves.

But why did the Soviet leadership change its attitude towards us after the Bucharest Meeting to the point that it let the Albanian people suffer from hunger? The Rumanian leadership did the same thing when it refused to sell a single ear of wheat to the Albanian people on a clearing basis at a time when Rumania was trading in grain with the capitalist countries, while we were obliged to buy maize from French farmers, paying in foreign currency.

Some months before the Bucharest Meeting, comrade Dej invited a delegation of our Party for the specific purpose of conducting talks on the future development of Albania. This as a laudable and Marxist concern of his. Comrade Dej said to our Party: "We, the other countries of People's Democracy, should no longer discuss how much credit should be accorded to Albania, but we should decide to build in Albania such and such factories, to raise the means of production to a higher level, regardless of how many million rubles they will cost, that is of no importance". Comrade Dej added: "We have talked this over with comrade Khrushchov, too, and we have been in agreement".

But then came the Bucharest Meeting and our Party maintained the stand you all know. The Rumanian comrades forgot what they had previously said and chose the course of leaving the Albanian people to suffer from hunger.

We have made these things officially known to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before. We have not submitted them to public discussion nor have we whispered them from ear to ear, but we are revealing them for the first time at this

party meeting. Why do we raise this question? We proceed from the desire to put an end to these negative manifestations which do not strengthen but weaken our unity. We proceed from the desire to strengthen the relations and Marxist-Leninist bonds among communist and workers' parties, among socialist States, discarding any evil manifestation that has arisen so far. We are optimistic, fully convinced and have unshaken confidence that the Soviet and other comrades will understand our criticism aright. They are sharp but open and sincere and aim at strengthening our relations. Notwithstanding these unjust and harmful stands which are maintained against us, but which we believe will be stopped in the future, our Party and our people will consolidate still further their unbounded love and loyalty to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all the peoples and communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, based always on the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

Our Party considers that friendship must be based on justice, mutual respect and Marxism-Leninism. This is what the 1957 Moscow Declaration says and this is what is stressed in the draft-Statement which has been submitted to us. We declare in all earnestness that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will be, as always, determined fighters for the strengthening of relations and unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The Albanian people will throw themselves into the flames for their true friends, and the Soviet Union is such a friend of the Albanian people. And these are not empty words. I am expressing here the sentiments of our people and of our Party, and let no one ever think that we love the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the sake of some one's beautiful eyes or to please some individual, but because without the Soviet Union there would be no free life in the world today, fascism and capitalist terror would reign supreme. This is why we love and will always be loyal to the Soviet Union and to the Party of the great Lenin.

Dear Comrades!

In the 1957 Moscow Declaration as well as in the draft-Statement submitted to us, it is pointed out that revisionism constitutes today the principal danger in the international communist and workers' movement.

In the 1957 Moscow Declaration it is rightly stressed that the existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism, while capitulation to the pressure of imperialism is its external source. Experience has fully corroborated that, disguised under pseudo-Marxist and revolutionary slogans, modern revisionism has tried by all manner of means to discredit our great doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, which it has dubbed as "out dated" and no longer compatible with social development. Hiding behind the slogan of creative Marxism, of new conditions, the revisionists have striven, on one hand, to deprive Marxism of its revolutionary spirit and to undermine the belief of the working class and the working people in socialism and, on the other, to use all the means in their power to prettify imperialism, describing it as moderate and peaceful. During the three years that have elapsed since the Moscow Conference, it has been fully confirmed that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and of the socialist camp, loyal lackeys of imperialism, avowed enemies of socialism and of the working class.

Life itself has demonstrated that until now the standard-bearers of modern revisionism, its most aggressive and dangerous representatives are the Yugoslav revisionists, the treacherous clique of Tito and company. At the time when the Moscow Declaration was approved, this hostile group, agents of U.S. imperialism, were not publicly denounced, although, in our opinion, there were enough facts and information to warrant such a thing. Not only that, but later on, when the danger it presented became more evident, the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, the consistent and ceaseless fight to smash it ideologically and politically, was not conducted with the proper intensity. On the contrary, this has been and is the source of many evils and much damage to our international communist and workers' movement. In the opinion of our Party, the reason why Tito's revisionist group has not been totally exposed, why false "hopes" have arisen for an alleged "improvement" and positive "turn" of this treacherous group is because comrade Khrushchov and some other Soviet leaders maintain a conciliatory attitude towards, erroneous views about, and an incorrect assessment of this dangerous Titoite revisionist group.

It has been said that J. V. Stalin was mistaken in assessing the Yugoslav revisionists and in sharpening his attitude towards them. Our

Party has never endorsed such a view, because time and experience has proven the contrary. Stalin made a very correct assessment of the danger of the Yugoslav revisionists, he tried to settle this affair at the proper moment and in a Marxist way. The Information Bureau, as a collective organ, was called together at that time and, after the Titoite group was exposed, a merciless battle was waged against it. Time has proven over and over again that such a thing was necessary and correct.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always held the opinion and is convinced that Tito's group are traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism, dangerous enemies of the socialist camp and of the entire international communist and workers' movement, therefore a merciless battle should be waged against them. We, on our part, have waged and continue to wage this battle as internationalist communists and also because we have felt and continue to feel on our own backs the burden of the hostile activity of Tito's revisionist clique against our Party and our country. But this stand of our Party has not been and is not to the liking of comrade Khrushchov and certain other comrades.

The Titoite group have long been a group of Trotskyites and renegades. For the Party of Labour of Albania, at least, they have been such since 1942, that is, since 18 years ago.

As far back as 1942, when the war of the Albanian people surged forward, the Belgrade Trotskyite group disguising themselves as friends and abusing our trust in them tried their uttermost to hinder the development of our armed struggle, to hamper the creation of powerful Albanian partisan fighting detachments, and, since it was impossible to stop them, to put them under their direct political and military control. They attempted to make everything dependent on Belgrade, and our Party and our partisan army mere appendages of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Yugoslav National-liberation Army.

Our Party, while preserving its friendship with the Yugoslav partisans, successfully resisted these diabolical intentions. It was at that time that the Titoite group tried to found the Balkan Federation under the direction of the Belgrade Titoites, to hitch the Communist Parties to the chariot of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to place the partisan armies of the Balkan peoples under the Yugoslav Titoite staff. It was to this end that, in agreement with the British, they tried to set up the Balkan Staff and to place it, that is to say, to place our armies under the

direction of the Anglo-Americans. Our Party successfully resisted these diabolic schemes. And when the banner of liberation was hoisted in Tirana, the Titoite gang in Belgrade issued orders to their agents in Albania to discredit the success of the Albanian Communist Party and to organise a "putsch" to overthrow the leadership of our Party which guided the National-liberation War and led the Albanian people to victory. The first "putsch" was organised by Tito through his secret agents within our Party. But the Albanian Communist Party frustrated this plot of Tito's.

The Belgrade plotters did not lay down their arms and, together with their agent in our Party, the traitor Koçi Xoxe, continued the re-organisation of their plot against new Albania in other forms, new forms\*. Their intention was to turn Albania into a seventh Republic of Yugoslavia.

At a time when our country had been devastated and laid waste and needed to be completely rebuilt, when our people were without food and shelter but with high morale, when our people and army, weapons in hand, kept vigilant guard against the plots of reaction organised by the Anglo-U.S. military missions who threatened Albania with a new invasion, when a large part of the Albanian partisan army had crossed the border and had gone to the aid of the Yugoslav brothers, fighting side by side with them and together liberating Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosova and Metohia and Macedonia, the Belgrade plotters hatched up schemes to enslave Albania.

But our Party offered heroic resistance to these secret agents who posed as communists. When the Belgrade Trotskyites realised that they had lost their case, that our Party was smashing their plots, they played their last card, namely, to invade Albania with their army, to crush all resistance, to arrest the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania

---

\*At the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in Berat in June 1944, the delegate of the CC of the Yugoslav Communist Party hatched up a plot behind the scenes against the Communist Party of Albania with the participation of the anti-Party elements Sejfulla Maleshova, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. The main objective of this conspiracy was to overthrow the Party leadership headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and to replace it with a new pro-Yugoslav leadership.

This objective failed to materialise because of the opposition offered by most of the members of the CC of the Communist Party of Albania.

and of the Albanian State and to proclaim Albania a seventh Republic of Yugoslavia. Our Party defeated this diabolic scheme of theirs also. Joseph Stalin's aid and intervention at these moments was decisive for our Party and for the freedom of the Albanian people. Precisely at this time the Information Bureau exposed the Tito clique. Stalin and the Soviet Union saved the Albanian people for the second time.

The Information Bureau brought about the defeat of the conspiracies of the Tito clique, not only in Albania but also in other countries of People's Democracy. Posing as communists, the renegade and agent of imperialism, Tito, and his gang, tried to alienate the countries of People's Democracy in the Balkans and Central Europe from the friendship and wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, to destroy the communist and workers' parties of our countries and to turn our States into reserves of Anglo-American imperialism.

Who was there who did not know about and see in action the hostile schemes of imperialism and its loyal servitor Tito? Everybody knew, everybody learned, and all unanimously approved the correct decisions of the Information Bureau. Everyone without exception approved the Resolutions of the Information Bureau which, in our opinion, were and still are correct.

Those who did not want to see and understand these acts of this criminal gang had a second chance to do so in the Hungarian counter-revolution and in the unceasing plots against Albania. The wolf may change his coat but he remains a wolf. Tito and his gang may resort to trickery, may try to disguise themselves, but they are traitors, criminals and agents of imperialism. They are the murderers of the heroic Yugoslav internationalist communists and thus they will remain and thus they will act until they are wiped out.

The Party of Labour of Albania considers the decisions taken against Tito's renegade group by the Information Bureau not as decisions taken by comrade Stalin personally but as decisions taken by all the parties that made up the Information Bureau. And not only by these parties alone but also by the communist and workers' parties which did not take part in the Information Bureau. Since this was a matter that concerned all the communist and workers' parties, it also concerned the Party of Labour of Albania which, having received and studied a copy of the letter comrades Stalin and Molotov had written to the Central



Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, endorsed in full both the letter and the decisions of the Information Bureau.

Why then was the "change of attitude" towards the Yugoslav revisionists, adopted by comrade Khrushchov and the Central Committee of the Soviet Union in 1955, not made an issue for consultation in the normal way with the other communist and workers' parties, but was conceived and carried out so hastily and in a unilateral way? This was a matter that concerned us all. The Yugoslav revisionists had either opposed Marxism-Leninism and the communist and workers' parties of the world or they had not; either they were wrong, or we, not only Stalin, had erred against them. It was not up to comrade Khrushchov to settle this affair at his own discretion. But in fact, that is what he did and this change of attitude in the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists is connected with his visit to Belgrade. This was a bomb shell to the Party of Labour of Albania which immediately opposed it categorically. Before comrade Khrushchov set out for Belgrade in May 1955, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which it expressed the opposition of our Party to his going to Belgrade, stressing that the Yugoslav issue could not be settled in a unilateral way but that a meeting of the Information Bureau should be called to which it asked that the Party of Labour of Albania also should be invited. It is there that this matter should have been settled after a correct and lengthy discussion.

Of course, formally we had no right to decide whether comrade Khrushchov should or should not go to Belgrade, and we backed down on this, but in essence we were right, and time has confirmed that the Yugoslav issue should not be settled in this precipitate way.

The slogan of "overriding interests" was launched, the second Resolution of the Information Bureau was speedily revoked, the "epoch of reconciliation" with "the Yugoslav comrades" began, the conspirators, wherever they were, were re-examined and rehabilitated and "the Yugoslav comrades" came off unscathed, strutted like peacocks trumpeted abroad that their "just cause" had triumphed, that the "criminal Stalin" had trumped up all these things and a situation was created under which whoever refused to take this course was dubbed as a "Stalinist" who should be done away with.

Our Party refused to take such a conciliatory and opportunist course. It stood fast on correct Marxist-Leninist ideological grounds, fighting the Yugoslav revisionists ideologically and politically. The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its views that the Titoite group were traitors, renegades, Trotskyites, subversionists and agents of the U.S. imperialists, that the Party of Labour of Albania had not been mistaken about them.

The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its view that comrade Stalin had not erred in this matter, that, by pursuing their treacherous line, the revisionists had attempted to enslave Albania and, through hatching up a number of international plots with the Anglo-American imperialists, they had tried to plunge Albania into international conflicts.

On the other hand, the Party of Labour of Albania was in favour of establishing state relations of good neighbourliness, trade and cultural relations with the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia provided that the norms of peaceful co-existence between states of different regimes were observed, because as far as the Party of Labour of Albania is concerned, Titoite Yugoslavia has not been, is not, and will never be a socialist country so long as it is headed by a group of renegades and agents of imperialism.

No open or disguised attempt will make the Party of Labour of Albania turn from this correct stand. It was futile for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to try to persuade us through comrade Suslov to eliminate the question of Koçi Xoxe from the Report submitted at our 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress in May 1956, for that would mean negating our struggle and our principled stand.

In Albania, the Titoite saw struck a nail, or, as Tito says, "Albania was a thorn in his flesh" and, of course, the treacherous Titoite group continued their battle against the Party of Labour of Albania, thinking that they were exposing us by dubbing us "Stalinists".

The Belgrade group did not confine their fight against us to propaganda alone but they continued their espionage, subversion, plots, dispatching armed bands into our country more intensively than in 1948. These are all facts. But the tragedy is that, while the Party of Labour of Albania mounted guard against the bitter and repeated attacks by the Yugoslav revisionists, its unshaken, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand

was in opposition to the conciliatory stand of the Soviet leaders and of certain other communist and workers' parties towards the Yugoslav revisionists.

Then it was loudly proclaimed and written that "Yugoslavia is a socialist country and this is a fact", that "the Yugoslav communists possess a great experience and great merits", that "the Yugoslav experience deserves greater interest and more attentive study", that "the period of disputes and misunderstandings is not due to Yugoslavia" and that "great injustice had been done to it", and so on and so forth. This, of course, gave heart to Tito's clique who thought they had won everything except that there was still that "thorn in their flesh", which they thought of isolating and then liquidating. But not only could our Party not be isolated, much less liquidated, but time proved that the views of our Party were correct.

Much pressure has been exerted on our Party over this stand. The Albanian leaders were considered "hot-blooded" and "stubborn", "exaggerating" matters with Yugoslavia, unjustly harassing the Yugoslavs, etc. The attack against our Party in this direction has been led by Comrade Khrushchov.

So far, I have mentioned in brief what the Yugoslav revisionists have done against our country during and after the war, after 1948, but I will dwell a little also on the events prior to the Hungarian counter-revolution which is the work of Yugoslav agents. The treacherous Belgrade group began to organise a counter-revolution in Albania also. Had our Party made the mistake of joining in the "conciliation waltz" with the Yugoslav revisionists as Khrushchov preached after 1955, then the people's democracy in Albania would have gone down the drain. We, Albanians, would not have been here in this hall but would have been still fighting in our mountains.

Firmly united by steel-like bonds, our Party and people kept their eyes wide open and discovered and unmasked Tito's spies in our Central Committee who worked in collusion with the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana. Tito sent word to these traitors, saying that they had precipitated things, that they should have waited for his orders. These spies and traitors also wrote to comrade Khrushchov to intervene against the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. These are

documented facts. Tito's intention was to coordinate the counter-revolution in Albania with that of Hungary.

Our 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress was to be held following the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav agents thought that the time had come to overthrow the "obstinate Stalinist Albanian leadership" and organised a plot which was discovered and crushed at the Party Conference of Tirana in April 1956. The plotters received the stern punishment they deserved.

Tito's other dangerous agents, Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, received orders from Tito to flee to Yugoslavia for "they were in danger and because activities against the Party of Labour were to be organised from Yugoslav territory". Our Party was fully aware of Tito's activity and secret orders. It was wide awake and caught the traitors right on the border when they were trying to flee. The traitors were brought to court and were executed. All the Yugoslav agents who were preparing the counter-revolution in Albania were detected and wiped out. To our amazement comrade Khrushchov came out against us in defense of these traitors and Yugoslav agents. He accused us of having shot the Yugoslav agent, the traitress Liri Gega, allegedly "when she was pregnant, a thing which had not happened even at the time of the Czar, and this had made a bad impression on world opinion". These were slanders trumped up by the Yugoslavs in whom comrade Khrushchov had more faith than in us. We of course denied all these insinuations made by comrade Khrushchov.

But comrade Khrushchov's incorrect, unprincipled and hostile stand towards our Party and its leadership did not stop there. The other Yugoslav agent and traitor to the Party of Labour of Albania and to the Albanian people, Panajot Plaku, fled to Yugoslavia and placed himself in the service of the Yugoslavs. He organised the hostile broadcasts from the so-called "Socialist Albania" radio station. This traitor wrote to bandit Tito and comrade Khrushchov asking the latter to use his authority to eliminate the leadership of Albania headed by Enver Hoxha under the pretext that we were "anti-Marxists and Stalinists". Far from being indignant at the letter of this traitor, comrade Khrushchov expressed the opinion that Panajot Plaku could return to Albania on condition that we do nothing to him, or he could find political asylum in the Soviet Union. We felt as if the walls of the Kremlin had dropped

on our heads, for we could never imagine that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could go so far as to support Tito's agents and traitors to our Party against our Party and our people.

But the culmination of our principled opposition over the Yugoslav issue with comrade Khrushchov was reached when, faced with our principled persistence in the exposure of the Belgrade Titoite agents, he was so enraged that, during the official talks between the two delegations in April 1957, said to us angrily: "We suspend the negotiations. We come to terms with you. You are seeking to lead us to Stalin's ways".

We were disgusted at such an unfriendly stand taken by comrade Khrushchov who intended to break off the talks, which would mean an aggravation of relations with the Albanian Party and State over the question of the traitors to Marxism-Leninism, the Tito group. We could never have agreed on this matter, but we, who had been accused of being hot-blooded, kept calm, for we were convinced that we were in the right, and not comrade Khrushchov, that the line we were pursuing was the correct one, and not that of comrade Khrushchov, that our line would be confirmed again by experience, as it has been confirmed many times over.

In our opinion, the counter-revolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Titoites. In Tito and the Belgrade renegades, the U.S. imperialists had their best weapon to destroy the people's democracy in Hungary.

After comrade Khrushchov's visit to Belgrade in 1955, no more was said about Tito's undermining activity. The counter-revolution in Hungary did not break out unexpectedly. It was prepared for, we might say, quite openly, and it would be futile for any one to try to convince us that this counter-revolution was prepared in great secrecy. This counter-revolution was prepared by the agents of the Tito gang in collusion with the traitor Imre Nagy, in collusion with the Hungarian fascists and all of them acted openly under the direction of the Americans.

The scheme of the Titoites, who were the leaders, was for Hungary to be detached from our socialist camp, to be turned into a

second Yugoslavia, be linked in alliance with N.A.T.O. through Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, to receive aid from the U.S.A. and, together with Yugoslavia and under the direction of the imperialists, to continue the struggle against the socialist camp.

The counter-revolutionaries worked openly in Hungary. But how is it that their activities attracted no attention? We cannot understand how it is possible for Tito and Horthy's bands to work so freely in a fraternal country of People's Democracy like Hungary where the party was in power and the weapons of dictatorship were in its hands, where the Soviet army was present.

We think that the stand taken by comrade Khrushchov and the other Soviet comrades towards Hungary was not clear, because the greatly mistaken views which they held about the Belgrade gang did not allow them to see the situation correctly.

The Soviet comrades trusted Imre Nagy, Tito's man. We do not say this for nothing or without good grounds. Before the counter-revolution broke out and when things were boiling up at the "Petöfi Club", I happened to pass through Moscow, and in conversation with Comrade Suslov told him what I had seen on my way through Budapest. I told him, too, that Imre Nagy was deserting and was organising a counter-revolution at the "Petöfi Club". Comrade Suslov categorically opposed my view, and in order to prove to me that Imre Nagy was a good man, pulled out of his drawer Imre Nagy's fresh "self-criticism". Nevertheless, I told Comrade Suslov that Imre Nagy was a traitor.

We wonder and pose the legitimate question: Why do Comrade Khrushchov and Soviet comrades pay frequent visits to Brioni to talk with the renegade Tito about the Hungarian events? If the Soviet comrades were cognizant of the fact that the Titoites were preparing for a counter-revolution in a country of our camp, is it permissible for the leaders of the Soviet Union to go and talk with an enemy who organises plots and counter-revolutions in socialist countries?

As a communist Party, as a state of People's Democracy, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and of the socialist camp, we are justified in asking Comrade Khrushchov and the Soviet comrades why so many meetings with Tito at Brioni in 1956, with this traitor to Marxism-Leninism, and not a single meeting with our countries, not a single

meeting of the members of the Warsaw Treaty? When will the members of this Warsaw Treaty meet, if not when one of our countries is in danger?

Whether to intervene or not to intervene with arms in Hungary is, we think, not within the competence of one person alone; seeing that we have set up the Warsaw Treaty, we should decide jointly, because otherwise it is of no use to speak of alliance, of the collective spirit and collaboration among the parties. The Hungarian counter-revolution cost to our camp blood, it cost Hungary and the Soviet Union blood.

Why was this bloodshed permitted and no steps taken to prevent it? We are of the opinion that no preliminary steps could be taken so long as Comrade Khrushchov and the Soviet comrades placed their trust in the organiser of the Hungarian counter-revolution, the traitor Tito, so long as they set so little value on the absolutely necessary regular meetings with their friends and allies, so long as they considered their unilateral decisions on matters that concern us all as the only correct ones, and so long as they attached no importance whatsoever to collective work and collective decisions.

The Party of Labour of Albania is not at all clear about this matter, how things developed and what decisions were taken. At a time when the Titoites are conducting talks at Brioni with the Soviet comrades, on the one hand, and feverishly organising counter-revolutions in Hungary and Albania, on the other, the Soviet comrades make not the slightest effort to inform our leadership, at least as a matter of form since we are allies, on what is happening or on what measures they intend to take. But this is not a case of formality. The Soviet comrades know only too well what the Belgrade gang thought of Albania and what intentions they cherished. In reality, not only is this stand of the Soviet comrades to be condemned but it is also incomprehensible.

Hungary was a great lesson for us, for what was done, and for the drama that was played on the stage and behind the scenes there. We believed that the Hungarian counter-revolution was more than enough to show the betrayal of Tito and his gang. We know that many documents are kept locked away and are not brought to light, documents that expose the barbarous activity of Tito's group in the Hungarian events. Why this should happen we do not understand. What interests are hidden behind these documents which are not brought to light but are kept under lock and key? To condemn Stalin after his death, the most trifling

items were searched out, while the documents that expose a vile traitor like Tito are locked away in a drawer.

But even after the Hungarian counter-revolution, the political and ideological fight against the Titoite gang, instead of becoming more intense, as Marxism-Leninism demands, was played down, leading to reconciliation, smiles, contacts, moderation and almost to kisses. In fact, thanks to this opportunist attitude, the Titoites got out of this predicament.

The Party of Labour of Albania was opposed to the line followed by Comrade Khrushchov and the other comrades towards the Yugoslav revisionists. Our Party's battle against the revisionists continued with even more fury. Many friends and comrades, particularly the Soviet and Bulgarian comrades, being unable to attack our correct line, ridiculed us, smiled, and with their friendly contacts with the Titoites, isolated our people everywhere.

We had hoped that, after the 7<sup>th</sup> Titoite Congress, even the blind, let alone the Marxists, would see with whom they were dealing and what they should do. Unfortunately, things did not turn out that way. Not long after the 7<sup>th</sup> Titoite Congress, the exposure of revisionism was toned down. The Soviet theoretical publications spoke of every kind of revisionism, even of revisionism in Honolulu, but had very little to say about Yugoslav revisionism. This is like saying: "don't see the wolf before your eyes but look for its tracks". Slogans were launched: "Don't speak any more of Tito and his gang, for that will fan their vanity", "don't speak any more of Tito and his group, for that would harm the Yugoslav people", "don't speak of the Titoite renegades, for Tito makes use of what we say to mobilise the Yugoslav peoples against our camp", etc. Many parties adopted these slogans while our Party did not, and we think we acted correctly.

Such a situation was created that the press of friendly countries accepted articles from Albanian writers only provided they made no mention of the Yugoslav revisionists. Everywhere in the countries of People's Democracy, except in Czechoslovakia where, in general, the Czechoslovak comrades assessed our activities correctly, our Ambassadors were isolated in a round about way, because the diplomats of friendly countries preferred to converse with the Titoite diplomats while they hated our diplomats and did not want even to set eyes on them.



And things went so far that Comrade Khrushchov made his coming to Albania in May 1959 at the head of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation conditional on the Yugoslav issue. The first thing Comrade Khrushchov said at the beginning of talks in Tirana was to inform everybody at the meeting that he would not talk against the Yugoslav revisionists, a thing which no one could compel him to do, but a statement of this kind was intended to show quite openly that he disagreed with the Party of Labour of Albania on this issue.

We respected the wishes of the guest during the whole time he stayed in Albania, regardless of the fact that the Titoite press was highly elated and did not fail to write that Khrushchov had shut the mouths of the Albanians. This, in fact, responded to reality, but Comrade Khrushchov was very far from persuading us on this matter and the Titoites learned that quite clearly, because after our guest's departure from our country, the Party of Labour of Albania felt no longer bound by the conditions put upon us by our guest and continued on its own Marxist-Leninist way.

In his talks with Vukmanovich Tempo, among others, Comrade Khrushchov has compared our stand, as far as its tone is concerned, with that of the Yugoslavs and has said that he did not agree with the tone of the Albanians. We consider that Comrade Khrushchov's statement to Vukmanovich Tempo, to this enemy of Marxism-Leninism, of the socialist camp and of Albania, is erroneous and should be condemned. We hold that one should get what he deserves and we, on our part, disagree with Comrade Khrushchov's conciliatory tone towards the revisionists, for our people say one should speak in a harsh tone to the enemy and with honeyed tongue to the beloved.

Some comrades hold the erroneous idea that we maintain this attitude towards the Titoites because, they claim, we are allegedly eager to hold the banner of the fight against revisionism or because we view this problem from a narrow angle, from a purely national angle, therefore, they claim, we have embarked, if not altogether on a "chauvinist course", at least on that of "narrow nationalism". The Party of Labour of Albania has viewed and views the question of Yugoslav revisionism through the prism of Marxism-Leninism, it has viewed, views, and fights it as the main danger to the international communist movement, as a danger to the unity of the socialist camp.

But while being internationalists we are communists of a specific country, of Albania. We, Albanian communists, would not be called communists if we failed to defend consistently and with determination the freedom of our sacred country from the plots and diversionist attacks of Tito's revisionist clique which are aimed at the invasion of Albania, a fact which is already known to everyone. Can it be permissible for us Albanian communists to let Albania become the prey of Tito, of the U.S. imperialists, of the Greeks or of the Italians. No, never!

Some others advise us not to speak against the Yugoslavs, saying "why are you afraid? You are defended by the Soviet Union?" We have told these comrades and tell them again that we are afraid neither of the Yugoslav Trotskyites nor of any one else. We have said and say it again that the Soviet Union has defended, defends and will defend us, but we are Marxist-Leninists and not for one moment should we diminish the struggle against the revisionists and imperialists until we wipe them out of existence. Because if the Soviet Union is to defend you, you must first defend yourself.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of allegedly being chauvinists, of interfering in their internal affairs, and of demanding a rectification of the Albanian-Yugoslav borders. A number of our friends think and imply that we Albanian communists swim in such waters. We tell our friends who think thus that they are grossly mistaken. We are not chauvinists, we have neither demanded nor demand rectification of boundaries. But what we demand and will continually demand from the Titoites, and we will expose them to the end for this, is that they give up perpetrating the crime of genocide against the Albanian minority in Kosova and Metohia, that they give up the white terror against the Albanians of Kosova, that they give up driving the Albanians from their native soil and deporting them 'en masse' to Turkey. We demand that the rights of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia should be recognised according to the Constitution of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Is this chauvinist or Marxist?

This is our attitude on these matters. But if the Titoites speak of peaceful co-existence, of peace, of good neighbourly relations and, on the other hand, organise plots, an army of mercenaries and fascists in Yugoslavia for the purpose of attacking our boundaries and of chopping up socialist Albania, and sharing it with the Greek monarcho-fascists,

then, we are convinced that not only the Albanians in new Albania but also the one million Albanians living under Tito's bondage will rise arms in hand to stay the hand of the criminal. And this is Marxist and, if anything happens, this is what will be done. The Party of Labour of Albania does not permit any one to play at politics with the rights of the Albanian people.

We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others but when, as a result of the slackening of the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, things go so far that there is published in a friendly country like Bulgaria a map of the Balkans in which Albania is included within the boundaries of Federal Yugoslavia, we cannot keep silent. We are told that this happened due to a technical error of an employee, but why had this not happened before?

But this is not an isolated case. At a meeting in Sremska Mitrovitsa, the bandit Rankovich attacked Albania as usual and called it "a hell where barbed wire and the boots of frontier guards reign supreme" claiming that the democracy of the Italian neofascists was more advanced than ours.

Rankovich's words would be of no significance to us, but these words were listened to with the greatest serenity by the Soviet and Bulgarian Ambassadors to Belgrade who attended this meeting, without their making the slightest protest. We protested in a comradely way over this to the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In his letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Zhivkov dared to reject our protest and call the speech of the bandit Rankovich a positive one. We could never have imagined that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party could describe as positive the speech of a bandit like Rankovich who so grossly insults socialist Albania, likening it to hell. We not only reject with contempt this impermissible insult by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party but we are dead certain that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the heroic Bulgarian people would be utterly revolted if they came to hear of this. Things will not go any too well if we allow such gross mistakes towards one another.

We can never, never agree with Comrade Khrushchov and we protested to him at the time, over the talks he had with Sophocles Venizelos in connection with the Greek minority in Albania. Comrade Khrushchov is well aware that the borders of Albania are inviolable and sacred and that anyone who touches them is an aggressor. The Albanian people will fight to the last drop of their blood if any one touches their borders. Comrade Khrushchov was gravely mistaken when he told Venizelos that he had seen Greek and Albanians working together as brothers in Korsá. In Korsá, there is no Greek minority whatsoever, but there is the age-old covetousness of the Greeks for the Korsá district as for all Albania. There is a very small Greek minority in Gjirokastra. Comrade Khrushchov knows that they enjoy all the rights, use their own language, have their own churches and schools in addition to all the rights that the other Albanian citizens enjoy.

The ambitions of the Greeks, among them those of Sophocles Venizelos, the son of Eleftherios Venizelos who murdered Albanians and put whole districts of southern Albanian to the torch, the frenzied Greek chauvinist and father of the idea of Great Greece, aimed at cutting up Albania and annexing it under the slogan of autonomy, are very well known: Comrade Khrushchov is well aware of the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, of the Albanian Government and people on this question. Then, to fail to give Sophocles the answer he deserves, to permit the arousing of hopes and illusions and to say that he will transmit to the Albanian comrades the desires of a British agent, a chauvinist, this is unacceptable to us and deserves condemnation.

Comrade Khrushchov, we have given our reply to Sophocles Venizelos and we believe you have learned of this through the press. We are not opposed to your politicising with Sophocles Venizelos but refrain from politicising with our boundaries and our rights, for we have not allowed nor will we allow such a thing. And it is not as nationalists but as internationalists that we do this.

Some may consider these things I am telling you as out of place, as statements inappropriate to the level of this meeting. It would not have been hard for me to have put together a speech in an allegedly theoretical tone, to have spoken in generalisations and quotations, to have submitted a report in general terms in order to please you and pass my turn.

### *The Documents of the Great Debate*

But to the Party of Labour of Albania it seems that this is not the occasion. What I have said may appear to some as attacks, but these are criticisms which have pursued their proper course, which have been made before, when and where necessary within Leninist norms. But seeing that one error follows another, it would be a mistake to keep silent because attitudes, deeds and practice confirm, enrich and create theory.

How quickly the Bucharest Conference was organised and how quickly the Chinese Communist Party was condemned for "dogmatism"! But why has a Conference to condemn revisionism not been organised at the same speed?

Has revisionism been totally exposed as the Soviet comrades claim? No, in no way whatsoever! Revisionism has been and continues to be the principal danger, Yugoslav revisionism has not been liquidated and the way we are dealing with it is leaving it a clear field for all forms of action.

And can it be said that there are no disturbing manifestations of modern revisionism in other parties? Anyone who says "no" is closing his eyes to this danger, and one fine day we will wake to see that unexpected things have happened to us. We are Marxists and should analyze our work just as Lenin did and taught us to do. He was not afraid of mistakes, he looked them in the eye and corrected them. This is the way the Bolshevik Party was tempered and this is the way our parties have been tempered.

But what is happening in the ranks of our parties? What is happening in our camp since the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress? Comrade Suslov may feel optimistic, and he expressed this feeling at the October Committee meeting when he reproached the delegate of the Party of Labour of Albania, Hysni Kapo, with pessimism in observing events. We, Albanian Communists, have not been pessimistic even at the blackest moments of the history of our party and people and never will be, but we will always be realists.

Much has been said about our unity. This is essential, and we should fight to strengthen and temper it. But the fact is that on many important issues of principle we have no unity.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that things should be re-examined in the light of a Marxist-Leninist analysis and

errors should be corrected. Let us take the question of the criticism of Stalin and his work. Our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist one, is fully aware that the cult of the individual is an alien and dangerous manifestation for the parties and for the communist movement itself. Marxist parties should not only not permit the development of the cult of the individual which hampers the activity of the masses, negates their role, is at variance with the development of the life of the party and with the laws that govern it, but should also fight with might and main to uproot it when it begins to appear or has already appeared in a specific country. Looking at it from this angle, we fully agree that the cult of the individual, Stalin, should be criticised as a dangerous manifestation in the life of the party. But in our opinion, the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress and, especially, Comrade Khrushchov's secret report did not put the question of Comrade Stalin correctly in an objective Marxist-Leninist way.

Stalin was severely and unjustly condemned on this question by Comrade Khrushchov and the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress. Comrade Stalin and his work does not belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people alone, but to us all. Just as Comrade Khrushchov said in Bucharest that the differences are not between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party but between the Chinese Communist Party and international communism, just as it pleases him to say that the decisions of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Congresses were adopted by all the communist and workers' parties in the same way, he should also be magnanimous and consistent in passing judgment on Stalin's work so that the communist and workers' parties of the world could adopt it with a clear conscience.

There cannot be two yardsticks nor two measures of weight for this matter. Then, why was Comrade Stalin condemned at the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress without prior consultation with the other communist and workers' parties of the world? Why was this "anathema" pronounced upon Stalin all of a sudden to the communist and workers' parties of the world and why did many sister parties learn of it only when the imperialist press published Comrade Khrushchov's secret report far and wide?

The condemnation of Comrade Stalin was imposed on the communist and progressive world by Comrade Khrushchov. What could our parties do under these circumstances, when unexpectedly, using

the great authority of the Soviet Union, he imposed a matter of this kind on our bloc?

The Party of Labour of Albania found itself in a great dilemma. It was not convinced and will never be convinced on the question of condemning Comrade Stalin in that way and in those forms that Comrade Khrushchov did it. Our Party adopted, in general, the formula of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress on this matter but, nevertheless, it did not stick to the limitations set by the Congress nor did it yield to the blackmail and intimidation from outside our country.

The Party of Labour of Albania maintained a realistic stand on the question of Stalin. It was correct and grateful towards this glorious Marxist against whom, while he was alive, there was no one among us "brave enough" to come out and criticize, but when he was dead a great deal of mud was thrown, creating in this way an intolerable situation in which a whole glorious epoch of the Soviet Union when the first socialist State in the world was set up, when the Soviet Union waxed strong, successfully defeated the imperialist plots, crushed the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and the kulaks as a class, when the construction of heavy industry and collectivisation triumphed, in a word, when the Soviet Union became a colossal power succeeding in building socialism, when it fought the Second World War with legendary heroism and defeated fascism, liberated our peoples, when a powerful socialist camp was set up, and so on and so forth – all this glorious epoch of the Soviet Union is left without a helmsman, without a leader.

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that it is no right, normal or Marxist, to blot out Stalin's name and great work from all this epoch, as it is actually being done. We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward.

As a person and as the leader of the Bolshevik Communist Party, after Lenin's death Comrade Stalin was, at the same time, the most prominent leader of international communism helping in a very positive way and with great authority in consolidating and promoting the victories of communism throughout the world. All of Comrade Stalin's theoretical works are a fiery testimony of his loyalty to his teacher of genius, to great Lenin and Leninism.

Stalin fought for the rights of the working class and the working people in the whole world, he fought to the end with great consistency for the freedom of the peoples of our countries of People's Democracy.

Viewing things from this angle alone, Stalin belongs to the entire communist world and not to the Soviet communists alone, he belongs to all the workers of the world and not to the Soviet workers alone.

Had Comrade Khrushchov and the Soviet comrades viewed this matter in this spirit, the gross mistakes that were made would have been avoided. But they viewed the question of Stalin very simply and only from the internal aspect of the Soviet Union. But, in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania, even from this aspect, they viewed it in a one-sided way, seeing only his mistakes, almost completely putting aside his great activity, his major contribution to the strengthening of the Soviet Union, to the tempering of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the building of the economy of the Soviet Union, of its industry, its kolkhozian agriculture, to his leading the Soviet people to their great victory over German fascism.

Did Stalin make mistakes? Of course he did. In so long a period filled with heroism, trials, struggle, triumphs, it is inevitable not only for Joseph Stalin personally but also for the leadership as a collective body to make mistakes. Which is the party and who is the leader that can claim to have made no mistakes in their work? When the existing leadership of the Soviet Union is criticised, the comrades of the Soviet leadership advise us to look ahead and let bygones be bygones, they tell us to avoid polemics, but when it comes to Stalin, they not only did not look ahead but they turned right round, completely backward, in order to track down only the weak spots in Stalin's work.

The cult of the individual of Stalin should, of course be overcome. But can it be said, as it has been claimed, that Stalin himself was the sponsor of this cult of the individual? The cult of the individual should be overthrown without fail, but was it necessary and was it right to go to such lengths as to point the finger at any one who mentioned Stalin's name, to look askance at any one who used a quotation from Stalin with great speed and zeal? Certain persons smashed statues raised to Stalin and changed the names of cities that had been named after him. But why go any further? At Bucharest, turning to the Chinese



comrades, Comrade Khrushchov said: "You are catching on to a dead horse", "Come and get his bones, if you wish!" These references were to Stalin.

The Party of Labour of Albania solemnly declares that it is opposed to these acts and to these assessments of the work and person of Joseph Stalin.

Soviet comrades, why were these questions raised in this manner and in such a distorted form, while possibilities existed for both Stalin's mistakes and those of the leadership to be treated properly, to be corrected, without creating such a shock in the hearts of the communists of the world, which only the sense of discipline and the authority of the Soviet Union prevented from bursting out?

Comrade Mikoyan has said that we dared not criticize Comrade Stalin when he was alive for he would have cut off our heads. We are sure that Comrade Khrushchov will not cut off our heads if we criticize him aright.

After the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress, the events we know took place in Poland, the counter-revolution broke out in Hungary, attacks began on the Soviet system, disturbances were aroused in many communist and workers' parties of the world and finally this that has occurred.

We pose the question: Why did these things occur in the international communist movement, in the ranks of our camp, after the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress? Or do these things happen because the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania is sectarian, dogmatic and pessimistic?

A thing of this kind should be of extraordinary concern for us and we should look for the source of and cure this malady. But, certainly, this sickness can not be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back nor by putting in the Statement that modern revisionism has been completely done away with, as the Soviet comrades claim.

The authority of Leninism has been and is decisive. It should be established in such a way as to purge erroneous views everywhere and in radical way. There is no other way out for us communists. If there are things that must and should be said outright, just as they are, this should be done now, at this Conference, before it is too late. Communists, we think, should go to bed with a clear conscience, they should strive to consolidate their unity but without keeping back their reservations, without nurturing feelings of favouritism and hatred. A communist says

openly what he feels in his heart and matters will be judged correctly.

There may be people who will not be pleased with what our small Party is saying. Our small Party may be isolated, our country may be subjected to economic pressure in order to prove, allegedly, to our people that their leadership is no good, our Party may be and is being attacked, Michael Suslov equates the Party of Labour of Albania with the bourgeois parties and likens its leaders to Kerensky. But this does not intimidate us. We have learned some lessons. Rankovich has not said worse things about the Party of Labour of Albania, Tito has called us Goebels, but again, we are Leninists and they are Trotskyites, traitors, lackeys and agents of imperialism.

I wish to emphasize that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have shown in practice how much they love, how much they respect and how loyal they stand to the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that when the Party of Labour of Albania criticizes the wrong doings of certain Soviet leaders, that does not mean that our views and our attitude have changed. We, Albanians, take the courage as Marxists to criticize these comrades not because we hate them but because we think highly of them and because we love above everything else the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

This is how we love the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership. With our Marxist severity we tell them in a comradely way, we open our hearts, we tell them frankly what we think. Hypocrites we have never been nor will ever be.

In spite of the severity we show, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will hold us dear, regardless of errors we may make, but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties of the world will not accuse us of lacking sincerity, of talking behind their backs or of swearing allegiance to a hundred banners.

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words about the draft-Statement submitted to us by the Editorial Commission. Our Delegation took cognizance of this draft and scrutinised it carefully. In the new draft-Statement many amendments have been made to the first variant submitted by the Soviet delegation which was taken as a basis of the work of the said Commission. With the amendments made to it, the new draft-Statement has been considerably improved, many important

ideas have been stressed, a number of theses have been formulated more correctly and the overwhelming majority of the allusions against the Chinese Communist Party have been rejected.

At the meeting of this Commission, the Delegation of our Party offered many suggestions which were partially adopted. Although our Delegation was not in agreement that certain important matters of principle should remain in the drafted document, it gave its consent that this document should be submitted to this meeting, reserving its right to express once again its views on all the issues on which it disagreed. Above all, we think that those five issues which remain uncoordinated, should be settled so that we may draw up a document which has the unanimous approval of all.

We think that it is essential to make clear in the Statement the idea of Lenin expressed recently by Comrade Maurice Thorez as well as by Comrade Suslov in his speech at the meeting of the Editorial Commission, that there can be an absolute guarantee of the prohibition of war only when socialism has triumphed throughout the world or, at least, in a number of other great imperialist countries. At the same time, that paragraph which refers to factionist or group activity in the international communist movement should be deleted since this, as we have pointed out also at the meeting of the Commission, does not help consolidate unity, on the contrary, it undermines it. We are also in favour of deleting the words referring to the overcoming of the dangerous consequences of the cult of the individual or else, of adding the phrase "which occurred in a number of parties", a thing which corresponds better to the reality.

I do not want to take the time of this meeting over this question and other opinions which we have on the draft-Statement. Our Delegation will make its concrete remarks when the draft-Statement itself is under discussion.

We will do well and it will be salutary if we take the courage at this conference to look our mistakes in the face and treat the wounds, wherever they may be, but which are threatening to become aggravated and dangerous. We do not consider it an offense when comrades criticize us justly and on facts, but we will never, never, accept that without any facts, they may call us "dogmatic", "sectarian", "narrow nationalists" simply because we fight with persistence against modern revisionism

and, especially, against Yugoslav revisionism. If anyone considers our struggle against revisionism as dogmatic or sectarian, we say to him, "Take off your revisionist spectacles and you will see more clearly!"

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that this Conference will remain an historic one, for it will be a Conference in the tradition of the Leninist Conferences which the Bolshevik Party had organised in order to expose and root right out distorted views, in order to strengthen and steel the unity of our international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour will continue to strive with determination to strengthen our unity, our fraternal bonds, the joint activity of our communist and workers' parties, for this is the guarantee of the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism. The unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the unity of the international communist and workers' movement with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the center, is the most sacred thing which our Party will guard as the apple of its eye and will strengthen more and more with each passing day.

## **“UNITY UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM”**

The Bucharest conference proclaimed that all the conclusions of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto concerning the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, the possibility of preventing wars in the present period, the need for the peoples to maintain vigilance with regard to the danger of war, the struggle for peace as the paramount task, and the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism can be fully applied in the present situation too.

At the July plenary meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our party completely and fully approved the political line and the activity of its delegation, headed by N.S. Khrushchov, at the meeting in Bucharest and also the communiqué issued by this meeting. The C.P.S.U. unanimously stated that it was true to the principles of the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, which had been tested by experience and fully retained their force under present-day conditions.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always regarded the Leninist principle of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems as the general line of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. This principle does not deny the struggle of classes, nor does it mean the reconciliation of socialism with capitalism. Rather, it presupposes an intensification in the struggle for the triumph of socialist ideas, for the complete victory of socialism.

This principle, advanced by V.I. Lenin and further developed in the decisions of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Congresses of the C.P.S.U., the

This is the extract of *Pravda* editorial, November 23, 1960, from text in *Soviet News* (London: Soviet Embassy), No. 4382, November 25, 1960.

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

documents of other Communist and Workers' Parties, and the Declaration and the Peace Manifesto, is the only correct principle for international relations when the world is divided into two systems – the socialist and the capitalist systems.

The C.P.S.U. firmly upholds the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism. Guided by these principles it drew major theoretical conclusions and made generalisations at its 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Congresses....

## **“GIVE FULL PLAY TO THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE 1957 MOSCOW DECLARATIONS”**

The development of the situation in the past three years demonstrates that the forces of socialism have further surpassed the forces of imperialism, the forces of national liberation have further surpassed the forces of colonialism, the forces of the people have further surpassed the forces of reaction and the forces of peace have further surpassed the forces of war. This shows that the famous dictum made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung three years ago, that “the East wind has prevailed over the West wind,” is perfectly correct.

In a word, the entire situation is highly favourable to the peoples of the world and unfavourable to imperialism and all reactionaries. Any view that overestimates the strength of imperialism and underestimates the strength of the people is contrary to the Moscow Declaration and is completely incorrect....

This is to say, peace can be effectively safeguarded only by incessantly strengthening the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, the people’s struggles in the capitalist countries, the forces of all peace-loving people and the unity of all these forces and by waging a joint struggle. The broader and stronger this united front of the peace forces against imperialism unleashing wars and the more extensive and intensive its struggles the firmer will be the guarantee for world peace.

The might and solidarity of the countries of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is the main force in opposing imperialism and defending world peace. At the same time, the movement for

---

This is the extract of *People's Daily* editorial, November 21, 1960, from text released by NCNA the same day.

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

defending world peace and the revolutionary struggles of the various peoples for national liberation, democracy, freedom and socialism are inter-connected, mutually consistent and complementary to each other. The development of the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world and the victories of their revolutionary struggles constitute a mighty force for preventing imperialism from unleashing war and defending world peace.

After the end of the Second World War, U.S. imperialism, by using the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries to wage a civil war, tried to wipe out the Chinese people's revolutionary force and to turn China into its colony and military base for attacking the Soviet Union and carrying out aggression against Asia. But the Chinese people, compelled to fight a patriotic revolutionary war in self-defence, finally defeated the attack of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and smashed the U.S. imperialists' rabid schemes of aggression against China. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution has greatly increased the forces defending world peace. The same point is proved by the development and victories of the people's revolutionary movements in the many Asian, African and Latin American countries. Those views which oppose the revolutionary struggles of the various peoples to the struggles for defending world peace are, therefore, very wrong....

The entire theory of Marxism-Leninism is in the service of the world proletariat and the revolution of the various peoples. The revolutionary spirit is the soul of Marxism-Leninism. The combination of a strict scientific spirit and high revolutionary spirit is the inherent characteristic of the Marxist-Leninist theory. If we want to uphold the theoretical positions of Marxism-Leninism and the banners of the Moscow Declaration, then we must defend and give full play to this scientific and revolutionary spirit. New historical developments and new experiences in class struggle constantly demand that we, basing ourselves on the fundamental principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism and on scientific analysis of objective things, make new summations to guide revolutionary struggles and enrich the contents of Marxism-Leninism. But, in the course of studying new situations and new experiences, we should, under no circumstances, depart from the fundamental principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism and disregard



the facts. Otherwise, it would be a fundamental violation of Marxism-Leninism.

The Moscow Declaration points to "the necessity of resolutely overcoming revision and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties." It also clearly points out that "the main danger at present is revisionism." The characteristic of revisionism is to emasculate the revolutionary spirit of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, in order to save themselves from their fate of decline, are always exerting ceaselessly an influence on the working class. The revisionists of different hues always make use of a certain new situation to distort and adulterate the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory so as to lure the working class away from the correct path of revolutionary class struggle, to meet the needs of imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries....



# THE INTERNATIONALE

A D E7

A - rise ye work-ers from your slum - bers, A - rise ye pris-on-ers of

A E7 A D E7 A

want. For rea-son in re-volt now thun - ders, and at last ends the age of cant. A -

E B7 E B7 E B7

way with all your su-per - sti - tions, Ser-vile mass-es a-rise, a - rise. We'll

E E7 A E B7 E E7

change hence-forth the old tra - di - tion, And spurn the dust to win the prize. So -

Detailed description: This is a musical score for the song 'The Internationale'. It consists of four systems of music. Each system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). Chord markings are placed above the vocal line: A, D, E7, A, E7, A, E, B7, E, B7, E, B7, E, E7. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The lyrics are: 'A - rise ye work-ers from your slum - bers, A - rise ye pris-on-ers of want. For rea-son in re-volt now thun - ders, and at last ends the age of cant. A - way with all your su-per - sti - tions, Ser-vile mass-es a-rise, a - rise. We'll change hence-forth the old tra - di - tion, And spurn the dust to win the prize. So -' The piano accompaniment features a steady bass line and chords that support the vocal melody.

A D E7 A E7

com - rades come ral - ly, And the last fight let us face. The

A E7 F#m C#7 D B7 E E7

In - ter - na - tion - al - a u - nies the hu - man race. So -

A D E7 A A7

com - rades let's ral - ly And the last fight let us face. The

F#7 Bm7 E7 A E7 A

In - ter - na - tion - al - a u - nies the hu - man race.

Words by Eugene Pottier (1871)  
 Music by Pierre Degeyter (1888)

1