

# PEKING REVIEW

10  
and  
11

March 15, 1963

## More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us

A *Hongqi* article on some important problems of  
Leninism in the contemporary world (p. 8).

## A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial replying to attacks on the Chinese  
Communist Party (p. 58).

## A Mirror for Revisionists

A *Renmin Ribao* editorial exposing the revisionist clique  
headed by Dange in the Indian Communist Party (p. 63).

北  
京  
周  
報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

*SPECIAL 5TH ANNIVERSARY GIFTS*

# PEKING REVIEW

March 1958 — March 1963

A notebook (with handy reference material on China)

and

A copy of "The Revolution of 1911"

*will be given for every overseas subscription placed  
before June 30, 1963*

**PEKING REVIEW** *gives you*

- China's views on current international questions
- Theoretical articles and important documents
- Authoritative coverage of developments in China
- Illustrations, cartoons, maps and charts

*Airmailed to subscribers all over the world*

**Beginning March, SPANISH & FRENCH  
editions also available**

Send your orders or enquiries to

**GUOZI SHUDIAN**

P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

or to our distributors in your country. Free samples on request.

---

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

Mar. 15, 1963 Vol. VI Nos. 10, 11

## CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us — Editorial Department of Hongqi	8
A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	58
A Mirror for Revisionists — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	63
Joint Communique of the Chinese and Pakistan Governments	66
Boundary Agreement Between China and Pakistan	67
Joint Communique of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Norodom Sihanouk	70
Chinese Frontier Guards Complete Withdrawal Along Sino-Indian Border — Chinese Defence Ministry Statement	71
Sino-Laotian Joint Communique	74
ROUND THE WORLD	76

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW  
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China  
Cable Address: Peking 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

# THE WEEK

Among the headlines:

● During the past fortnight the Chinese press published three articles in the current debate in the international communist movement. They are: "More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us," an editorial article by *Hongqi*; "A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.," a *Renmin Ribao* editorial replying to recent attacks on the Chinese Communist Party by the C.P.U.S.A.; and "A Mirror for Revisionists," a *Renmin Ribao* editorial repudiating the revisionist clique in India headed by Dange. (*Peking Review* combines its two latest issues in order to provide its readers with these documents as quickly as possible.)

● On the day it published its comment on the statement of the C.P.U.S.A. *Renmin Ribao* devoted a page to the full text of the statement of the C.P.U.S.A. of January 9, 1963; extracts of relevant remarks by the leader of the C.P.U.S.A.; and excerpts from an editorial and other articles in the *Worker* which contain remarks in contravention of Marxism-Leninism, attacking the Chinese Communist Party and undermining the unity of the international communist movement.

● During the same period, the Chinese press also quoted in full or in excerpts: The resolution adopted at the fifth plenary session of the Japanese Communist Party's Central Committee entitled "Communist and Workers' Parties of All Countries, Closely Unite!"; an article by the Korean *Rodong Shinmoon*, entitled "The Invincible Ideas of Scientific Communism" marking the 115th anniversary of the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*; an article carried in the Japanese *Akahata*, criticizing revisionism on the question of war and peace; and a speech by Njoto, Second Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, in which he condemns revisionism in art and literature.

● Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received Soviet Ambassador S.V. Chervonenko on March 9. Their discussion concerned talks between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union.

● The past two weeks also witnessed a strengthening of China's relations with her Asian neighbours with the signing of the agreement on the boundary question between China and Pakistan, and the visits of King Sri Savang Vatthana of Laos and Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia.

● China's Ministry of National Defence has announced completion of the withdrawal of Chinese frontier guards along the Sino-Indian border. Despite all China's efforts for peace India has still not returned to the conference table to work out a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

## Laotian King Visits China

A rousing welcome was given King Sri Savang Vatthana of Laos, when, accompanied by Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma and other high Laotian officials, he arrived in Peking on March 6 for a state visit.

The Laotian King was warmly greeted at the airport by Liu Shao-chi and Tung Pi-wu, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of

China, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese government leaders.

Hundreds of thousands of Peking's citizens lined the streets to cheer their distinguished Laotian guests. The crowd beat drums and cymbals in the traditional Chinese style of welcome,

waved flags and flowers as the limousines of King Sri Savang Vatthana and Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Prince Souvanna Phouma and Premier Chou En-lai, and the long motorcade that followed, drove past. The Peking press greeting the event, forecast a further strengthening of friendly relations between the two countries.

In his speech at the state banquet he gave the same evening Chairman Liu Shao-chi welcomed King Sri Savang Vatthana and other distinguished Laotians. He recalled that the various political forces in Laos had united and formed a provisional government of national union with Prince Souvanna Phouma as its premier; that an agreement on the Laotian question was reached at the enlarged Geneva conference and all the participating nations had declared their recognition of and respect for the independence and neutrality of Laos. "This is a great victory for the Laotian people," he declared. "It is also the result of the protracted struggle waged by the patriot forces of Laos."

Chairman Liu stressed that "the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question has dealt a serious blow to the imperialist scheme to interfere in Laotian affairs and laid a good foundation for the realization of the national aspirations of the Laotian people for the independence, neutrality and prosperity of their country. We consider that a peaceable, independent and neutral Laos is not only in accord with the Laotian people's interests, but also an important factor in the relaxation of tension in Indo-China and South-east Asia."

He expressed the hope that the countries concerned would strictly abide by the provisions of the Geneva agreements, truly guarantee respect for the independence and neutrality of Laos and, without foreign interference, let the country take the path chosen by itself.

"As a close neighbour of Laos and a signatory to the Geneva agreements," Chairman Liu went on, "we have always sympathized with and supported the just cause of the Laotian people, truly fulfilled our international commitments and respected the policy of peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos."

Speaking of the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Laotian peoples Chairman Liu Shao-chi greet-



**Peking citizens greeting King Sri Savang Vatthana of the Kingdom of Laos accompanied by Chairman Liu Shao-chi**

ed its growth in the past few years. "This growth is based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference," he said.

King Sri Savang Vatthana in his speech said that the aim of his visit was to thank the Chinese Government for the active and fruitful part it played at the Geneva conference which resulted in the agreement guaranteeing internationally the independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos, and also to consolidate this situation and to forge still closer ties joining the Laotian and Chinese peoples.

"My country has never doubted China's good intentions towards it," continued the Laotian King. "And, for its part, it is resolved, within the framework of the Geneva agreements and in the Bandung spirit, to follow the road of peace and neutrality which conforms so well to the interests and aspirations of its people."

China's friendship for the Laotian people and its respect for the independence and neutrality of Laos was reiterated by Chairman Liu Shao-chi at the banquet King Sri Savang Vatthana gave on March 8 in honour of Chinese government leaders, and by Mayor Peng Chen on the same day at a rally of more than 10,000 Peking citizens to welcome the distinguished Laotian guests.

On the day after his arrival the Laotian King was guest of honour at a dinner given by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to him and his party.

During their stay in Peking, the distinguished Laotian visitors have gone sight-seeing, paid homage to the image of Buddha and the Buddha's Tooth at the famous Kuangchi Monastery, and enjoyed a performance of the *Fountain of Bakhchisarai*, presented by the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing.

King Sri Savang Vatthana and his party left China on March 10. A Sino-Laotian joint communique was issued on the same day. (See p.74.)

### **Teng Hsiao-ping Receives Soviet Ambassador**

Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received S.V. Chervonenko, Soviet Ambassador to China, on March 9 and discussed with him the question of holding talks between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union.

Teng Hsiao-ping handed to the Soviet Ambassador the reply of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the letter of the Central Committee of the Soviet Union dated February 21. Both Parties in the letters exchanged affirmed the necessity of holding talks between the two Parties on important questions concerning the international communist movement today.

### **Boundary Agreement Between China and Pakistan**

On March 2, a boundary agreement between China and Pakistan was signed and came into force. (For full text of the agreement, see p.67.)



Foreign Ministers Chen Yi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto signed the document for their respective Governments. The signing ceremony, held at Peking's Great Hall of the People, was attended by Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and many other government leaders as well as members of the Pakistan government delegation headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto himself.

Minister of External Affairs Bhutto and his delegation came to China at the invitation of the Chinese Foreign Minister for the signing of the agreement. They arrived in Canton on February 26 and flew the next day by special plane to Shanghai for a short visit.

When they arrived in Peking on March 1, they were greeted at the airport by Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and other high government officials as well as thousands of workers, students, P.L.A. officers and government functionaries. That evening, Chen Yi gave a banquet in honour of the delegation. In his banquet speech, the Chinese Foreign Minister said that the successful settlement of the boundary question between China and Pakistan "demonstrates once again that so long as the two parties concerned treasure the fundamental interests of the friendship between their peoples and the common interests of Asian-African solidarity, treat each other with good faith and in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation."

#### CORRECTION

P. 4, Col. 3, fifth line of the fourth paragraph should read "Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

the two countries. "On behalf of the Government of Pakistan," he said, "I must say that our experience of the border negotiations with the People's Republic of China has been particularly gratifying. The spirit of friendship, reasonableness and mutual accommodation permeated our talks and, despite certain inherent difficulties, our two countries succeeded in arriving at a mutually acceptable and satisfactory agreement. This is indeed an example of international co-operation and understanding."

The conclusion of this agreement is a milestone in the development of friendly relations between the two states. It is a triumph for the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, a great contribution to peace in Asia and the world. And as such, it is warmly welcomed by the whole Chinese people. Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed these sentiments in a special cable he sent to President Ayub Khan, greeting him on the occasion of the signing of the agreement.

More than 10,000 people attended a grand rally held in Peking to celebrate the signing of the boundary agreement. Mayor Peng Chen and Minister Bhutto addressed the gathering. Both hailed the signing of the agreement and spoke warmly of the growing friendship between China and Pakistan.

All the leading newspapers in the capital published editorials warmly welcoming the agreement.

The conclusion of this agreement, wrote *Renmin Ribao*, "is an eloquent proof of the sincere desire of the Chinese Government to settle all boundary questions and develop good-neighbourly relations with adjacent countries."

Minister Bhutto and his delegation left Peking for home on March 4. Before their departure, he gave a banquet for Chinese government leaders. A joint communique of the Chinese and Pakistan Governments was issued on March 4. (See p.66.) Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai had cordial talks with Minister Bhutto and other members of the Pakistan government delegation during their three-day stay in Peking.

### China and Afghanistan to Discuss Boundary Treaty

As the agreement between China and Pakistan was signed, it was announced last week that China and another of its Asian neighbours—Afghanistan—were ready to start negotiations for the signing of a boundary treaty.

This is what the press communique of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued on March 2 said:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Royal Government of Afghanistan, in view of

the friendly relations existing between their two countries, reaffirm that the boundary existing between the two states is a boundary of peace and friendship. With a view to safeguarding the continuity and further development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between their countries, the two Governments have agreed to conduct negotiations for the purpose of formally delimiting the boundary existing between the two countries and signing a boundary treaty."

### Prince Sihanouk Ends Visit

His three-week state visit to China completed, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, together with the members of his family and other distinguished Cambodian guests, left China for home on February 28. His visit has solidly enhanced the goodwill and friendship between the two countries.

In a joint communique issued by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Prince Sihanouk on the eve of the latter's departure, the two leaders characterize the friendly and good-neighbourly relations of mutual respect and equality between the two countries as "a good example of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems." (For full text see p.70.)

Prince Sihanouk and his party arrived in China on February 8. During their stay, they visited Peking, Kunming, Shanghai, Changsha, Kweilin and Nanning. They received the warmest of popular welcomes wherever they went.

### Moroccan National Day Reception

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were among those present at the Moroccan National Day reception given by Moroccan Ambassador to China, Abderrahmane Zniber on March 3.

Speaking at the reception, Vice-Premier Chen Yi paid warm tribute to the many successes the Moroccan people have achieved under the leadership of King Hassan II. Morocco, he said, has steadfastly followed a policy of peace and neutrality, supported the national-independence movement of the peoples, and made useful contributions to the strengthening of the solidarity of the Maghreb countries and of the Afro-Asian countries and to the preservation of world peace. The Vice-Premier wished new successes to the Moroccan people in their strug-

gle against imperialism and colonialism old and new, and in defence of their national independence. He emphasized that this just struggle of the Moroccan people would always have the sympathy and support of the Chinese Government and people.

Referring to the surging national-independence movement in Africa, Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that the imperialists would not give up their colonialist privileges of their own accord. Serious and urgent tasks in the struggle against imperialism still lay ahead of the peoples.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi expressed the hope that the peoples of the Maghreb countries would unite, that all the African peoples would unite and that all the Asian, African and Latin American peoples would unite in a joint struggle against imperialism, and carry the fight for the attainment and preservation of national independence to even greater victories.

The Vice-Premier praised the friendly and co-operative relations between China and Morocco, which were developing on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. He thanked Morocco for its consistent stand for the restoration to China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations.

In his speech at the reception, Ambassador Abderrahmane Zniber paid tribute to China's achievements in national construction. He pointed out that exclusion of China from the United Nations was unreasonable and

unfair. On the Sino-Indian boundary question, the Ambassador said that Morocco, faithful to the general line of its foreign policy, would spare no effort to help find a peaceful solution.

### "Peking Review" Celebrates

The staff of *Peking Review* last week celebrated a double event: its fifth anniversary and, a still more important occasion—publication of its Spanish and French editions.

In five short years, *Peking Review* has indeed grown: today it reaches all continents. It has faithfully served its world public by presenting the facts about China—the documented views of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Government on current international questions, and how the Chinese people are building socialism. With its new editions it hopes to do its job even better.

The celebration was planned as a family affair, because, as with all weeklies, the next deadline wasn't far off. A cocktail party in the office's dining-room was arranged. But it turned out to be a gayer event than expected. Greetings rolled in from colleagues of other journals. Well-wishers from many quarters came to offer congratulations and, to the immense joy of the P.R. staff, Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Coun-

cil; Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. and Vice-Premier; and Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, came to honour the occasion.

Leading comrades from various government departments and other newspapers and publications were also present.

As Premier Chou moved from table to table to greet the foreign experts working on the P.R. and other publications of the Foreign Languages Press and members of the P.R. staff, he expressed his appreciation of their hard work and toasted their health. They in turn told him how things were going and the lively chats went on for hours.

Copies of the new *Pekin Informa* and *Pekin Information* (the P.R. Spanish and French editions are called respectively) and the latest issue of the English edition, came in just off the press. The new Spanish and French editions were published in answer to incessant requests from readers abroad. For the time being they will come out once every two weeks. Both of them will carry all the important articles in the English edition plus some special articles of their own from time to time.

Throughout the evening *Peking Review* had been toasted and greeted in a dozen tongues in red wine and in *maotai*, when towards the end of the party, Premier Chou was introduced to propose the toast of the day.

The Premier congratulated the P.R. staff on the success of the magazine and its growth and thanked the foreign members of the staff for their help. He said that the work of *Peking Review* was to serve the people of the world, to support the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the five continents. Although the Chinese revolution had achieved victory, he said, China needed the support of the world's people for the consolidation of that victory. China, on her part, gave her support to the people's revolutionary movements of the five continents and the people's revolutionary movements of the five continents in turn supported China's revolutionary cause. Therefore, they supported one another, influenced one another. Raising his glass he proposed a toast to



Premier Chou En-lai at the *Peking Review's* cocktail party

the great unity of the peoples of the world.

### Afro-Asian Solidarity

Solidarity with all the Asian and African peoples! Firm support for their struggles to win and safeguard national independence! Smash the modern revisionists' sabotaging activities! Sweep away all the imperialist and old and new colonialist forces from Asia and Africa! These were the keynotes of speeches at a mass rally held in Peking on March 7 to celebrate the resounding success of the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference convened last month in Moshi, Tanganyika. The rally was jointly sponsored by the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China Peace Committee and four other organizations.

Presiding over the rally, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity Liao Cheng-chih, in his opening address, hailed the Moshi conference as a great gathering in which a victory was won for the revolutionary line taken by the Afro-Asian peoples in their united struggle against imperialism and colonialism. He said that, despite the plots of the imperialists and the modern revisionists and their followers to wreck Afro-Asian solidarity, after heated debate and intense struggle the conference declared that the most important and most pressing task confronting the peoples in Asia and Africa was to unite firmly in their common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, and to win and safeguard national independence. This militant call issued by the conference, he stressed, struck terror into the hearts of the imperialists and was a stunning blow to the modern revisionists who wanted to repress the people's revolution.

Liu Ning-I, head of the Chinese delegation to the Moshi conference, next took the floor to give a detailed report of the proceedings of the Moshi conference. Its successes, he pointed out, were the result of the combined efforts made by the overwhelming majority of the delegates in combating and smashing the sabotaging activities of a handful of imperialists and reactionaries, and in exposing and repudiating the erroneous views of the modern revisionists concerning the national-liberation movement in the present-day world.

全世界人民團結起來，互相支持，互相學習，進行反對以美國為首的帝國主義的鬥爭

周恩來

Premier Chou En-lai's special message to *Peking Review*:

**People of the world, unite! Let us support one another and learn from one another and carry on the struggle against imperialism headed by the United States!**

Liu Ning-I disclosed that there was a handful of delegates who did not dare to face up to the reality of the struggle of the Asian-African peoples, and did not wish to acknowledge it. These individuals, who feared this raging struggle against imperialism, tried to put so-called general and complete disarmament in place of the national-liberation movement of the Asian-African peoples. He pointed out that the overwhelming majority of the delegates repudiated such erroneous ideas reflecting the modern revisionist trend. Most of the delegates to the Moshi conference, he said, came to see more and more clearly that one should harbour no illusions about imperialism headed by the United States, that one must see through the

subterfuges of imperialism, expose it relentlessly and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. This achievement, he declared, "is of great significance in promoting the cause of national liberation in Asia and Africa."

Liu Ning-I related how many delegates to the Moshi conference, drawing on their own experience, came to the conclusion that in the struggle to win independence they could no longer content themselves with so-called constitutional means and that it was necessary to carry on armed struggles against colonialism. Confronted by armed suppression from the imperialists, the oppressed nations had no alternatives but to take up arms

(Continued on p. 75.)

# More on the Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us

— Some Important Problems of Leninism in the Contemporary World

by the Editorial Department of *Hongqi*

Following is a translation of the article carried in "*Hongqi*" (*Red Flag*), Nos. 3-4, March 4, 1963. Bold-face emphases are ours. — Ed.

## I. Introduction

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

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

Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I. were not at all happy about this editorial and they published

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

In the present article we shall make a more detailed analysis and criticism of the fallacious statements made by Togliatti and the other comrades over a number of years, as a reply to their continued attacks against us. When Togliatti and the other comrades have read our reply, we shall see what attitude they will take — whether they will still say that we "often lack explicit clarity," that we are "highly abstract and formal" and "lack a sense of reality," that we are "not accurately informed" on the situation in Italy and on the work of the C.P.I., that we are committing an "obvious falsification" of the views of the C.P.I., and that we are "dogmatists and sectarians who hide their opportunism behind an ultra-revolutionary phraseology." We shall wait and see.

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

countries will not accept such splittism. We desire unity, and we will never allow a handful of people to keep on with their splitting activities.

## II. The Nature of the Present Great Debate Among Communists

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

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

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

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

The Tito clique had taken the road of revisionism long ago. In the winter of 1956, it took advantage of the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign launched by the imperialists to conduct propaganda against Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and, on the other, to carry out subversive activities within the socialist countries in coordination with imperialist schemes. Such propaganda and sabotage reached a climax in the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. It was then that Tito made his notorious Pula speech. The Tito clique did its utmost to vilify the socialist system, insisted that "a thorough change is necessary in the political system" of Hungary, and asserted that the Hungarian comrades "need not waste their efforts on trying to restore the Communist Party." (cf. Kardelj's speech at the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *Borba*, December 8, 1956.) The Communists of all countries waged a stern struggle against this treacherous attack by the Tito clique. We had published the article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in April 1956. Towards the end of December 1956, aiming directly at the Titoite attack, we published another article "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In 1957, the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries adopted the famous Moscow Declaration. This Declaration explicitly singled out revisionism as the main danger in the present international communist movement. It denounced the modern revisionists because they "seek to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declare that it is 'outmoded' and allege that it has lost its significance for social progress." The Tito clique refused to sign the Declaration, and in 1958 put forward their out-and-out revisionist programme, which they counterposed to the Moscow Declaration. Their programme was unanimously repudiated by the Communists of all countries.

But in the ensuing period, especially from 1959 onwards, the leaders of certain Communist Parties went back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and made Tito-like statements. Subsequently, these persons found it increasingly hard to contain themselves; their language became more and more akin to Tito's, and they did their best to prettify the U.S. imperialists. They turned the spearhead of their struggle against the fraternal Parties which firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration, and made unbridled attacks on them.

After consultation on an equal footing at the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, agreement was reached on many differences that had arisen between the fraternal Parties. The Moscow Statement issued by this meeting severely condemned the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. We heartily welcomed the agreement reached by the fraternal Parties at this meeting, and in our own actions have strictly adhered to and defended the agreement. But not long afterwards, the leaders of certain fraternal Parties again went back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and they made public attacks on other fraternal Parties

at their own Party congresses, laying bare before the enemy the differences in the international communist movement. While assailing fraternal Parties, they extravagantly praised the Tito clique and wilfully wallowed in the mire with it.

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

The first great debate between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists and opportunists led to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the founding of revolutionary proletarian parties of a new type throughout the world. The second great debate led to victory in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory of the anti-fascist world war, in which the great Soviet Union was the main force, the victory of the socialist revolution in a number of European and Asian countries and the victory of the great revolution of the Chinese people.

**The present great debate is taking place in the epoch in which the imperialist camp is disintegrating, the forces of socialism are developing and growing stronger, the great revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is surging forward, and the mighty working class of Europe and America is experiencing a new awakening. In starting the present debate, the modern revisionists vainly hoped to abolish Marxism-Leninism at one stroke, liquidate the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and save the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries from their doom. But Marxism-Leninism cannot be abolished, the peoples' liberation struggles cannot be liquidated, and the imperialists and reactionaries cannot be saved from their doom. Contrary to their aspirations, the modern revisionists are doomed to fail in their shameful attempt.**

The working-class movement of the world sets before all Marxist-Leninists the task of replying to the general revision of Marxism-Leninism by the modern revisionists. Their revisions serve the current needs of world imperialism, of the reactionaries of various countries or of the bourgeoisie of their own countries, and are aimed at robbing Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary soul; they throw overboard the most elementary principle of Marxism-Leninism, the principle of class struggle, and all they want to retain is the Marxist-Leninist label.

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

lieve, in order to fool the working class and the oppressed people and oppressed nations.

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

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

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

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

Let us now analyse the theses and other relevant documents of the C.P.I. so as to show clearly how far



Togliatti and the other comrades have moved away from Marxism-Leninism.

### III. Contradictions in the Contemporary World

#### Comrade Togliatti's New Ideas

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

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

1. "It is necessary, in the world struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, to fight for a policy of international economic co-operation, which will make it possible to overcome those contradictions at present preventing a more rapid economic development which will be translated into social progress." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

2. "In Europe, in particular, it is necessary to develop an integral initiative in order to lay the foundation for European economic co-operation even among states with diverse social structures, which will make it possible, within the framework of the economic and political organs of the United Nations, to step up trade, eliminate or lower customs barriers, and make joint interventions to promote the progress of the underdeveloped areas." (ibid.)

3. "One should demand . . . the unfolding of systematic action to overcome the division of Europe and the world into blocs while breaking down the political and military obstacles which preserve this division," (ibid.) and "the rebuilding of a single world market." (ibid.)

4. In the conditions of modern military technique, "war becomes something qualitatively different from what it was in the past. In the face of this change in the nature of war, our very doctrine requires fresh deliberations." (Togliatti, "Unity of the Working Class in Order to Advance Towards Socialism in Democracy and Peace," report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I., December 2, 1962.)

5. "Fighting for peace and peaceful coexistence, we wish to create a new world, whose primary characteristic will be that it is a world without war." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

6. "The colonial regime has almost completely crumbled." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) ". . . There are no longer any spheres of influence preserved for imperialism in the world." (Togliatti, "Today It Is Possible to Avoid War," speech at the session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I., July 21, 1960.)

7. "In fact, there exists in the capitalist world today an urge towards structural reforms and to reforms of a socialist nature, which is related to economic progress and the new expansion of productive forces." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

8. ". . . The very term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' can assume a content different from what it had in

the hard years of the Civil War and of socialist construction for the first time, in a country encircled by capitalism." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I. See *L'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.)

9. In order "to realize profound changes in the present economic and political structure" in the capitalist countries, "a function of prime importance can fall . . . on parliamentary institutions." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

10. In capitalist Italy "the accession of all the people to the direction of the state" is possible. (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) In Italy, the democratic forces "can oppose the class nature and class objectives of the state, while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I. See *L'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.)

11. "Nationalization," "planning" and "state intervention" in economic life can be turned into "instruments of struggle against the power of big capital in order to hit, restrict and break up the rule of the big monopoly groups." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

12. The bourgeois ruling groups can now accept "the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative," and "this can be a sign of the ripening of the objective conditions for a transition from capitalism to socialism." (ibid.)

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

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

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

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

that Comrade Togliatti now intends to follow in Dühring's footsteps and start another "revolution"—in the theory of Marxism-Leninism?

### **A Prescription for Changing the World in Which the Prescriber Himself Scarcely Believes**

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

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

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

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

It is common knowledge—and Marxist-Leninists particularly should remember—that soon after the October Revolution Lenin advanced the policy of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries and favoured economic competition between the two. During the greater part of the forty years and more since its founding, the socialist Soviet Union has in the main been in a state of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. We consider the policy of peaceful coexistence, as pursued by Lenin and Stalin, to be entirely correct and necessary. It indicates that the socialist countries neither desire nor need to use force to settle international disputes. The superiority of the socialist system as demonstrated in the socialist countries is a source of great inspiration to the oppressed people and nations.

After the October Revolution Lenin reiterated that the socialist construction of the Soviet Union would set an example for the rest of the world. He said that the communist system can be created by the victorious proletariat and that "this task is of world significance." (Lenin, "Our Internal and External Situation and the Tasks of the Party," *Collected Works*, Moscow, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXXI, p.391.) In 1921 when the Civil War had more or less come to an end and the Soviet state was making the transition to peaceful construction, Lenin set socialist

economic construction as the main task for the Soviet state. He said: "At present it is by our economic policy that we are exerting our main influence on the international revolution." (Lenin, "Tenth All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P. (B)," *Collected Works*, Moscow, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXXII, p.413.) Lenin's view was correct. Precisely as he foresaw, the forces of socialism have exerted increasing influence on the international situation.

**But Lenin never said that the building of a Soviet state could take the place of the struggles of the people of all countries to liberate themselves. Historical events during the forty years and more of the Soviet Union's existence also show that a revolution or a transformation of the social system in any country is a matter for the people of that country, and that the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition followed by socialist countries cannot possibly result in a change of the social system in any other country. What grounds have Togliatti and other comrades for believing that the pursuit of the policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition by the socialist countries can change the face of the social system in every other country and establish an "economic and social order" capable of satisfying all the aspirations of men?**

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

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

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

### **Two Fundamentally Different Views on Contradictions in the World**

In analysing the present-day international situation, Marxist-Leninists must grasp the sum and substance of the political and economic data on various countries and comprehend the following major contradictions: the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction among imperialist countries, the



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

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

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

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

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

They admit the existence of economic rivalry between the capitalist countries, of big monopoly-capitalist

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

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

Although the rate of economic growth of U.S. capitalism lags behind that of a number of other capitalist countries, the United States has not altogether lost its monopolistic position in the capitalist world. Hence, on the one hand, the United States is trying hard to maintain and expand its monopolistic and dominant position in that world, and on the other, the other imperialist and capitalist countries are striving to shake off this U.S. imperialist control. This is an outstanding and increasingly acute real contradiction in the politico-economic system of the capitalist world. Besides this contradiction between U.S. imperialism and the other imperialist countries, there are contradictions among other imperialist countries and among other capitalist countries. The contradictions among the imperialist powers are bound to give rise to, and in fact have given rise to, an intensified struggle for markets, outlets for investments, and sources of raw materials. Here lies an interwoven pattern of struggles between the old colonialism and the new and between the victorious and the vanquished imperialist nations. The case of the Congo, the recent quarrel over the European Common Market and the quarrel arising from the recent U.S. restrictions on imports from Japan are striking instances of such struggles.

Although according to the theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. "the absolute economic supremacy of U.S. capitalism is beginning to disappear by one of those processes of uneven development and leaps peculiar to capitalism and imperialism," Togliatti and the other comrades have failed to perceive from this new phenomenon the fact that the contradictions in the capitalist

world are growing in breadth and in depth, and they have also failed to perceive that this new phenomenon will bring about a new situation with sharp life-and-death struggles among the imperialist powers, and sharp struggles among the various monopoly groups in each imperialist country and between the proletariat and working people and the monopoly capitalists in each capitalist country. In particular, the imperialist-controlled world market has substantially contracted in area as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in a series of countries; moreover, the emergence of many countries possessing national independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America has shaken the imperialist economic monopoly in those areas. In these circumstances, the sharp struggles raging in the capitalist world have become not weaker, but fiercer, than in the past.

There now exist two essentially different world economic systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, and two mutually antagonistic world camps, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. In the course of events the strength of socialism has surpassed that of imperialism. Undoubtedly, the strength of the socialist countries, combined with that of the revolutionary people of all countries, of the national-liberation movement and of the peace movement, greatly surpasses the strength of the imperialists and their lackeys. In other words, in the world balance of forces as a whole, the superiority belongs to socialism and the revolutionary people, and not to imperialism; it belongs to the forces defending world peace, and not to the imperialist forces of war. As we Chinese Communists put it, "the East wind prevails over the West wind."

It is utterly wrong not to take into account this tremendous change in the world balance of forces after World War II. **However, this change has not done away with the various inherent contradictions in the capitalist world, has not altered the jungle law of survival in capitalist society, and does not preclude the possibility of the imperialist countries splitting into blocs and engaging in all kinds of conflicts in the pursuit of their own interests.**

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

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

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

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

### **The Focus of Contradictions in the World After World War II**

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

As Communists in the capitalist world, they should base themselves on the Marxist-Leninist class analysis and, proceeding from the world situation as a whole, analyse the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps and lay stress on analysing the contradictions among the imperialist powers, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations, and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and other working people in each imperialist country, in order to chart the right course for the proletariat of their own country and all the oppressed people and nations. But, to our regret, Togliatti and the others have failed to do so. They merely indulge in irrelevant inanities about contradictions while actually covering them up and trying to lead the Italian proletariat and all the oppressed people and nations astray.

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

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

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

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

It must be pointed out that by the nature of their society the socialist countries need not, cannot, should not and must not engage in expansion abroad. They have their own internal markets, and China and the Soviet Union in particular, have most extensive internal markets. At the same time, the socialist countries engage in international trade in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, but there is no need for them to scramble for markets and spheres of influence with the imperialist countries, and they have absolutely no need for conflicts, and especially armed conflicts, with the imperialist countries on this ground.

However, things are quite different with the imperialist countries.

**So long as the capitalist-imperialist system exists, the laws of capitalist imperialism continue to operate. Imperialists always oppress and exploit their own people at**

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

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

Stepping into the shoes of the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, the U.S. imperialists have been carrying out a policy of expansion in all parts of the world ever since World War II. Under the cover of their opposition to the Soviet Union, they have embarked on a course of aggression, annexation and domination vis-a-vis the former colonies and spheres of influence of Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Italy. Again under the cover of their opposition to the Soviet Union, they have taken advantage of postwar conditions to place a string of capitalist countries — Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Canada, Australia and others — under the direct control of U.S. monopoly capital. This control is political and economic as well as military.

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

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

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

The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before

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

Of course, I do not mean to say that the U.S. reactionaries have no intention of attacking the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a defender of world peace and a powerful factor preventing the domination of the world by the U.S. reactionaries. Because of the existence of the Soviet Union, it is absolutely impossible for the reactionaries in the United States and the world to realize their ambitions. That is why the U.S. reactionaries rabidly hate the Soviet Union and actually dream of destroying this socialist state. But the fact that the U.S. reactionaries are now trumpeting so loudly about a U.S.-Soviet war and creating a foul atmosphere, so soon after the end of World War II, compels us to take a look at their real aims. It turns out that under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans they are frantically attacking the workers and democratic circles in the United States and turning all the countries which are the targets of U.S. external expansion into U.S. dependencies. I think the American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries. Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; otherwise it is unavoidable. (Mao Tse-tung, "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp.99-100.)

Thus, 16 years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung most lucidly exposed the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to set up a huge world empire and showed how to defeat the insane plan of the U.S. imperialists to enslave the world and how to strive to avert a third world war.

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

This policy of aggression and enslavement on the part of the U.S. imperialists with their lust for world hegemony

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

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

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

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

**The experience of the last 16 years has completely confirmed the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis on the location of the focus of world contradictions after World War II.**

### **Has the Focus of World Contradictions Changed?**

Tremendous changes have taken place in the world during the past 16 years. The main ones are:

1. With the founding of a series of socialist states in Europe and Asia and with the victory of the people's revolution in China, these countries together with the Soviet Union formed the socialist camp, which comprises 12 countries, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Viet Nam, the German Democratic Republic, China, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, and has

an aggregate population of 1,000 million. This has fundamentally changed the world balance of forces.

2. The strength of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist world has greatly increased and its influence has greatly expanded.

3. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement have destroyed and are destroying the positions of U.S. imperialism and its partners over wide areas with the force of a thunderbolt. The heroic Cuban people have won great victories in their revolution after overthrowing the reactionary rule of the running dogs of U.S. imperialism, and have taken the road of socialism.

4. There have been new activity and new developments in the struggle for democratic rights and socialism on the part of the working class and the working people in the European and American capitalist countries.

5. The uneven development of the capitalist countries has become more pronounced. There have been certain new developments in the capitalist forces of France, which are beginning to be bold enough to stand up to the United States. The contradiction between Britain and the United States has been further aggravated. Nurtured by the United States, the nations defeated in World War II, namely, West Germany, Italy and Japan, have risen to their feet again and are striving, in varying degrees, to shake off U.S. domination. Militarism is resurgent in West Germany and Japan, which are again becoming hotbeds of war. Before World War II, Germany and Japan were the chief rivals of U.S. imperialism. Today West Germany is again colliding with U.S. imperialism as its chief rival in the world capitalist market. The competition between Japan and the United States is also becoming increasingly acute.

6. While the capitalist countries develop more and more unevenly in relation to each other in the economic and political spheres, the competition among the monopoly-capitalist groups in each capitalist country sharpens, too.

All these changes show that, the people in various countries can defeat the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and win freedom and emancipation for themselves, if they awaken and unite.

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

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

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the victories in construction in all the socialist countries, the victory of the national-democratic revolution in many countries and the victory of the Cuban people's revolution

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

For years, the U.S. imperialists have given both overt and covert support to the Indian reactionaries and the Nehru government. What is their real objective? They are trying by underhand means to turn India, which was formerly a colonial possession of the British Empire and is still a member of the British Commonwealth, into a U.S. sphere of influence, and to turn the "brightest jewel" in the British imperial crown into a jewel in the Yankee dollar imperial crown. To attain this object, the U.S. imperialists must first create a pretext, or put up a smoke-screen, to fool the people of India and of the whole world; hence their campaign against China and against the so-called Chinese aggression, though they themselves do not believe there is any such thing as "Chinese aggression." The U.S. imperialists see a golden opportunity for controlling India in the Nehru government's current military operations against China. After Nehru provoked the Sino-Indian boundary conflict, the U.S. imperialists swaggeringly entered India on the pretext of opposing China and are extending their influence there in the military, political and economic fields.

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

With the loss of the old colonies, the extension of the national revolutionary movement and the shrinking of the world capitalist market, the scramble among the imperialist countries is not only continuing in many parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australasia, but is also manifesting itself in Western Europe, the classical home of capitalism. Never in history has the tussle among the imperialist countries been so extensive in peacetime, reaching every corner of Western Europe, and never before has it taken the form of a fierce scramble for industrially developed areas like Western Europe. The European Common Market consisting of the six countries of West Germany, France, Italy and Benelux, the European Free Trade Association of seven countries headed by Britain, and the Atlantic community energetically planned by the United States represent the increasingly fierce

scramble of the imperialist powers for West European markets. What Togliatti and other comrades call "the development of Italian commerce in all directions" (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) in fact demonstrates the reaching out of the Italian monopoly capitalists for markets.

Outside Western Europe, the recent open quarrel over the U.S. restriction on Japanese cotton exports shows that the struggle for markets between the United States and Japan is becoming more overt.

Comrade Togliatti and other comrades say: "The colonial regime has almost completely crumbled" (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.), and "there are no longer any spheres of influence preserved for imperialism in the world." (Togliatti's speech at the session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I., July 21, 1960.) Others say, "there are only 50 million people on earth still groaning under colonial rule," and only vestiges of the colonial system remain. In their view, the struggle against imperialism is no longer the arduous task of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such a view has no factual basis at all. Most countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are still victims of imperialist aggression and oppression, of old- and new-colonialist enslavement. Although a number of countries have won their independence in recent years, their economies are still under the control of foreign monopoly capital. In some countries, the old colonialists have been driven out, but even more powerful and dangerous colonialists of a new type have forced their way in, gravely threatening the existence of many nations in these areas. The peoples in these areas are still a long way from completing their struggle against imperialism. Even for a country like ours which has accomplished its national-democratic revolution and, moreover, has won victory in its socialist revolution, the task of combating the aggression of the U.S. imperialists still remains. Our sacred territory of Taiwan is still forcibly occupied by the U.S. imperialists; even now many imperialist countries refuse to recognize the existence of the great People's Republic of China, and China is still unjustifiably deprived of its rightful position in the United Nations. **To struggle against imperialism, against new and old colonialism, remains the cardinal and most urgent task of the oppressed nations and people in the vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.**

The changes occurring in the world in the past 16 years have proved again and again that the focus of post-war world contradictions is the contradiction between the U.S. imperialist policy of enslavement and the people of all countries and between the U.S. imperialist policy of worldwide expansion and the other imperialist powers. This contradiction manifests itself particularly in the contradiction between the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys on the one hand and the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other, and in the contradiction between the old and new colonialists in their struggles for these areas.

### **Workers and Oppressed Nations of the World, Unite!**

Asia, Africa and Latin America have long been plundered and oppressed by the colonialists of Europe and the United States. They have fed and grown fat on the

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

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

All these wars of aggression, together with political, economic and cultural aggression and oppression, have caused the Chinese to hate imperialism, made them stop and think, "What is all this about?" and compelled them to bring their revolutionary spirit into full play and become united through struggle. They fought, failed, fought again, failed again and fought again and accumulated 109 years of experience, accumulated the experience of hundreds of struggles, great and small, military and political, economic and cultural, with bloodshed and without bloodshed — and only then won today's basic victory. (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.426.)

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

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

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

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

As is well known, Marx expressed the following hope in 1856: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasants' War." (Marx and Engels, "Marx to Engels," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p.454.) The heroes of the Second International evaded this direct instruction bequeathed by Marx, and Lenin bitterly denounced them, saying that "the statement Marx made in one of his letters — I think it was in 1856 — expressing the hope of a union in Germany of a peasant war, which might create a revolutionary situation, with the working-class movement — even this plain statement they avoid and prowl around it like a cat around a bowl of hot porridge." (Lenin, "Our Revolution," *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p.547.) When discussing the importance of the peasants as an ally in the emancipation of the proletariat, Lenin said:

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

And Stalin said:

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

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

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

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

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

Lenin developed Marx's and Engels' view, stressing the great significance of the unity between the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the oppressed nations for the victory of the proletarian revolution. He affirmed



the correctness of the slogan "Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!" for our epoch. (cf. Lenin, "Speech at the Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organization of the R.C.P. (B)," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXXI, p.423.) He pointed out:

The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of "colonial" slaves who are oppressed by capital. (Lenin, "The Second Congress of the Communist International," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, pp.472-73.)

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

... broke down the wall between whites and blacks, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the "civilized" and "uncivilized" slaves of imperialism, and thus linked the national question with the question of the colonies. The national question was thereby transformed from a particular and internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke of imperialism. (Stalin, *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p. 144.)

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

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

As is well known, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has devoted considerable time and energy to the exposition of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the two great allies of the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation. He concretely and successfully solved the peasant question and the question of national liberation in the practice of the Chinese revolution under his leadership, and thus ensured victory for the great Chinese revolution.

Every struggle of the oppressed nations for survival won the warm sympathy and praise of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Although Marx, Engels and Lenin did not live to see the fiery national-liberation struggles and people's revolutionary struggles now raging in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America or their successive victories, yet the validity of the laws they discovered from the experience of the national-liberation struggles of their own times has been increasingly confirmed by life itself. The tremendous changes in Asia, Africa and Latin America

following World War II have in no way outmoded this Marxist-Leninist theory of the relationship between the national-liberation movement and the proletarian revolutionary movement, as some people suggest; on the contrary, they more than ever testify to its great vitality. Indeed, the revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have further enriched this theory.

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

The revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot be suppressed. They are bound to burst forth. Unless the proletarian parties in these regions lead these struggles, they will become divorced from the people and fail to win their confidence. The proletariat has very many allies in the anti-imperialist struggle in these regions. Therefore, in order to lead the struggle step by step to victory and to guarantee victory in each struggle, the proletariat and its vanguard in the countries of these regions must march in the van, hold high the banner of anti-imperialism and national independence, and be skilful in organizing their allies in a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front, exposing every deception practised by the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists, and leading the struggle in the correct direction. Unless all these things are done, victory in the revolutionary struggle will be impossible, and even if victory is won, its consolidation will be impossible and the fruits of victory may fall into the hands of the reactionaries, with the country and the nation once again coming under imperialist enslavement. Experience, past and present, abounds in instances of how the people have been betrayed in the revolutionary struggle, the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1927 being a significant example.

The proletariat of the capitalist countries in Europe and America, too, must stand in the forefront of those supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In fact, such support simultaneously helps the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat in Europe and America. Without support from the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it will be impossible for the proletariat and the people in capitalist Europe and America to free themselves from the calamities of capitalist oppression and of the menace of imperialist war. Therefore, **the proletarian parties of the metropolitan imperialist countries are duty bound to heed the voice of the revolutionary people in these regions, study their experience, respect their revolutionary feelings and support their revolutionary struggles. They have no right whatsoever to flaunt their seniority before these people, to put on lordly airs, to carp and cavil, like Comrade Thorez of France**

who so arrogantly and disdainfully speaks of them as being "young and inexperienced" (Thorez' report to the session of the Central Committee of the C.P.F., December 15, 1960). Much less have they the right to take a social-chauvinist attitude, slandering, cursing, intimidating and obstructing the fighting revolutionary people in these regions. It should be understood that according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, without a correct stand, line and policy on the national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it will be impossible for the workers' parties in the metropolitan imperialist countries to have a correct stand, line and policy on the struggle waged by the working class and the broad masses of the people in their own countries.

The national-liberation movement and the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America give great support to the socialist countries; they constitute an extremely important force safeguarding the socialist countries from imperialist invasion. Beyond any doubt, the socialist countries should give warm sympathy and active support to these movements and they absolutely must not adopt a perfunctory or a selfishly national attitude, or an attitude of great-power chauvinism, much less hamper, obstruct, mislead or sabotage these movements. Those countries in which socialism has been victorious must make it their sacred internationalist duty to support the national-liberation struggles and the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries. Some people take the view that such support is but a one-sided "burden" on the socialist countries. This view is very wrong and runs counter to Marxism-Leninism. It must be understood that such support is a two-way, mutual affair; the socialist countries support the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries, and these struggles in turn serve to support and defend the socialist countries. In this connection, Stalin put it very aptly, "The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is not only that it hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but also that, by facilitating this victory, it ensures the *final* victory of socialism in the first victorious country." (Stalin, "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," *Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, p.419.)

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

Marxist-Leninists; it runs completely counter to the interests of all oppressed people and nations, to the interests of the proletariat and other working people of their own countries, and to the interests of the socialist countries.

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

### Some Brief Conclusions

Here we shall recapitulate our theses on the international situation.

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

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



it impossible for Communists to work out a correct line and policy for fighting imperialism.

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

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

Fifth, while admitting the existence of contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps, some persons hold that this contradiction can actually disappear and that the socialist and capitalist systems can merge and become one, if what they call "the existence and contraposition of two great military blocs" (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) can be eliminated, or if the socialist countries "propose a challenge of peaceful competition with the capitalist ruling classes." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) We cannot agree with this view.

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

**History is on the side of the peoples of the world and not on the side of the imperialists headed by the United States and the reactionaries in all countries. In their desperation the imperialists are trying to find a way out. They most absurdly pin their hopes on what they call a "clash between China and the Soviet Union." The imperialists and their apologists have long voiced this idea. The ludicrous attacks and slanders recently hurled at the Chinese Communist Party by the modern revisionists and their followers have encouraged them in this idea. They**

**are overjoyed and are assiduously playing the dirty game of sowing dissension. However, these reactionary day-dreamers are making far too low an estimate of the great strength of the friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union and of the great strength of a unity based on proletarian internationalism, and far too high an estimate of the role the modern revisionists and their followers can play. Sooner or later, the hard facts of history will completely demolish their illusions and the reactionary daydreamers will inevitably come to grief.**

The mistake of Comrade Togliatti and other comrades in their theses, reports and concluding speech lies in their fundamental departure from the Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis, from the class analysis, of the international situation.

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

Surely a Marxist-Leninist cannot behave like a Narodnik!

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

## IV War and Peace

### The Question Is Not One of Subjective Imagination But of the Laws of Social Development

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

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

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

In present-day, peacetime Italy, which is ruled by monopoly capital, there are over 400,000 troops in the standing army for the oppression of the people, about 100,000 police, nearly 80,000 gendarmes, and U.S. military bases equipped with missiles. When Togliatti and other comrades demand "peace and peaceful coexistence" in such a country, what do they really mean? If the demand means that the Italian Government should follow a policy of peace and neutrality and of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries, that is of course correct. But, apart from this, do you also demand of the Italian working class and other oppressed masses that they should practise "peace and peaceful coexistence" with the monopoly-capitalist class? Does this sort of peace and peaceful coexistence imply that the U.S. imperialists will voluntarily remove their military bases from Italy and that the Italian monopoly capitalists will voluntarily lay down their arms and disband their troops? And if this is impossible, how is "peace and peaceful coexistence" to be realized between the oppressors and the oppressed in Italy? By a logical extension of this point, how can a "world without war" be created in this way?

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

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

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

During the War of Resistance Against Japan in 1938, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again expressed this ideal when he said in "On Protracted War," "Fascism and imperialism wish to perpetuate war, but we wish to put an end to it in the not too distant future." (Mao Tse-tung, "On Protracted War," *Selected Works*, Vol. II.)

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

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

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

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

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

Social-Democracy has never taken a sentimental view of war. It unreservedly condemns war as a bestial means

of settling conflicts in human society. But Social-Democracy knows that so long as society is divided into classes, so long as there is exploitation of man by man, wars are inevitable. This exploitation cannot be destroyed without war, and war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes. (Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. VIII, p.565.)

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

... have always condemned wars between nations as a barbarous and bestial affair. Our attitude towards war, however, differs in principle from that of the bourgeois pacifists (the partisans and preachers of peace) and the Anarchists. We differ from the first in that we understand the inevitable connection between wars on the one hand and class struggles inside of a country on the other, we understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating Socialism, and in that we fully recognize the justice, the progressivism and necessity of civil wars, i.e., wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor, of slaves against the slave-holders, of serfs against the landowners, of wage-workers against the bourgeoisie. We Marxists differ from both the pacifists and the Anarchists in that we recognize the necessity of an historical study (from the point of view of Marx's dialectical materialism) of each war individually. (Lenin, "Socialism and War," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed. Moscow, Vol. XXI, p.271.)

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

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

### **Is the Axiom "War Is the Continuation of Politics by Other Means" Out of Date?**

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

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

comrades that with modern military technique the nature of war has changed in fact repeats what the Tito clique has been saying for a long time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

On February 5, 4,000 U.S. marines landed in the Dominican Republic in Latin America, intervening in its internal affairs by force of arms.

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

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

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

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

Let us review the facts:

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

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

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

On April 17, 1961, U.S. mercenaries staged an armed invasion of Cuba and were wiped out at Giron Beach by the heroic army and people of Cuba within 72 hours.

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

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

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

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

In May 1962, the United States plotted to expand the civil war in Laos and prepared direct intervention by armed force. On the 17th, U.S. forces entered Thailand, and on the 24th Britain announced the dispatch of an air squadron to Thailand. These mili-

tary moves by the United States and Britain posed a direct threat to peace in Southeast Asia. After resolute struggle on the part of the Laotian people and concerted efforts by the socialist countries and the neutral nations, a Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and a protocol to the declaration were signed on July 23, 1962, at the enlarged Geneva conference for the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **What Has Experience Past and Present to Teach Us?**

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

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

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

**People exactly like those Lenin criticized are still to be found today. They think that all is quiet in the world**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That old-line opportunist Kautsky held that “war is a product of the arms drive,” and that “if there is a will to reach agreement on disarmament,” it will “eliminate one of the most serious causes of war.” (Kautsky, *The National State, the Imperialist State and the League of States*.) Lenin sharply criticized these anti-Marxist views of Kautsky and other old-line opportunists who examined the causes of war without reference to the social system and the system of exploitation.

In “The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution” Lenin pointed out that “only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.*” (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, Part 2, p.574.) Such is the law of social development, and it cannot be otherwise.

**Being incapable of explaining the question of war and peace from the historical and class angle, the modern revisionists always talk about peace and about war in general terms without making any distinction between just and unjust wars.** Some people are trying to persuade others that the people’s liberation would be “incomparably easier” after general and complete disarmament, when the oppressors would have no weapons in their hands. In our opinion this is nonsensical and totally unrealistic and is putting the cart before the horse. As pointed out by Lenin, such people try to “reconcile two hostile classes and two hostile political lines by means of a little word which ‘unites’ the most divergent things.” (Lenin, “The Peace Question,” *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. XXI, p.263.)

On the lips of the modern revisionists, “peace” and “the strategy of peaceful coexistence” amount to pinning the hope of world peace on the “wisdom” of the imperialist rulers, instead of relying on the unity and struggle of the people of the world. The modern revisionists are resort-

ing to every method to fetter the struggles of the people in all countries, are trying to paralyse their revolutionary will and induce them to abandon revolutionary action, and thus weakening the forces fighting against imperialism and for world peace. This can only result in increasing the reactionary arrogance of the imperialist forces of aggression and war and in increasing the danger of a world war.

### Historical Materialism, or the Theory That “Weapons Decide Everything”?

The modern revisionists hold that with the emergence of atomic weapons the laws of social development have ceased to operate and the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory concerning war and peace is outmoded. Comrade Togliatti holds the same view. The *Renmin Ribao* editorial of December 31, 1962, has already discussed our main differences with Comrade Togliatti on the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear war. We shall now go into this question further.

Marxist-Leninists give proper and adequate weight to the role of modern weapons and military techniques in the organization of armies and in war. Marx’s pamphlet, *Wage-Labour and Capital*, contains the well-known passage:

With the invention of a new instrument of warfare, fire-arms, the whole internal organization of the army necessarily changed; the relationships within which individuals can constitute an army and act as an army were transformed and the relations of different armies to one another also changed. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, pp.89-90.)

But no Marxist-Leninist has ever been an exponent of the theory that “weapons decide everything.”

Lenin said after the October Revolution, “He wins in war who has the greater reserves, the greater sources of strength, the greater endurance in the mass of its people.” Again, “We have more of all of this than the Whites have, and more than ‘universally-mighty’ Anglo-French imperialism, that colossus with feet of clay.” (Lenin, “The Results of the Party Week in Moscow and Our Tasks,” *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. XXX, p.55.)

To elucidate the point, we might quote another passage from Lenin. He said:

In every war, victory is conditioned in the final analysis by the spiritual state of those masses who shed their blood on the field of battle. . . . This comprehension by the masses of the aims and reasons of the war has an immense significance and guarantees victory. (Lenin, “Speech at the Mass Conference of Workers and Red Army-men in the Rogozhsky-Simonovsky District in May 1920,” *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. XXXI, p.115.)

On the question of war, it is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle to give full weight to the role of man in war. But this principle has often been forgotten by some self-styled Marxist-Leninists. When atomic weapons appeared at the end of World War II, some people became confused, thinking that atom bombs could decide the outcome of war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at that time: “These comrades show even less judgment than

a British peer" and "these comrades are more backward than Mountbatten." (Mao Tse-tung, "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.21.) The British peer, Mountbatten, then Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Southeast Asia, had declared that the worst possible mistake would be to believe that the atom bomb could end the war in the Far East. (cf. *ibid.*, p.26, Note 27.)

Of course, Comrade Mao Tse-tung took the destructiveness of atomic weapons into full account. He said, "The atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter." (Mao Tse-tung, "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.100.) The Chinese Communist Party has always held that nuclear weapons are unprecedentedly destructive and that humanity will suffer unprecedented havoc if a nuclear war should break out. For this reason, we have always stood for the total banning of nuclear weapons, that is, the complete prohibition of their testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use, and for the destruction of existing nuclear weapons. At the same time, we have always held that in the final analysis atomic weapons cannot change the laws governing the historical development of society, cannot decide the final outcome of war, cannot save imperialism from its doom or prevent the proletariat and people of all countries and the oppressed nations from winning victory in their revolutions.

Stalin said in September 1946,

I do not believe the atomic bomb to be as serious a force as certain politicians are inclined to regard it. Atomic bombs are intended for intimidating the weak-nerved, but they cannot decide the outcome of war since atomic bombs are by no means sufficient for the purpose. Certainly, monopolist possession of the secret of the atomic bomb does create a threat, but at least two remedies exist against it: (a) monopolist possession of the atomic bomb cannot last long; (b) use of atomic bomb will be prohibited. (Stalin's answer to Mr. A. Werth, correspondent of *Sunday Times* in Moscow, *The Times*, Sept. 25, 1946.)

These words of Stalin's showed his great foresight.

After World War I, some imperialist countries noisily advertised a military theory, according to which quick victory in war could be won through air supremacy and surprise attacks. Events in World War II exposed its bankruptcy. With the appearance of nuclear weapons, some imperialists have again noisily advertised this kind of theory and resorted to nuclear blackmail, asserting that nuclear weapons could quickly decide the outcome of war. Their theory will definitely go bankrupt too. But the modern revisionists, such as the Tito clique, are serving the U.S. and other imperialists, preaching and trumpeting this theory in order to intimidate the people of all countries.

The policy of nuclear blackmail employed by the U.S. imperialists reveals their evil ambition to enslave the world, and at the same time it reveals their fear.

It must be pointed out that if the imperialists should start using nuclear weapons, they will bring fatal consequences upon themselves.

First, if the imperialists should start using nuclear weapons to attack other countries, they will find themselves completely isolated in the world. For such an attack will be the greatest possible crime against human justice and will proclaim the attackers to be the enemy of all mankind.

Second, when they menace other countries with nuclear weapons, the imperialists put their own people first under threat and fill them with dread of such weapons. By clinging to the policy of nuclear blackmail, the imperialists will gradually arouse the people in their own countries to rise against them. One of the U.S. airmen who dropped the first atom bombs on Japan has attempted suicide because of postwar condemnation of atomic bombing by the people of the whole world, and has been sent to a mental hospital many times. This instance, in itself, shows to what extent the nuclear war policy of U.S. imperialism has been discredited.

Third, the imperialists unleash wars for the purpose of seizing territory, expanding markets, and plundering the wealth and enslaving the working people of other countries. The destructiveness of nuclear weapons, however, compels the imperialists to think twice, because the consequences of the employment of such weapons would conflict with the actual interests they are seeking.

Fourth, the secret of nuclear weapons has long since ceased to be a monopoly. Those who possess nuclear weapons and guided missiles cannot prevent other countries from possessing the same. In their vain hope of obliterating their opponents with nuclear weapons, the imperialists are, in fact, subjecting themselves to the danger of being obliterated.

Above, we have dealt with some of the consequences which will inevitably arise if the imperialists use nuclear weapons in war. It is also one of the important reasons why we have always maintained that it is possible to conclude an agreement for a total ban on nuclear weapons.

It must also be pointed out that the policy of frantic expansion of nuclear arms pursued by the imperialists, and particularly the U.S. imperialists, aggravates the crises within the capitalist-imperialist system itself:

First, the unprecedentedly onerous military expenditures imposed on the people in the imperialist countries and the increasingly lop-sided militarization of the national economy are arousing the growing opposition of the people to the imperialist governments and their policy of arms expansion and war preparation.

Second, the imperialists' arms drive, and especially their nuclear arms drive, exacerbates the struggle among the imperialist powers and among the monopoly groups in each imperialist country.

Engels said in *Anti-Dühring*, written in the 1870s, "Militarism dominates and is swallowing Europe. But this militarism also bears within itself the seed of its own destruction." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p.235.)

Today there is all the more reason to say that the policy of nuclear arms expansion pursued by the U.S. and other imperialists is dominating and swallowing North America and Western Europe, but that this policy, this



new militarism, bears within itself the seed of the destruction of the imperialist system.

It can therefore be seen that the policy of nuclear arms expansion pursued by the U.S. imperialists and their partners is bound to be self-defeating. If they dare to use nuclear weapons in war, the result will be their own destruction.

What should one conclude from all this? Contrary to the pronouncements of Togliatti and other comrades about the "total destruction" of mankind, the only possible conclusions are:

First, mankind will destroy nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons will not destroy mankind.

Second, mankind will destroy the cannibal system of imperialism, the imperialist system will not destroy mankind.

Togliatti and other comrades hold that with the appearance of nuclear weapons "the destiny of humanity today is uncertain." (Political resolution of the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) They hold that with the existence of nuclear weapons and the threat of a nuclear war, there is no longer any point in talking about the choice of a social system. If one follows their argument, then what happens to the law of social development according to which the capitalist system will inevitably be replaced by the socialist and communist system? And what happens to the truth elucidated by Lenin—that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism? Does not their view represent real "fatalism," "scepticism" and "pessimism"?

We stated in the article "Long Live Leninism!":

As long as the people of all countries enhance their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also possessing modern weapons, it is certain that if the U.S. or other imperialists refuse to reach an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and should dare to fly in the face of the will of all the peoples by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will only be the very speedy destruction of these monsters themselves encircled by the peoples of the world, and certainly not the so-called annihilation of mankind. We consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, because imperialist war would impose enormous sacrifices upon the peoples of various countries (including the peoples of the United States and other imperialist countries). But should the imperialists impose such sacrifices on the peoples of various countries, we believe that, just as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution shows, those sacrifices would be rewarded. On the ruins of imperialism, the victorious people would very swiftly create a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.

Is this not the truth?

During the past few years, however, some self-styled Marxist-Leninists have wantonly distorted and condemned these Marxist-Leninist theses, stubbornly describing the ruins of imperialism as "the ruins of mankind" and equating the destiny of the imperialist system with that of mankind. In fact, this view is a defence of the imperialist system. If these people had read some of the Marxist-Leninist classics, it would have been clear to them

that building a new system on the ruins of the old was a formulation used by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Engels said in *Anti-Dühring*, "The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, . . ." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p.368.) Did the ruins of the feudal system, which Engels spoke of, mean the "ruins of mankind"?

In his article "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" written in December 1919, Lenin spoke of the proletariat "organizing socialism on the ruins of capitalism." (*Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXX, p.239.) Did the ruins of capitalism, which Lenin mentioned, mean the "ruins of mankind"?

To describe the ruins of the old systems mentioned by Marxist-Leninists as the "ruins of mankind" is to substitute frivolous quibbling for serious debate. Can this be the non-"discordant note" which Togliatti and the other comrades want? Is this the polemic carried on in an "admissible tone" which they demand? In fact, at the time of the collapse of Italian fascism, Comrade Togliatti himself said, "A great task rests upon us: we should establish a new Italy on the ruins of fascism, on the ruins of reactionary tyranny." (Quoted in *The Italian Communist Party*, published by the C.P.I. in May 1950.)

Every serious Marxist-Leninist must consider the possibility of the imperialists adopting the most criminal means to inflict the heaviest sacrifices and the keenest suffering on the people of all countries. The purpose of such consideration is to awaken the people, mobilize and organize them more effectively, and to find the correct course of struggle for liberation and a way to deliver mankind from suffering, a way to win peace in the face of the threats of imperialism, and a way effective in preventing a nuclear war.

That no socialist country will ever start an aggressive war is known by everybody, even by the U.S. imperialists as well as by all the other imperialists and reactionaries. The national defence of each socialist country is designed for protection against external aggression, and absolutely not for attacking other countries. If the aggressors should impose a war on a socialist country, then the war waged by the socialist country would above all be a war of self-defence.

Possession of nuclear weapons by the socialist countries has a purely defensive purpose, the purpose of preventing the imperialists from unleashing nuclear war. Therefore, with nuclear superiority in their hands, the socialist countries will never attack other countries with such weapons; they will not permit themselves to launch such attacks, nor will they have any need to do so. Being firmly opposed to the policy of nuclear blackmail, the socialist countries advocate the total banning and destruction of nuclear weapons. **Such is the attitude, line and policy of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China on the question of nuclear weapons. Such is the attitude, line and policy of all Marxist-Leninists. The modern revisionists deliberately distort our attitude, line and policy on this question and fabricate mean and vulgar slanders and lies; their purpose is to cover up the nuclear blackmail of the imperialists and to conceal their own adventurism and capitulationism on the question of nuclear weapons. It must be pointed out**

that adventurism and capitulationism on this question are very dangerous and are an expression of the worst kind of irresponsibility.

### A Strange Formulation

In accordance with the nature of their social system, socialist countries give sympathy and support to all oppressed people and oppressed nations in their struggles for liberation. But socialist countries will never launch external wars as a substitute for revolutionary struggles by the peoples of other countries. The emancipation of the people of each country is their own task — this is the firm standpoint held since the time of Marx by all true Communists, including the Communists who wield state power. It is identical with the standpoint consistently advocated by all Marxist-Leninists that “revolution cannot be exported or imported.”

If the people of any country do not want a revolution, no one can impose it from without; where there is no revolutionary crisis and the conditions for a revolution are not ripe, nobody can create a revolution. And of course, if the people in any country desire a revolution and themselves start a revolution, no one can prevent them from making it, just as no one could prevent the revolutions in Cuba, in Algeria or in southern Viet Nam.

Togliatti and other comrades say that peaceful co-existence implies “excluding . . . the possibility of foreign intervention to ‘export’ either counter-revolution or revolution” (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.). We should like to ask: When you talk about “export of revolution” by foreign countries, do you mean that the socialist countries want to export revolution? This is just what the imperialists and reactionaries have been alleging all along. Should a Communist talk in such terms? As for the imperialist countries, they have always exported counter-revolution. Can anyone name an imperialist country which has not done so? Can we forget that the imperialists launched direct intervention against the Great October Revolution and the Chinese revolution? Can anyone deny that the U.S. imperialists are still forcibly occupying our territory of Taiwan today? Can anyone deny that the U.S. imperialists have all along been intervening in the Cuban revolution? Is not U.S. imperialism playing the international gendarme and trying its utmost to export counter-revolution to all parts of the world and interfering in the internal affairs of the other countries in the capitalist world?

Togliatti and other comrades make no distinction between countries whose social systems differ in nature; they do not understand the Marxist-Leninist view that “revolution cannot be exported or imported”; and in discussing peaceful coexistence they ignore the fact that the imperialists have all along been exporting counter-revolution and speak of “export of counter-revolution” and “export of revolution” in the same breath. This strange formulation cannot but be considered an error of principle.

### The Chinese Communists' Basic Theses on the Question of War and Peace

On the question of war and peace, the Chinese Communists, now as always, uphold the views of Lenin.

In the above quotations, Lenin pointed out that proletarian parties “unreservedly condemn war” and “have always condemned wars between peoples.” But Lenin always maintained that unjust wars must be opposed and that just wars must be supported; he never indiscriminately opposed all wars. There are people today who unblushingly compare themselves to Lenin and allege that Lenin, and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, too, opposed war in the same way as they do. They have emasculated Lenin’s theories and policies on the question of war and peace. It is common knowledge that during World War I, Lenin resolutely opposed the imperialist war. At the same time he maintained that once war broke out among the imperialist countries, the proletariat and other working people of these countries should turn the imperialist war into just revolutionary wars inside the imperialist countries, i.e., into just revolutionary wars of the proletariat and other working people against the imperialists of their own countries. The day after the outbreak of the October Revolution, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, under the chairmanship of Lenin, adopted the famous Decree on Peace. This decree was an appeal to the international proletariat, and particularly to the class-conscious workers of Britain, France and Germany, trusting that they “will understand the duty that now faces them of saving mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences, that these workers, by comprehensive, determined, and supremely vigorous action, will help us to bring to a successful conclusion the cause of peace, and at the same time the cause of the emancipation of the toiling and exploited masses of the population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation.” (Lenin, “The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies,” *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part I, p.331.) The decree pointed out that the Soviet Government “considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the strong and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the conditions indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception.” (ibid., p.329.) This decree proposed by Lenin is a great document in the history of the proletarian revolution. Yet there are people today who dare to distort and mutilate it; they have tampered with Lenin’s description of a war waged by imperialist countries to divide the world and oppress weak nations as constituting the greatest of crimes against humanity, and deliberately twisted it into “war is the greatest of crimes against humanity.” These people portray Lenin, the great proletarian revolutionary, the great Marxist, as a bourgeois pacifist. They brazenly distort Lenin, distort Leninism, distort history, and yet they presumptuously assert that others “do not understand the substance of the Marxist doctrine of revolutionary struggle.” Isn’t this kind of argument absurd?

We Chinese Communists are being abused by the modern revisionists because we oppose all the ridiculous arguments that are used to distort Leninism and because we insist on restoring the original features of Lenin’s theory on the question of war and peace.



Marxist-Leninists hold that, in order to defend world peace and prevent a new world war, we must rely on the unity and growing strength of the socialist countries, on the struggles of the oppressed nations and people, on the struggles of the international proletariat, and on the struggles of all the peace-loving countries and people in the world. This is the correct line for defending world peace for the people of all lands, a line which is in full accord with the Leninist theory of war and peace. Some people maliciously distort this line, calling it "a 'theory' to the effect that the road to victory for socialism runs through war between nations, through destruction, bloodshed and the death of millions of people." They place the defence of world peace in opposition to the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, and they hold that in order to have peace the people of all countries should kneel before the imperialists, and the oppressed nations and people should give up their struggles for liberation. Instead of fighting for world peace by relying on the united struggle of all the world's peace-loving forces, all these people do is to beg the imperialists, headed by the United States, for the gift of world peace. This so-called theory, this line of theirs, is absolutely wrong; it is anti-Leninist.

The Chinese Communists' basic views on the question of war and peace and our differences with Togliatti and other comrades on this question were made clear in the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of December 31, 1962. We said in that editorial:

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

Here let us recapitulate our basic theses on the question of war and peace:

First, we have always held that the forces of war and aggression headed by U.S. imperialism are preparing in earnest for a third world war and that the danger of war

exists. But in the last ten years or so, the world balance of forces has changed more and more in favour of socialism and in favour of the struggles for national liberation, people's democracy and the defence of world peace. The people are the decisive factor. Imperialism and the reactionaries are isolated. By relying on the unity and the struggles of the people, and on the correct policies of the socialist countries and of the proletarian parties of various countries, it is possible to avert a new world war and to avert a nuclear war, and it is possible to achieve an agreement for the total banning of nuclear weapons.

Second, if the people of the world wish to be successful in preserving world peace, preventing a new world war and preventing nuclear war, they must support one another, form the broadest possible united front, and unite all the forces that can be united, including the people of the United States, to oppose the policies of war and aggression of the imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. reactionaries.

Third, the socialist countries stand for and adhere to the policy of peaceful coexistence with countries having other social systems, and develop friendly relations and carry on trade on the basis of equality with them. In pursuing the policy of peaceful coexistence, the socialist countries oppose the use of force to settle disputes between states and do not interfere in the internal affairs of any other country. Some people say that peaceful coexistence will result in the transformation of the social system in all the capitalist countries, and that it is "the road leading to socialism on a world scale." (Todor Zhivkov, "Peace: Key Problem of Today," *World Marxist Review*, No. 8, 1960.) Others say that the policy of peaceful coexistence is "the most advanced form of struggle against imperialism and for the peoples' liberation" ("Groundless Polemics of the Chinese Communists," *L'Unita*, December 31, 1962) by all the oppressed people and nations. These people have completely distorted Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence by jumbling together the question of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, the question of class struggle in capitalist countries and the question of the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation.

Fourth, we have always believed in the necessity of constantly maintaining sharp vigilance against the danger of imperialist aggression on the socialist countries. We have always believed, too, that it is possible for the socialist countries to reach agreement through peaceful negotiations and make the necessary compromises with the imperialist countries on some issues, not excluding important ones. However, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." (Mao Tse-tung, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.87.)

Fifth, the sharp contradictions among the imperialist powers exist objectively and are irreconcilable. Among the imperialist countries and blocs, clashes, big and small, direct and indirect and in one form or another, are bound

to occur. They arise from the actual interests of the imperialists and are determined by the inherent nature of imperialism. To claim that the possibility of clashes among the imperialist countries arising from their actual interests has disappeared under the new historical conditions is tantamount to saying that imperialism has undergone a complete change, and is, in fact, to embellish imperialism.

Sixth, since capitalist-imperialism and the system of exploitation are the source of war, no one can guarantee that imperialists and reactionaries will not launch wars of aggression against the oppressed nations or wars against the oppressed people of their own countries. On the other hand, no one can prevent the awakened oppressed nations and people from rising to wage revolutionary wars.

Seventh, the axiom that "war is the continuation of politics by other means," which was affirmed and stressed by Lenin, remains valid today. The social system of the capitalist-imperialist countries is fundamentally different from that of the socialist countries, and their domestic and foreign policies are likewise fundamentally different from those of the socialist countries. From this it follows that the capitalist-imperialist countries and the socialist countries must take fundamentally different stands on the question of war and peace. As far as the capitalist-imperialist countries are concerned, whether they launch wars or profess peace, their aim is to pursue or to maintain their imperialist interests. Imperialist war is the continuation of imperialist policy in peacetime, and imperialist peace is the continuation of the war policy of imperialism. The bourgeois pacifists and the opportunists have always denied this point. As Lenin said, "the pacifists of both shades have never understood that 'war is the continuation of the politics of peace, and peace is the continuation of the politics of war.'" (Lenin, "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p.262.)

Eighth, the era of perpetual peace for mankind will come; the era when all wars will be eradicated will come. We are striving for its advent. But this great era will come only after, and not before, mankind has eradicated the system of capitalist-imperialism. As the Moscow Statement puts it, "*The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.*"

These are our basic theses on the question of war and peace.

Our theses are derived from analysis, based on the Marxist materialist conception of history, of a host of phenomena objectively existing in the world, of the extremely complex political and economic relationships among different countries, and of the specific conditions in the new world epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Revolution. These theses are correct in theory and, moreover, they have been repeatedly tested in practice. Since the modern revisionists and their followers have no way of disproving these theses, they have freely resorted to distortions and lies in their attempt to demolish the truth.

But how can the truth ever be demolished? Should it not rather be said that those trying to do this will themselves, sooner or later, be demolished by the truth?

At the present time, certain self-styled "creative Marxist-Leninists" believe that world history moves to the waving of their baton, and not according to the objective laws of society. This reminds us of the words of the famous French philosopher Diderot, as quoted by Lenin in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*:

There was a moment of insanity when the sentient piano imagined that it was the only piano in the world, and that the whole harmony of the universe took place within it. (Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. XIV, p.38.)

Let those historical idealists who think that they are everything and that everything is contained in their own subjectivism carefully think over this passage!

## V. The State and Revolution

### What Is the "Positive Contribution" of Comrade Togliatti's "Theory of Structural Reform"?

Togliatti and some other comrades describe their "fundamental line" of "structural reform" as "common to the whole international communist movement" (Togliatti's concluding speech at the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.); they describe their thesis of structural reform as "a principle of the world strategy of the working class and communist movement in the present situation." (Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

It seems that Togliatti and other comrades not only want to thrust the "Italian road" on the working class and working people of Italy but to impose it on the people of the whole capitalist world. For they consider their proposed Italian road to be "the road of advance to socialism" for the whole capitalist world today, and apparently the one and only such road. Comrade Togliatti and certain other Italian comrades have an extraordinarily high opinion of themselves.

In order to make the issue clear, it may be useful first to introduce the reader to the main contents of their proposed Italian road and structural reform.

1. Is the most fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the state apparatus of bourgeois dictatorship has to be smashed and a state apparatus of proletarian dictatorship established, still wholly valid? In their opinion, this is "a subject for discussion." They say that "it is evident that we correct something of this position, taking into account the changes which have taken place and which are still in the process of being realized in the world." (Togliatti, "The Italian Road to Socialism," report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

2. "Today, the question of doing what was done in Russia is not posed to the Italian workers." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) Comrade Togliatti expressed this view in April 1944 and reaffirmed it as being "programmatic" in his report to the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I.

3. The Italian working class can "organize itself into the ruling class within the limits of the constitutional system." (Elements for a Programmatic Declara-

tion of the C.P.I., adopted by the VIIIth Congress of the C.P.I. in December 1956.)

4. The Italian Constitution "assigns to the forces of labour a new and pre-eminent position" and "permits and envisages structural modifications." "The struggle to give a new socialist content to Italian democracy has ample room for development within our constitution." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

5. "We can talk of the possibility of the thorough utilization of legal means and also of parliament to carry out serious social transformations. . . ." (Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) "Full power should be given to parliament, allowing it to carry out not only legislative tasks, but also the functions of direction of and control over the activities of the executive. . . ." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) And they talk of the demand for "the effective extension of the powers of parliament to the economic field." (Political theses approved by the IXth Congress of the C.P.I.)

6. ". . . The building of a new democratic regime advancing towards socialism is closely connected with the formation of a new historical grouping, which, under the leadership of the working class, would fight to change the structure of society and which would be the bearer of an intellectual and moral as well as a political revolution." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

7. ". . . The destruction of the most backward and burdensome structures in Italian society and the beginning of their transformation in a democratic and socialist sense cannot and should not be postponed till the day when the working class and its allies win power. . . ." (Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.)

8. The nationalized economy, i.e., state-monopoly capital, in Italy can stand "in opposition to the monopolies" (A. Pesenti, "Is It a Question of the Structure or of the Superstructure?" in *Rinascita*, May 19, 1962), can be "the expression of the popular masses" (ibid.) and can become "a more effective instrument for opposing monopolistic development" (A. Pesenti, "Direct or Indirect Forms of State Intervention," in *Rinascita*, June 9, 1962). It is possible "to break up and abolish the monopoly ownership of the major productive forces and transform it into collective ownership . . . through nationalization." (Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.)

9. State intervention in economic life can "fulfil the needs for a democratic development of the economy" (Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) and can be turned into an "instrument of struggle against the power of big capital in order to hit, restrict and break up the rule of the big monopoly groups." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

10. Under capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship, "the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative" (ibid.), can be accepted. The working class, by "taking part in formulating and executing the planning policy in full realization of its own ideals and autonomy, with the strength of its own unity" (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.),

can turn planning policy into "a means of satisfying the needs of men and of the national collective." (ibid.)

In short, the Italian road and the structural reform of Togliatti and other comrades amount to this — politically, while preserving the bourgeois dictatorship, "progressively to change the internal balance and structure of the state" and thus "impose the rise of new classes to its leadership" through the "legal" means of bourgeois democracy, constitution and parliament (ibid.) (as to what is meant by "new classes," their exposition has always been ambiguous); and economically, while preserving the capitalist system, gradually to "restrict" and "break up" monopoly capital through "nationalization," "programming" and "state intervention." In other words, it is possible to attain socialism in Italy through bourgeois dictatorship, without going through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Togliatti and other comrades consider their ideas to be "a positive contribution to the deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class" (Togliatti, "Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit"). Unfortunately there is nothing new in their ideas; they are very old and very stale; they are the bourgeois socialism which Marx and Engels so relentlessly refuted long ago.

The bourgeois socialism Marx and Engels criticized belonged to a period before monopoly capitalism had emerged. If Togliatti and the other comrades have made any "positive contribution," it is to the development, not of Marxism, but of bourgeois socialism. They have developed pre-monopoly-bourgeois socialism into monopoly-bourgeois socialism. But this is the very development which the Tito clique proposed long ago, and Togliatti and the other comrades have taken it over after their "study and profound understanding" of what the Tito clique has done and is doing.

### Compare This With Leninism

Whether it is possible to pass over to and realize socialism before overthrowing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been the most fundamental question at issue between Marxist-Leninists and every kind of opportunist and revisionist. In *The State and Revolution* and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, two great works familiar to all Marxist-Leninists, Lenin comprehensively and penetratingly elucidated this fundamental question, defended and developed revolutionary Marxism and thoroughly exposed and repudiated the distortions of Marxism by the opportunists and revisionists.

As a matter of fact, "structural reform," the "change in the internal balance of the state" and other ideas held by Togliatti and the other comrades are all ideas of Kautsky's which Lenin criticized in *The State and Revolution*. Comrade Togliatti says, "The Chinese comrades want to scare us by reminding us of Kautsky, with whose views our policy has nothing in common." (Togliatti, "Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit.") Are we trying to scare Comrade Togliatti and the others? Has their policy nothing in common with Kautsky's views? As they did, we ask whether they will "permit

us to remind them" to re-read carefully *The State and Revolution* and Lenin's other works.

Togliatti and the other comrades refuse to pay attention to the fundamental difference between proletarian socialist revolution and bourgeois revolution.

Lenin said:

The difference between socialist revolution and bourgeois revolution lies precisely in the fact that the latter finds ready forms of capitalist relationships; while the Soviet power—the proletarian power—does not inherit such ready-made relationships. . . . (Lenin, "Report on War and Peace, Delivered to the Seventh Congress of the R.C.P. (B)," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.420.)

All state power in class society is designed to safeguard a particular social and economic system, that is, particular relations of production. As Lenin put it, "Politics are the concentrated expression of economics." (Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IX, p. 54.) Every social and economic system invariably has a corresponding political system which serves it and clears away the obstacles to its development.

Historically speaking, the slave-owners, the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie all had to establish themselves politically as the ruling class and take state power into their own hands in order to make their relations of production prevail over all others and to consolidate and develop these relations of production.

A fundamental point differentiating revolutions of exploiting classes from proletarian revolution is that, before the seizure of state power by any of the three great exploiting classes—the slave-owners, the landlords or the bourgeoisie—the relations of production of slavery, feudalism or capitalism already existed in society, and in certain cases had become fairly mature. But before the proletariat seizes power, socialist relations of production do not exist in society. The reason is obvious. A new form of private ownership can come into being spontaneously on the basis of an old one, whereas socialist public ownership of the means of production can never come into being spontaneously on the basis of capitalist private ownership.

Let us compare the ideas and programme of Togliatti and the other comrades with Leninism.

**Contrary to Leninism, Togliatti and the other comrades maintain that socialist relations of production can gradually come into being without a socialist revolution and proletarian state power, and that the basic economic interests of the proletariat can be satisfied without a political revolution which replaces the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the starting point of the "Italian road" and the "theory of structural reform" of Comrade Togliatti and the others.**

Who are right? Marx, Engels and Lenin, or Togliatti and the other comrades? Which ones "lack a sense of reality"? The Marxist-Leninists, or Togliatti and the other comrades with their ideas and programme?

Let us look at the reality in Italy.

Italy is a country with a population of 50 million. According to available statistics, Italy now has, in a period of peace, several hundred thousand government officials, over 400,000 troops in the standing army, nearly 80,000 gendarmes, about 100,000 policemen, over 1,200 law courts of all levels, and nearly 1,000 prisons; this does not include the secret machinery of suppression with its armed personnel. In addition, there are U.S. military bases and U.S. armed forces stationed in Italy.

In their theses, Togliatti and the other comrades delight in talking about Italy's democracy, constitution, parliament and so forth, but they do not use the class point of view to analyse the army, the gendarmes, the police, the law courts, the prisons and the other instruments of violence in present-day Italy. Whom do these instruments of violence protect and whom do they suppress? Do they protect the proletariat and the other working people and suppress the monopoly capitalists, or vice versa? When talking about the state system, a Marxist-Leninist must answer this question and not evade it.

Let us see what these instruments of violence are used for in Italy. Here are a few illustrations.

In the three years from 1948 to 1950, the Italian Government killed or injured more than 3,000 people and arrested more than 90,000, in the course of suppressing the mass opposition of the people.

In July 1960, the Tambroni government killed 11 people, injured one thousand and arrested another thousand, while suppressing the anti-fascist movement of the Italian working people.

In 1962 after the so-called Centre-Left government of Fanfani was formed, there were a succession of incidents as the government suppressed strikes or mass demonstrations—in Ceccano in May, in Turin in July, in Bari in August, in Milan in October and in Rome in November. In the Rome incident alone, dozens of people were injured, and 600 arrested.

These are just a few instances, but do they not suffice to expose Italian democracy for what it really is? In an Italy with a powerful state machine, both open and secret, for suppressing the people, is it possible not to describe Italian democracy as the democracy, i.e., the dictatorship, of the Italian monopoly-capitalist class?

**Is it possible for the working class and all the working people of Italy to participate in the formulation of the Italian Government's domestic and foreign policy under the Italian democracy of which Togliatti and the other comrades boast? If you, Togliatti and the other comrades, think it possible, will you take responsibility for the numerous crimes of suppression of the people committed by the Italian Government, for that Government's agreement to let the United States build military bases in Italy, for its participation in NATO, etc.? Naturally, you will say that you cannot be held responsible for these reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Italian Government. But since you claim a share in policy-making, why are you unable to achieve the slightest change in these most fundamental policies of the Italian Government?**

To laud "democracy" in general terms, without making any distinction concerning the class character of democracy, is to sing the tune the heroes of the Second International and the Right-wing social-democratic leaders played to death. Is it not strange for the self-styled Marxist-Leninists of today to claim these worn-out tunes as their own new creations?

Perhaps Comrade Togliatti does want to differentiate himself a little from the social-democrats. He maintains that as far as "abstract argument" is concerned, one may acknowledge the class character of the state and the bourgeois character of the present Italian state, but that "putting it in concrete terms" is another matter. In terms of "concrete argument," he maintains that "starting from the present state structure . . . by realizing the profound reforms envisaged by the constitution, it would be possible . . . to obtain such results as would change the present power grouping and create the conditions for another grouping, of which the labouring classes constitute a part and in which they would assume the function which is their due . . ." and thus to make Italy "advance towards socialism in democracy and peace." (cf., Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) When translated into language intelligible to ordinary people, these vague phrases of Comrade Togliatti's mean that the nature of the state machine of the Italian monopoly capitalists can be gradually changed without a people's revolution in Italy.

Comrade Togliatti's "concrete argument" is at loggerheads with his "abstract argument." In his "abstract argument" he comes a little closer to Marxism-Leninism, but when he gives the "concrete argument" he is far removed from Marxism-Leninism. Perhaps he thinks this is the only way to avoid being "dogmatic"!

When Togliatti and the other comrades are assessed in the light of their "concrete argument," the hairline between them and the social-democrats vanishes.

Today, when certain people are doing their utmost to adulterate the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution, and when the modern revisionists are usurping the name of Lenin in their frenzied attacks on Leninism, we would like to draw attention to the following two paragraphs from Lenin's speech at the First Congress of the Communist International in 1919:

The main thing that socialists fail to understand and that constitutes their short-sightedness in matters of theory, their subservience to bourgeois prejudices and their political betrayal of the proletariat is that in capitalist society, whenever there is any serious aggravation of the class struggle intrinsic to that society, there can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary petty-bourgeois lamentations. That is borne out by more than a century of development of bourgeois democracy and the labour movement in all the advanced countries, and notably by the experience of the past five years. This is also borne out by the science of political economy, by the entire content of Marxism, which reveals the economic inevitability, wherever commodity economy prevails, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that can only be replaced by the class which the growth of capitalism develops, multiplies, welds together and strengthens, that is, the proletarian class.

Another theoretical and political error of the socialists is their failure to understand that ever since the rudiments of democracy first appeared in antiquity, its forms inevitably changed over the centuries as one ruling class replaced another. Democracy assumed different forms and was applied in different degrees in the ancient republics of Greece, the medieval cities and the advanced capitalist countries. It would be sheer nonsense to think that the most profound revolution in human history, the first case in the world of power being transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority, could take place within the time-worn framework of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, without drastic changes, without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions that embody the new conditions for applying democracy, etc. (Lenin, "The First Congress of the Communist International," *Lenin on the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, pp.255-56.)

Here we see that Lenin drew these clear-cut and definite conclusions on the basis of the whole of Marxist teaching, the whole experience of class struggle in capitalist society and the whole experience of the October Revolution. He held that within the old framework of bourgeois parliamentary democracy it was impossible for state power to be transferred from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, impossible to realize the most profound revolution in human history, the socialist revolution. Have not these specific truths which Lenin expounded in 1919 been repeatedly confirmed since by the experience of every country where the socialist revolution has taken place? Has not this experience confirmed again and again that the road of the October Revolution, which Lenin led, is the common road for the emancipation of mankind?

Have not the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 reiterated that this is the common road to socialism for the working class in all countries? Whether the working class uses peaceful or non-peaceful means depends, of course, "on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism." (Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.) But, one way or the other, it is necessary to smash the old bourgeois state machine and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**Instead of taking the experience of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat or the living reality of Italian society as their starting point, Togliatti and other comrades start from the present Italian Constitution and maintain that Italy can achieve socialism within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary democracy without smashing the old state machine. What they call the "new democratic regime" is nothing but an "extension" of bourgeois democracy. Small wonder that their "concrete argument" diverges so widely from the specific truths of Marxism-Leninism.**

### **A Most Marvellous Constitution**

The theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. declare that "the Italian road to socialism passes through the building of the new state as described in the constitution (a state which is profoundly different from the present

regime) and the accession of the new ruling classes to its leadership."

According to Togliatti and the other comrades, the constitution of Italy is indeed a most marvellous one.

1. The constitution of the republic is "a unitary compact voluntarily binding on the great majority of the Italian people. . . ." (Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.)

2. The constitution of the republic "envisages some fundamental reforms which . . . carry the marks of socialism." (Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

3. The constitution of the republic "affirms the principle of the sovereignty of the people." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

4. The constitution of the republic "proclaims it [the state] to be 'founded on labour'" (Togliatti, "For an Italian Road to Socialism. For a Democratic Government of the Working Class," report to the VIIIth Congress of the C.P.I., December 1956), and "assigns to the forces of labour a new and pre-eminent position." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

5. The constitution of the republic recognizes "the workers' right to enter into the direction of the state." (Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.)

6. The constitution of the republic "affirms the necessity of those economic and political changes which are essential for reconstructing our society and for moving it in the direction of socialism." (Togliatti's report to the VIIIth Congress of the C.P.I.)

7. The constitution of the republic has resolved "the problem of principle of the march towards socialism within the ambit of democratic legality." (ibid.)

8. The Italian people "are able to oppose the class nature and class aims of the state while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I. See *L'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.)

9. The Italian working class "can organize itself into the ruling class within the ambit of the constitutional system." (Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.)

10. "The respect for, the defence of, and the integral application of, the constitution of the republic form the pivot of the whole political programme of the Party." (ibid.)

We do not, of course, deny that the present Italian Constitution contains some lofty phraseology. But how can a Marxist-Leninist take the high-sounding phrases in a bourgeois constitution for reality?

There are 139 articles in the present Italian Constitution. But, in the final analysis, its class nature is most clearly represented by Article 42, which provides that "private ownership is recognized and guaranteed by law." In terms of Italian reality, this article protects the private property of the monopoly capitalists. By virtue of this provision, the constitution satisfies the demands of the monopoly capitalists, for their private property is made sacred and inviolable. To try to cover up the real

nature of the Italian Constitution and to talk about it in superlative terms is only to deceive oneself and others.

Togliatti and the other comrades say that the Italian Constitution "bears the marks of the presence of the working class," "affirms the principle of the sovereignty of the people" and "recognizes certain new rights for the workers." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) When they talk about this principle and these new rights, why do they not compare the Italian Constitution with other bourgeois constitutions before drawing conclusions?

It should be noted that the provision concerning the sovereignty of the people is found in practically every bourgeois constitution since the time of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in the French bourgeois revolution of 1789, and is not peculiar to the Italian Constitution. "Sovereignty belongs to the people" was once a revolutionary slogan which the bourgeoisie pitted against the feudal monarchs' dictum of *L'Etat, c'est moi*. But since the establishment of bourgeois rule this article has become a mere phrase in bourgeois constitutions to conceal the nature of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It should be noted, too, that the Italian Constitution is not the only one that provides for civil liberties and rights. Such provisions are found in the constitutions of nearly all the capitalist countries. But after stipulating certain civil liberties and rights, some constitutions go straight on to make other provisions to restrict or cancel them. As Marx said of the French Constitution of 1848, "every one of its provisions contains its own antithesis—utterly nullifies itself." (Marx and Engels, "Constitution of the French Republic Adopted on November 4, 1848," *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. VII, p.535.) There are other constitutions in which such articles are not followed by restrictive or nugatory provisions, but the bourgeois governments concerned readily achieve the same purpose by other means. The Italian Constitution falls into the former category; in other words, it is a nakedly bourgeois constitution and can in no way be described as "fundamentally socialist in inspiration." (Togliatti, "The Communists' Struggle for Liberation, Peace and Socialism," report to the IVth National Conference of the C.P.I.)

Lenin said, "Where laws are out of keeping with reality, the constitution is false; where they conform with reality, the constitution is not false." (Lenin, "How Do Socialist-Revolutionaries Summarize Results of Revolution," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XV, p.308.) The present Italian Constitution has both these aspects; it is both false and not false. It is not false in such matters of substance as its open protection of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and it is false in its high-sounding phrases designed to deceive the people.

At the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy held in January 1948, Comrade Togliatti said:

Our political and even constitutional future is uncertain, because one can foresee serious collisions between a progressive sector which will rely on one part of our constitutional charter, and a conservative and reactionary sector which will look for instruments of resistance in the other part. Therefore it would be committing a serious political error and deceiving the people if one confined oneself to saying: "Everything is now written in the



constitution. Let us apply what is sanctioned in it, and all the aspirations of the people will be realized." That is wrong. No constitution is ever used to save liberty if it is not defended by the consciousness of the citizens, by their power, and by their ability to crush every reactionary attempt. No constitutional norm will by itself assure us of democratic and social progress if the organized and conscious forces of the labouring masses are unable to lead the whole country along this road of progress and smash the resistance of reaction.

From these words spoken by Comrade Togliatti in 1948, it would seem that he then still retained certain Marxist-Leninist views, since he admitted that the political and constitutional future of Italy was uncertain and that the Italian Constitution was two-sided in character and could be used both by the conservative reactionary forces and the progressive forces. Comrade Togliatti then held that to place blind faith in the Italian Constitution was "a serious political error" and was "deceiving the people."

In January 1955, Comrade Togliatti said in a speech, "It is clear that we have in our constitution the lines of a programme, fundamentally socialist in inspiration, which is not only a political but also an economic and social programme." (Togliatti's report to the IVth National Conference of the C.P.I.) So by that time Comrade Togliatti had already taken the Italian Constitution as one "fundamentally socialist in inspiration."

Thus, the Togliatti of 1955 came out in opposition to the Togliatti of 1948.

From then on Comrade Togliatti has gone into a precipitous decline, and has virtually deified the Italian Constitution.

In 1960 Comrade Togliatti said in his report to the Ninth Congress of the C.P.I.:

We move on the terrain of the constitution, and as for all those who ask us what we would do if we were in power, we remind them of the constitution. We have written in our Programmatic Declaration, and we repeat, that it is possible to carry out "in full constitutional legality the structural reforms necessary to undermine the power of the monopolist groups, to defend the interests of all workers against the economic and financial oligarchies, to exclude these oligarchs from power, and to enable the labouring classes to accede to power."

That is to say, Comrade Togliatti demanded that the working class and other working people of Italy must act in full legality under the bourgeois constitution and rely on it in order to "undermine the power of the monopolist groups."

At the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. in 1962, Togliatti and some other comrades of the C.P.I. re-asserted that they are "firm" on this point. They declared that "the Italian road to socialism passes through the building of the new state as described in the constitution . . . and the rise of the new ruling classes to its leadership" (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.); that this road means to "demand and impose the transformation of the state in the light of the constitution, to conquer new positions of power within the state, to push forward the socialist transformation of society" (ibid.); and that it means to form "a social and political bloc capable of carrying out the socialist transformation of Italy in constitutional legality." (ibid.) They also proposed to "oppose

the class nature and class aims of the state while fully accepting and defending the constitutional compact, developing ample and articulated action tending to push the state along the road of a progressive democracy capable of developing towards socialism." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I. See *L'Unita* supplement, September 13, 1962.)

In brief, Togliatti and the other comrades intend to bring about socialism within the framework of the Italian bourgeois constitution, completely forgetting that though there are some attractively worded articles in the Italian Constitution, the monopoly capitalists can nullify the constitution whenever they find it necessary and opportune, so long as they have control of the state machine and all the armed forces.

**Marxist-Leninists must expose the hypocrisy of bourgeois constitutions, but at the same time they should utilize certain of their provisions as weapons against the bourgeoisie. In ordinary circumstances, refusal to make use of a bourgeois constitution and carry on legal struggle wherever possible is a mistake, which Lenin called a "Left" infantile disorder. But to call upon Communists and the people to place blind faith in a bourgeois constitution, to say that a bourgeois constitution can bring socialism to the people, and that respect for, and defence and integral application of, such a constitution "form the pivot of the whole political programme of the Party" (Elements for a Programmatic Declaration of the C.P.I.) is not just an infantile disorder but, again in Lenin's words, mental subservience to bourgeois prejudices.**

### Contemporary "Parliamentary Cretinism"

Comrade Togliatti and certain other C.P.I. comrades admit that to realize socialism involves struggle, that socialism must be realized through struggle. But they confine the people's struggle to the scope permitted by the bourgeois constitution and assign the primary role to parliament.

In describing how the present Italian Constitution came into existence, Comrade Togliatti said, "This was due to the fact that in 1946 the Communists rejected the road of breaking legality by desperately attempting to seize power, and on the contrary chose the road of participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly." (Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

That is how Comrade Togliatti came to take the parliamentary road as the one by which the working class and other working people of Italy would "advance towards socialism."

For years Togliatti and other comrades have stressed the same point: "Today the thesis of the possibility of a march towards socialism within the forms of democratic and even parliamentary legality has been formulated in a general way. . . . This proposition . . . was ours in 1944-46." (Togliatti's report to the VIIIth Congress of the C.P.I.)

"It is possible to pass to socialism by taking the parliamentary road." (Togliatti, "Parliament and the Struggle for Socialism," in *Pravda*, March 7, 1956.)

Here we should like to discuss with Togliatti and the other comrades the question of whether the transition to

socialism can be brought about through parliamentary forms.

The question must be made clear. We have always held that taking part in parliamentary struggle is one of the methods of legal struggle which the working class should utilize in certain conditions. To refuse to utilize parliamentary struggle when it is necessary, but instead to play at or prattle about revolution, is something that all Marxist-Leninists resolutely oppose. On this question, we have always adhered to the whole of Lenin's theory as expounded in his "*Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. But some people deliberately distort our views. They say that we deny the necessity of all parliamentary struggle and that we deny that there are twists and turns in the development of the revolution. They ascribe to us the view that some fine morning the people's revolutions will suddenly come in various countries. Or they assert, as Comrade Togliatti does in his reply of January 10 this year to our article, that we want the Italian comrades to "confine themselves to preaching and waiting for the great day of revolution." Of late such distortion of the arguments of the other side in the discussion has nearly become the most favourite trick of the self-styled Marxist-Leninists in dealing with the Chinese Communists.

It may be asked: What are our differences with Comrade Togliatti and the others on the proper attitude towards bourgeois parliaments?

First, we hold that all bourgeois parliaments, including the present Italian parliament, have a class nature and serve as ornaments for bourgeois dictatorship. As Lenin put it: "Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth—in these countries the real business of 'state' is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and the General Staffs." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.246.) ". . . the more highly [bourgeois] democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers." (Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p.52.)

Secondly, we are for utilizing parliamentary struggle, but against spreading illusions, against "parliamentary cretinism." Again, as Lenin said, political parties of the working class "stand for utilizing the parliamentary struggle, for participating in parliament; but they ruthlessly expose 'parliamentary cretinism,' that is, the belief that the parliamentary struggle is the sole or under all circumstances the main form of the political struggle." (Lenin, "Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, p.353.)

Thirdly, we are for utilizing the platform of the bourgeois parliament to expose the festering sores in bourgeois society and also to expose the fraud of the bourgeois parliament. For its own interests, the bourgeoisie under certain conditions admits representatives of the working-class party to its parliament; at the same time this is a method by which it tries to deceive, corrupt and even buy over certain representatives and leaders of the workers. Therefore, in waging the parliamentary

struggle the political party of the working class must be highly vigilant and must at all times maintain its political independence.

**On the three points just mentioned, Togliatti and the other comrades have completely cast away the Leninist stand. Regarding parliament as being above classes, they exaggerate the role of the bourgeois parliament for no valid reason and see it as the only road for achieving socialism in Italy.**

Togliatti and other comrades have become thoroughly obsessed with the Italian parliament.

They hold that given an "honest electoral law" and provided that "in parliament a majority is formed, which is conformable to the will of the people" (Togliatti, "Parliament and the Struggle for Socialism"), it is possible to carry out "profound social reforms" (ibid.) and "change the present relations of production, and consequently also the big property regime." (Political theses approved by the IXth Congress of the C.P.I.)

Can things really happen that way?

No. Things can only happen like this: So long as the bureaucratic-military state machine of the bourgeoisie still exists, for the proletariat and its reliable allies to win a parliamentary majority under normal conditions and in accordance with bourgeois electoral law is something either impossible or in no way to be depended upon. After World War II, the Communist and Workers' Parties in many capitalist countries held seats in parliament, in some cases many seats. In every case, however, the bourgeoisie used various measures to prevent the Communists from gaining a parliamentary majority—nullifying elections, dissolving parliament, revising the electoral laws or the constitution, or outlawing the Communist Party. For quite a while after World War II, the Communist Party of France had the largest popular vote and parliamentary representation of any party in the country, but the French monopoly capitalists revised the electoral law and the constitution itself and deprived the French Communist Party of many of its seats.

Can the working class become the ruling class simply by relying on votes in elections? History records no case of an oppressed class becoming the ruling class through the vote. The bourgeoisie preaches a lot about parliamentary democracy and elections, but there was no country where the bourgeoisie replaced the feudal lords and became the ruling class simply by a vote. It is even less likely for the proletariat to become the ruling class through elections. As Lenin put it in his *Greetings to Italian, French, and German Communists*:

Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must win the majority in elections carried out under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, under the yoke of wage-slavery, and that only after this must it win power. This is the height of folly or hypocrisy; it is substituting voting, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXX, p.40.)

History does tell us that when a workers' party abandons its proletarian revolutionary programme, degenerates into an appendage of the bourgeoisie, and converts itself into a political party that is a tool of the bour-



geoisie, the latter may permit it to have a temporary parliamentary majority and to form a government. This was the case with the British Labour Party. It was also the case with the social-democratic parties of several countries after they had betrayed their original socialist revolutionary programmes. But this sort of thing can only maintain and consolidate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and cannot in the least alter the position of the proletariat as an oppressed and exploited class. The British Labour Party has been in power three times since 1924, but imperialist Britain is still imperialist Britain, and, as before, the British working class has no power. We would ask Comrade Togliatti whether he is thinking of following in the footsteps of the British Labour Party and of the social-democratic parties in other countries.

The theses for the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. declare that parliament must be given full powers to legislate and to direct and control the activities of the executive. We do not know who will give parliament the powers certain leaders of the Italian Communist Party desire for it. Are they to be given by the bourgeoisie or by Togliatti and the other comrades? In fact, the powers of a bourgeois parliament are given it by the bourgeoisie. Their extent is decided by the bourgeoisie according to its interests. No matter how much power the bourgeoisie allows parliament, the latter can never become the real organ of power of the bourgeois state. The real organ of power, by means of which the bourgeoisie rules over the people, is the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and not its parliament.

If Communists abandon the road of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, pin all their hopes on winning a majority in the bourgeois parliament by a vote and wait to be given powers to lead the state, what difference is there between their road and Kautsky's parliamentary road? Kautsky said: "The aim of our political struggle remains, as hitherto, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament and by converting parliament into the master of the government." (Kautsky, "New Tactics," in *Neue Zeit*, No. 46, 1912.) Lenin said in criticism of this Kautskian road, "This is nothing but the purest and the most vulgar opportunism." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.323.)

In March 1956, when talking about "utilization of legal means and also of parliament," Comrade Togliatti stated, "What we do today would have been neither possible nor correct 30 years ago, it would have been pure opportunism, as we described it at that time." (Togliatti's report to the March 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.)

What grounds are there for saying that what was neither possible nor correct 30 years ago has become so today? What grounds are there for saying that what was then pure opportunism has now suddenly become pure Marxism-Leninism? Comrade Togliatti's words are in fact an admission that the road he and the other comrades are travelling is the same as that taken by the opportunists in the past.

However, when it was pointed out that they were travelling this parliamentary road, Comrade Togliatti changed his tune, saying in June 1956: "I would like to

correct those comrades who have said—as if it were undoubtedly a peaceful matter—that the Italian road of development towards socialism means the parliamentary road and nothing more. That is not true." (Togliatti's report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) He also said: "To reduce this struggle to electoral competitions for parliament and to wait for the acquisition of 51 per cent would be not only simple-minded but also illusory." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) Comrade Togliatti argued that what they advocated was not only "a parliament which functions" (Togliatti's report to the June 1956 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.) but also "a great popular movement." (ibid.)

To demand a great popular movement is a good thing, and Marxist-Leninists should of course feel happy about it. It should be recognized that there is a mass movement of considerable scale in Italy today and that the Communist Party of Italy has in this respect made achievements. The pity is that Comrade Togliatti looks at the mass movement only within a parliamentary framework. He holds that the mass movement "can bring about the raising in our country of those urgent demands which could then be satisfied by a parliament, in which the popular forces have won sufficiently strong representation." (ibid.)

**The masses raise demands, then parliament satisfies them — such is Comrade Togliatti's formula for the mass movement.**

**The basic tactical principle of Marxism-Leninism is as follows: in all mass movements, and likewise in parliamentary struggle, it is necessary to maintain the political independence of the proletariat, to draw a line of demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to integrate the present interests of the movement with its future interests, and to co-ordinate the current movement with the entire process and the final goal of the working-class struggle. To forget or violate this principle is to fall into the quagmire of Bernsteinism and, in reality, to accept the notorious formula that "the movement is everything, the aim is nothing." We should like to ask: What difference is there between Comrade Togliatti's formula concerning the mass movement and Bernstein's formula?**

### **Can State-Monopoly Capital Become "A More Effective Instrument for Opposing Monopolistic Development"?**

Replying to the editorial in our *Renmin Ribao*, Comrade Luigi Longo, one of the chief leaders of the Communist Party of Italy, wrote in an article on January 4, 1963:

Our Tenth Congress has also forcefully reaffirmed that a firm point in what we call the Italian road to socialism is the recognition that already today, in the existing international and domestic situation, even when the capitalist regime continues to exist, it is possible and necessary to arrive at the liquidation of the monopolies and of their economic and political power (*L'Unita*).

Those comrades maintain that by adopting the measures they have worked out it is possible to change the capitalist relations of production now existing in Italy and to

change the "big property regime" of the Italian monopoly capitalists.

The economic measures of "structural reform" which have been worked out by Togliatti and other comrades are, in their own words, the realization of "the demand for a definite degree of nationalization, the demand for programming, the demand for state intervention to guarantee democratic economic development, and so on" (Togliatti's speech at the April 1962 session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.); and "the movement which tends to increase direct state intervention in economic life, through programming, the nationalization of whole sectors of production, etc." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

Probably Togliatti and the other comrades will go on to devise still more measures of this sort.

Of course, they have the right to think and say what they like, and no one has the right to interfere, nor do we want to. However, since they want others to think and speak as they do, we cannot but continue the discussion of the questions they have raised.

Let us take first the question of state intervention in economic life.

Has not the state intervened in economic life ever since it came into being, no matter whether it was a state of slave-owners, of feudal lords or of the bourgeoisie? When these classes are in the ascendant, state intervention in economic life may take one form, and when they are on the decline, it may take another form. State intervention in economic life may also take different forms in different countries where the state power is the same in its class nature. Leaving aside the question of how the state of slave-owners or feudal lords intervenes in economic life, we shall discuss only the intervention of the bourgeois state in economic life.

Whether a bourgeois state pursues a policy of grabbing colonies or of contending for world supremacy, a policy of free trade or of protective tariffs, every such policy constitutes state intervention in economic life, which bourgeois states have long practised in order to protect the interests of their bourgeoisie. Such intervention has played an important role in the development of capitalism. State intervention in economic life is, therefore, not something new that has recently made its appearance in Italy.

But perhaps what Togliatti and the other comrades refer to by "state intervention in economic life" is not these policies long practised by the bourgeoisie, but mainly the nationalization they are talking about.

Well then, let us talk about nationalization.

In reality, from slave society onward, different kinds of states have had different kinds of "nationalized sectors of the economy." The state of slave-owners had its nationalized sector of the economy, and so had the state of feudal lords. The bourgeois state has had its nationalized sector of the economy ever since it came into being. Therefore, the question to be clarified is the nature of the nationalization in each case, and what class carries it out.

A veteran Communist like Comrade Togliatti is certainly not ignorant of what Engels said in his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific":

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the state—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post office, the telegraphs, the railways. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, pp.147-48.)

To this statement, Engels added the following very important rider:

I say "have to." For only when the means of production and distribution have *actually* outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the state has become *economically* inevitable, only then—even if it is the state of today that effects this—is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for state ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* state ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the state of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of socialism. If the Belgian state, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the state the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor shops of the Army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the state of the brothels. (*ibid.*, footnote.)

Engels then went on to emphasize the nature of so-called state ownership in capitalist countries. He said:

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of

the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution. (ibid., pp.148-49.)

Engels wrote all this in the period when monopoly capital was first emerging and capitalism had begun to move from free competition to monopoly. Have his arguments lost their validity now that monopoly capital has assumed a completely dominating position? Can it be said that nationalization in the capitalist countries has now changed and even done away with "the capitalist nature of the productive forces"? Can it be said that state-monopoly capitalism, formed through capitalist nationalization or in other ways, is no longer capitalism? Or perhaps this can be said of Italy, though not of other countries?

Here, then, we have to go into the question of state-monopoly capitalism, and in Italy in particular.

Concentration of capital results in monopoly. From World War I onward, world capitalism has not only taken a step further towards monopoly in general, but also taken a step further away from monopoly in general to state monopoly. After World War I, and particularly after the economic crisis broke out in the capitalist world in 1929, state-monopoly capitalism further developed in all the imperialist countries. During World War II, the monopoly capitalists in the imperialist countries on both sides utilized state-monopoly capital to the fullest possible extent in order to make high profits out of the War. And since the War, state-monopoly capital has actually become the more or less dominant force in economic life in some imperialist countries.

Compared with the other principal imperialist countries, the foundations of capitalism in Italy are relatively weak. From an early date, therefore, Italy embarked upon state capitalism for the purpose of concentrating the forces of capital so as to grab the highest profits, compete with international monopoly capital, expand her markets and redivide the colonies. In 1914, the *Consorzio per Sovvenzione su Valore Industria* was established by the Italian Government to provide the big banks and industrial firms with loans and subsidies. There was a further integration of the state organs with monopoly-capitalist organizations during Mussolini's fascist regime. In particular, during the great crisis of 1929-33, the Italian Government bought up at pre-crisis prices large blocks of shares of many failing banks and other enterprises, brought many banks and enterprises under state control, and organized the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*, thus forming a gigantic state-monopoly capitalist organization. After World War II, Italian monopoly capital, including state-monopoly capital, which had been the foundation of the fascist regime, was left intact and developed at still greater speed. At present, the enterprises run by state-monopoly capital or jointly by state and private monopoly capital constitute about 30 per cent of Italy's economy.

What conclusions should Marxist-Leninists draw from the development of state-monopoly capital? In Italy, can nationalized enterprise, i.e., state-monopoly capital stand "in opposition to the monopolies" (A. Pesenti, "Is It a Question of the Structure or of the Superstructure?"), can it be "the expression of the popular masses" (ibid.),

and can it become "a more effective instrument for opposing monopolistic development" (A. Pesenti, "Direct and Indirect Forms of State Intervention"), as stated by Togliatti and certain other comrades of the C.P.I.?

No Marxist-Leninist can possibly draw such conclusions.

**State-monopoly capitalism is monopoly capitalism in which monopoly capital has merged with the political power of the state. Taking full advantage of state power, it accelerates the concentration and aggregation of capital, intensifies the exploitation of the working people, the devouring of small and medium enterprises, and the annexation of some monopoly-capitalist groups by others, and strengthens monopoly capital for international competition and expansion. Under the cover of "state intervention in economic life" and "opposition to monopoly," and using the name of the state to deceive, it cleverly transfers huge profits into the pockets of the monopoly groups by underhand methods.**

The chief means by which state-monopoly capital serves the monopoly capitalists are as follows:

1. It uses the funds of the state treasury, and the taxes paid by the people, to protect the capitalists against risk to their investments, thus guaranteeing large profits to the monopoly groups.

For example, on all the bonds issued to raise funds for the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*, the biggest state-monopoly organization of Italy, the state both pays interest and guarantees the principal. The bond-holders generally receive a high rate of interest, as high as 4.5 to 8 per cent per annum. In addition, they draw dividends when the enterprises make a profit.

2. Through legislation and the state budget a substantial proportion of the national income is redistributed in ways favourable to the monopoly-capitalist organizations, ensuring that the various monopoly groups get huge profits.

For example, in 1955 about one-third of the total state budget was allocated by the Italian Government for purchasing and ordering goods from private monopoly groups.

3. Through the alternative forms of purchase and sale, the state on certain occasions takes over those enterprises which are losing money or going bankrupt or whose nationalization will benefit particular monopoly groups, and on other occasions sells to the private monopoly groups those enterprises which are profitable.

For example, according to statistics compiled by the Italian economist Gino Longo, between 1920 and 1955, successive Italian governments paid a total of 1,647,000 million lire (in terms of 1953 prices) to purchase the shares of failing banks and enterprises, a sum equal to more than 50 per cent of the total nominal capital in 1955 of all the Italian joint-stock companies with a capital of 50 million lire or more. On the other hand, from its establishment to 1958, the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale* alone sold back to private monopoly organizations shares in profitable enterprises amounting to a total value of 491,000 million lire (in terms of 1953 prices), according to incomplete statistics.

4. By making use of state authority, state-monopoly capital intensifies the concentration and aggregation of capital and accelerates the annexation of small and medium enterprises by monopoly capital.

For example, from 1948 to 1958, the total nominal capital of the ten biggest monopoly groups, which control the lifelines of the Italian economy, multiplied 15 times. The Fiat Company multiplied its nominal capital 25 times and the Italcemento 40 times. Although the ten biggest companies in Italy constituted only 0.04 per cent of the total number of joint-stock companies, they directly held or controlled 64 per cent of the total private shareholding capital in Italy. During the same period, the number of small and medium enterprises which went bankrupt constantly increased.

5. Internationally, state-monopoly capital battles fiercely for markets, utilizing the name of the state and its diplomatic measures, and thus serves Italian monopoly capital as a useful tool for extending its neo-colonialist penetration.

For example, in the period of 1956-61 alone, the Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi obtained the right to explore and exploit oil resources, to sell oil or to build pipe-lines and refineries in the United Arab Republic, Iran, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Jordan, India, Yugoslavia, Austria, Switzerland, etc. In this way, it has secured for the Italian monopoly capitalists a place in the world oil market.

The facts given above make it clear that state monopoly and private monopoly are in fact two mutually supporting forms used by the monopoly capitalists for the extraction of huge profits. The development of state-monopoly capital aggravates the inherent contradictions of the imperialist system and can never, as Togliatti and the other comrades assert, "limit and break up the power of the leading big monopoly groups" (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) or change the contradictions inherent in imperialism.

In Italy there is a view current among certain people that contemporary Italian capitalism is different from the capitalism of 50 years ago and has entered a "new stage." They call contemporary Italian capitalism "neo-capitalism." They insist that under "neo-capitalism," or in the "new stage" of capitalism, such fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles as those concerning class struggle, socialist revolution, seizure of state power by the proletariat and proletarian dictatorship are no longer of any use. In their view, this "neo-capitalism" can apparently perform the function of resolving the fundamental contradictions of capitalism within the capitalist system itself, by such means as "programming," "technical progress," "full employment" and the "welfare state," and through "international alliance." It was the Catholic movement and the social reformists who first advocated and spread these theories in Italy. Actually, it was in these so-called theories that Togliatti and the other comrades found a new basis for their "theory of structural reform."

Togliatti and the other comrades maintain that "the concepts of planning and programming the economy, considered at one time a socialist prerogative, are more and more extensively discussed and accepted today." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

It is Comrade Togliatti's opinion (1) that there can be planned development of the national economy not only in socialist countries but also under capitalism, and (2) that the economic planning and programming characteristic of socialism can be accepted in capitalist Italy.

Marxist-Leninists have always held that the capitalist state finds it both possible and necessary to adopt policies which in some way regulate the national economy in the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. This idea is contained in the passages quoted above from Engels. In the era of monopoly capital, this regulatory function of the capitalist state mainly serves the interests of the monopoly capitalists. Although such regulation may sometimes sacrifice the interests of certain monopoly groups, it never harms, but on the contrary represents, the overall interests of the monopoly capitalists.

Here is Lenin's excellent exposition of this point. He said:

... The erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion that monopoly capitalism or state-monopoly capitalism is no longer capitalism, but can already be termed "state socialism," or something of that sort, is most widespread. The trusts, of course, never produced, do not now produce, and cannot produce complete planning. But however much they do plan, however much the capitalist magnates calculate in advance the volume of production on a national and even on an international scale, and however much they systematically regulate it, we still remain under *capitalism* — capitalism in its new stage, it is true, but still, undoubtedly, capitalism. (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.269.)

However, some comrades of the C.P.I. maintain that, by carrying out "planning" in Italy under the rule of the monopoly capitalists, it is possible to solve the major problems posed by Italian history, including "the problems of the liberty and emancipation of the working class." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) How is this miracle possible?

Comrade Togliatti says, "State-monopoly capitalism, which is the modern aspect of the capitalist regime in almost all the big countries, is that stage — as Lenin has affirmed — beyond which, in order to go forward, there is no other way but socialism. But from this objective necessity it is necessary to make a conscious movement arise." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.)

There is the well-known statement by Lenin that "capitalism . . . advanced from capitalism to imperialism, from monopoly to state control. All this has brought the socialist revolution nearer and has created the objective conditions for it." (Lenin, "Report on the Current Situation Delivered at the April Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., May 7 (April 24), 1917," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VI, p.99.) He also made similar statements elsewhere. **Clearly, Lenin meant that the development of state-monopoly capitalism serves only to prove "the proximity . . . of the socialist revolution, and not at all as an argument in favour of tolerating the repudiation of such a revolution and the efforts to make capitalism look more attractive, an occupation in which all the reformists are engaged."** (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, pp.269-70.) In talking about "structural reform" and "conscious movement," Comrade

**Togliatti is using ambiguous language exactly as the reformists do to evade the question of socialist revolution posed by Marxism-Leninism, and he is doing his best to make Italian capitalism look more attractive.**

### **Remember What the Great Lenin Taught**

From the above series of questions it can be seen that the "theory of structural reform" advanced by Togliatti and the other comrades is an out-and-out total revision of Marxism-Leninism on the fundamental question of the state and revolution.

Comrade Togliatti publicly hoisted the flag of total revision of Marxism-Leninism as early as 1956. In June of that year, at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.I., he said:

First Marx and Engels and later on Lenin, when developing this theory [the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat—*Hongqi Ed.*], said that the bourgeois state apparatus cannot be used for building a socialist society. This apparatus must be smashed and destroyed by the working class, and replaced by the apparatus of the proletarian state, i.e., of the state led by the working class itself. This was not the original position of Marx and Engels. It was the position they took after the experience of the Paris Commune and it was developed in particular by Lenin. Does this position remain completely valid today? This is a theme for discussion. In fact, when we affirm that a road of advance to socialism is possible not merely over democratic ground but also through utilizing parliamentary forms, it is evident that we correct something of this position, taking into account the changes which have taken place and which are still in the process of being realized in the world.

Here Comrade Togliatti was posing as a historian of Marxism while fundamentally distorting the history of Marxism.

Consider the following facts.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, which was written in 1847, Marx and Engels stated very clearly that "the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.53.) Lenin said of this statement, "Here we have a formulation of one of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the subject of the state, namely, the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (as Marx and Engels began to call it after the Paris Commune)." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part I, p. 222.)

Subsequently, after summing up the experience of the period 1848-51, Marx raised the question of smashing the old state machine. As Lenin said, here "the question is treated in a concrete manner, and the conclusion is extremely precise, definite, practical and palpable: all the revolutions which have occurred up to now perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed." Lenin added, "This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxian teaching on the state." (*ibid.*, pp.226, 227.)

Basing himself on the experience of 1848-51, Marx came to the conclusion that, unlike previous revolutions,

the proletarian revolution would not merely transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one group of people to another. Marx did not then give a specific answer to the question of what should replace the smashed state machine. The reason, as Lenin remarked, was that in presenting the question Marx did not base himself simply on logical reasoning but stayed strictly on the firm ground of historical experience. (*cf. ibid.*, p.230.) For this specific question, in 1852 there was nothing in previous experience which could be drawn on, but the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 put the question on the agenda. "The Commune is the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to *smash* the bourgeois state machine; and it is the political form 'at last discovered,' by which the smashed state machine can and must be *replaced*." (*ibid.*, p.257.)

**From this we see that there are two questions, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, and what should replace it, and Marx answered first one and then the other, on the basis of the historical experience of different periods. Comrade Togliatti says that it was only after the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 that Marx and Engels held it was necessary for the proletariat to smash the bourgeois state machine. This is a distortion of the facts of history.**

Like Kautsky, Comrade Togliatti believes in "the possibility of power being seized *without* destroying the state machine." (*ibid.*, p.311.) He holds that the bourgeois state machine can be preserved and the objectives of the proletariat can be achieved by using this ready-made state machine. It would be well if Comrade Togliatti noted how Lenin repeatedly repudiated Kautsky on this point. Lenin said,

Kautsky either rejects the assumption of state power by the working class altogether, or he concedes that the working class may take over the old, bourgeois state machine; but he will by no means concede that it must break it up, smash it, and replace it by a new, proletarian machine. Whichever way Kautsky's arguments are "interpreted," or "explained," his rupture with Marxism and his desertion to the bourgeoisie are obvious. (Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p.69.)

**Since Comrade Togliatti boasts that their programme is a "deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism," it must be noted that the so-called theory of structural reform was in fact first devised by Kautsky. In his pamphlet "The Social Revolution," Kautsky said, "It goes without saying that we shall not achieve supremacy under the present conditions. Revolution itself presupposes a long and deep-going struggle, which, as it proceeds, will change our present political and social structure." It is evident that Kautsky tried long ago to substitute the theory of structural reform for the theory of proletarian revolution and that Comrade Togliatti has simply inherited his mantle. Nevertheless, if we carefully examine their respective views, we shall find that Comrade Togliatti has jumped ahead of Kautsky — Kautsky admitted "we shall not achieve supremacy under the present conditions," whereas Comrade Togliatti maintains that we can achieve supremacy precisely "under the present conditions."**

Togliatti and other comrades hold that what is needed for Italy to advance to socialism is to establish a "new democratic regime" under the marvellous Italian Constitution and at the same time to form a "new historical bloc," or a "new bloc of social and political leading forces." (cf. Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) They maintain it is this "new historical bloc" rather than the Italian proletariat that is the "bearer of an intellectual and moral, as well as a political revolution" (ibid.) in Italy. No one knows what this "new historical bloc" actually is or how it is to be formed. At times Togliatti and other comrades say that it is "under the leadership of the working class" (ibid.) and at times that this "new historical bloc" is itself the "bloc of leading forces." Is such a bloc a class organization of the proletariat, or is it an alliance of classes? Is it under the leadership of the working class, or of the bourgeoisie, or of some other class? Heaven alone knows! In the final analysis, the purpose of their fanciful and elusive formulation is simply to get away from the basic Marxist-Leninist ideas of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

**Comrade Togliatti's idea is: (1) there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine, and (2) there is no need to set up a proletarian state machine. He thus repudiates the experience of the Paris Commune.**

After Marx and Engels, Lenin repeatedly elucidated the experience of the Paris Commune and always insisted that it held good universally for the proletariat of all countries. Lenin did not separate the experience of the Russian Revolution from that of the Paris Commune but regarded it as a continuation and development of the experience of the Paris Commune. He saw in the Soviets "the type of state which was being evolved by the Paris Commune" (Lenin, "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.38), and held that "the Paris Commune took the first epochal step along this path [the path of smashing the old state machine]; the Soviet Government has taken the second step" (Lenin, "The First Congress of the Communist International," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXVIII, p.444).

**In repudiating the experience of the Paris Commune, Comrade Togliatti is of necessity directly counterposing his ideas to Marxism-Leninism and flatly repudiating the experience of the October Revolution and of the people's revolutions in various countries since the October Revolution; thus he counterposes his so-called Italian road to the common road of the international proletariat.**

Comrade Togliatti says, "The problem of doing what was done in Russia is not posed to the Italian workers." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) Here we have the essence of the question.

The Elements for a Programmatic Declaration adopted by the Eighth Congress of the C.P.I. in 1956 stated, "In the first years after World War I, the revolutionary conquest of power by the methods that had led to victory in the Soviet Union revealed itself to be impossible." Here again we have the essence of the question.

Referring to the experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Togliatti said that in the period of the Chinese

people's struggle for state power, the Chinese Communist Party applied a political line "which corresponded not at all to the strategic and tactical line followed by the Bolsheviks in the course of their revolution from March to October (1917). (Togliatti's concluding speech at the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) This is a distortion of the history of the Chinese revolution. Since it has occurred in the specific conditions of China, the Chinese revolution has had its own characteristics. However, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly explained, the principle on which the political line of our Party has been formulated is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese revolution, we have always held, is a continuation of the Great October Revolution, and it goes without saying that it is also a continuation of the cause of the Paris Commune. With regard to the most fundamental question concerning the theory of the state and revolution, that is, the question of smashing the old warlord-bureaucratic state machine and setting up the state machine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the basic experience of the Chinese revolution wholly corresponds to that of the October Revolution and the Paris Commune. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1949 in his famous essay "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship": "Follow the path of the Russians—that was the conclusion." (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Peking, Vol. IV.) To defend his revision of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, or his "modifications" as he and others put it, Comrade Togliatti says the experience of the Chinese revolution and the experience of the October Revolution are two different matters which do "not at all correspond" to each other. But how can this distortion possibly help the theory of structural reform of Togliatti and other comrades?

**This theory is one of "peaceful transition" or, in their own words, of "advance towards socialism in democracy and in peace." (Theses for the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) Their whole theory and their entire programme are replete with praise of "class peace" in capitalist society and contain absolutely nothing about "advance towards socialism"; there is only class "peace," and no social "transition" at all.**

Marxism-Leninism is the science of proletarian revolution, and it develops continuously in revolutionary practice, and individual principles or conclusions are bound to be replaced by new principles or conclusions suited to the new historical conditions. But this does not imply that the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism can be discarded or revised. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and revolution is absolutely not an individual principle or conclusion, but a fundamental principle derived from the Marxist-Leninist summing-up of the experience of the struggles of the international proletariat. To discard or revise this fundamental principle is to turn one's back completely on Marxism-Leninism.

**Here we would humbly offer Comrade Togliatti some sincere advice. Do not be so arrogant as to declare that you will not do what was done in the Russian October Revolution. Be a little more modest, and remember what the great Lenin taught in 1920, ". . . On certain very essential questions of the proletarian revolution, all countries will inevitably have to perform what Russia has performed." (Lenin, "Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile**



Disorder," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, p.352.)

To support the principles of proletarian strategy put forward by Lenin and corroborated by the victory of the Great October Revolution, or to oppose them—here is the fundamental difference between the Leninists on the one hand and the modern revisionists and their followers on the other.

## VI. Despise the Enemy Strategically, Take Him Seriously Tactically

### An Analysis of History

Lately, some people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists again burst out in noisy opposition to the thesis of the Chinese Communists that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. One moment they say this is "underestimation of imperialism" and "demobilizing the masses," and the next moment they say this is "slighting the strength of socialism." One moment they call it a "pseudo-revolutionary" attitude and the next moment a thesis based on "fear." These people are now vying to outshout and outdo each other, with the late-comers striving to be first and prove they are not falling behind. Their arguments are full of inconsistencies and practically nonsensical—and all for the purpose of demolishing this thesis. But all their arguments suffer from one fatal weakness—they never dare to touch seriously on Lenin's scientific conclusion that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism.

Comrade Togliatti started this attack at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.I. He said, "It is wrong to state that imperialism is simply a paper tiger which can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder." (Togliatti's report to the Xth Congress of the C.P.I.) He also said, "If they are paper tigers, why so much work and so many struggles to combat them?" (Togliatti, "Let Us Lead the Discussion Back to Its Real Limit.") Now if Comrade Togliatti were a schoolboy answering a question about the meaning of a word in his language lesson, his answer that a paper tiger is a tiger made of paper might well gain him a good mark. But when it comes to examining theoretical questions, philistinism will not do. Comrade Togliatti claims "to have made a positive contribution to the deepening and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class" (*ibid.*), and yet he gives a schoolboy's answer to a serious theoretical question. Could there be anything more ludicrous?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers has always been crystal clear. This is what he said:

For struggle against the enemy, we formed over a long period the concept that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but that tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that in regard to the whole we should despise the enemy but that in regard to each and every concrete question we must take them seriously. If with regard to the whole we do not despise the enemy we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two persons. Yet in those early days they declared that capitalism would be over-

thrown all over the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism if we do not take them seriously. (Comrade Mao Tse-tung's speech at the 1957 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.)

There are none so deaf as those who will not hear the truth. Who has ever said that imperialism can be overthrown by a mere push of the shoulder? Who has ever said that it is not necessary to exert effort or wage struggles in order to overthrow imperialism?

Here we should like to quote another passage from Comrade Mao Tse-tung:

Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature—they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time. In past history, before they won state power and for some time afterwards, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were vigorous, revolutionary and progressive; they were real tigers. But with the lapse of time, because their opposites—the slave class, the peasant class and the proletariat—grew in strength step by step, struggled against them and became more and more formidable, these ruling classes changed step by step into the reverse, changed into reactionaries, changed into backward people, changed into paper tigers. And eventually they were overthrown, or will be overthrown, by the people. The reactionary, backward, decaying classes retained this dual nature even in their last life-and-death struggles against the people. On the one hand, they were real tigers; they ate people, ate people by the millions and tens of millions. The cause of the people's struggle went through a period of difficulties and hardships, and along the path there were many twists and turns. To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than a hundred years and cost them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949. Look! Were these not living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers? But in the end they changed into paper tigers, dead tigers, bean-curd tigers. These are historical facts. Have people not seen or heard about these facts? There have indeed been thousands and tens of thousands of them! Thousands and tens of thousands! Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers. On this we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers which can eat people. On this we should build our tactical thinking. (cf. Mao Tse-tung, "Talk With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, introductory note on pp.98-99.)

This passage shows the dual nature of the three major exploiting classes not only in the various stages of their historical development but also in their last life-and-death struggle with the people. Clearly, this is a Marxist-Leninist analysis of history.

### The Watershed Between Revolutionaries and Reformists

History teaches us that all revolutionaries—including, of course, bourgeois revolutionaries—come to be revolutionaries because in the first place they dare to despise the enemy, dare to struggle and dare to seize victory. Those who fear the enemy and dare not struggle,

**dare not seize victory, can only be cowards, can only be reformists or capitulationists; they can certainly never be revolutionaries.**

Historically, all true revolutionaries have dared to despise the reactionaries, to despise the reactionary ruling classes, to despise the enemy, because in the historical conditions then obtaining which confronted the people with a new historical task, they had begun to be aware of the necessity of replacing the old system with a new one. When there is need for change, change becomes irresistible and it comes about sooner or later whether one likes it or not. Marx said: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." (Marx and Engels, "Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.363.) The necessity for social change calls forth revolutionary consciousness in men. Before the historical conditions have made a change necessary, no one can pose the task of revolution or make a revolution, however hard he tries. But when the historical conditions have made a change necessary, revolutionaries and vanguard fighters of the people come forward who dare to denounce the reactionary ruling classes and dare to regard them as paper tigers. And in everything they do, these revolutionaries always raise the people's spirits and puncture the enemy's arrogance. This is historical necessity, this is the inevitability of social revolution. As to when the revolution will break out, and whether after its outbreak it succeeds quickly or takes a long time to succeed or whether it meets many serious difficulties, setbacks and even failures before final victory, etc.—all these questions depend upon various specific historical factors. But even if they meet with serious difficulties, setbacks and failures in the course of a revolution, all true revolutionaries will nevertheless dare to despise the enemy and will remain firm in their conviction that the revolution will triumph.

**After the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927 the Chinese people and the Chinese Communist Party were in extreme difficulties. At that time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out to us, as a proletarian revolutionary should, the future course of development of the revolution and the prospects of victory. He maintained that it would be one-sided and wrong to exaggerate the subjective strength of the revolution and belittle the strength of the counter-revolution. At the same time, he stressed that it would be one-sided and wrong to exaggerate the strength of the counter-revolution and underestimate the potential strength of the revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's appraisal was later confirmed by the development and victory of the Chinese revolution. At present, the world situation as a whole is most favourable for the people of all countries. It is strange that in this favourable situation certain people should concentrate their efforts on wantonly attacking the thesis of despising the enemy strategically, should exaggerate the strength of imperialism, abet the imperialists and all reactionaries and help the imperialists to frighten the revolutionary people. Instead of enhancing the people's spirits and puncturing the enemy's arrogance, they are encouraging the enemy's arrogance and trying to dampen the people's spirits.**

Lenin said, "Do you want a revolution? Then you *must* be strong!" (Lenin, "No Falsehood! Our Strength Lies in Stating the Truth!", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. IX, p.299.) Why must revolutionaries be strong, why are they necessarily strong? Because revolutionaries represent the new and rising forces in society, because they believe in the strength of the people and because their mainstay is the great strength of the people. The reactionaries are weak, and inevitably so, because they are divorced from the people; however strong they may appear at the moment, they are bound to be defeated in the end. "The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may not appear to be durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing." (Stalin, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," *Problems of Leninism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, p.715.)

Why did Lenin refer time and again to imperialism with such metaphors as a "colossus with feet of clay" and a "bugbear"? In the last analysis, it was because Lenin based himself on the objective laws of social development and believed that the new-born forces of society would eventually defeat the decaying forces of society and that the forces of the people would eventually triumph over the forces ranged against them. And is this not so?

We would like to say to those who are trying to demolish the Chinese Communists' thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers: You ought first to demolish Lenin's thesis. Why don't you directly refute Lenin's thesis that imperialism is a "colossus with feet of clay" and a "bugbear"? What else does this show other than your cowardice in the face of the truth?

For every sober-minded Marxist-Leninist, the metaphors used in Lenin's formulation that imperialism is a "colossus with feet of clay" and a "bugbear" and the metaphor in the Chinese Communists' formulation that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers are valid metaphors. These metaphors are based on the laws of social development and are meant to explain the essence of the problem in popular language. Great Marxist-Leninists and many scientists and philosophers have frequently used metaphors in their explanations, and often in a very precise and profound way.

While compelled to profess agreement with the metaphors used by Lenin to describe the essence of imperialism, some people single out for opposition the metaphor used by the Chinese Communists. Why? Why do these people keep on nagging at it? Why are they making such a hullabaloo about it just now? Besides revealing their ideological poverty, this of course shows that they have a specific purpose of their own.

What is it?

Since the end of World War II the socialist camp has grown much stronger. In the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America, revolutions against the imperialists and their running dogs have been advancing. The manifold irreconcilable contradictions which beset the imperialist countries both internally and externally are like volcanoes constantly threatening the rule of monopoly

capital. The imperialist countries are stepping up the armaments race and doing their best to militarize their national economies. All this is leading imperialism into an impasse. The brains trusts of the imperialists have produced plan after plan to save their masters from the fate that is now confronting them or will confront them, but they have been unable to find for imperialism a real way out of its predicament. In this international situation, certain people, although calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, have in actual fact become muddled and have allowed a kind of *fin de siècle* pessimism to take the place of cool reason. They have no intention of leading the people in delivering themselves from the disasters created by imperialism, and they have no confidence that the people can overcome these disasters and build a new life for themselves. It would be nearer to the truth to say that they are concerned about the fate of imperialism and all reactionaries than to say that they are concerned about the fate of socialism and the people of all countries. **Their purpose in boosting and exaggerating the strength of the enemy and beating the drums for imperialism as they do today is not to oppose "adventurism" but simply to prevent the oppressed people and oppressed nations from rising in revolution; their so-called opposition to adventurism is merely a pretext to achieve their purpose of opposing revolution.**

Speaking of the liberal parties in the Russian Duma (the Tsarist parliament) in 1906, Lenin said,

The liberal parties in the Duma only inadequately and timidly back the strivings of the people; they are more concerned to allay and weaken the revolutionary struggle now proceeding than to destroy the people's enemy. (Lenin, "Resolution (II) of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. on the Attitude Towards the State Duma," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, p.481.)

**Today we find in the ranks of the working-class movement just such liberals as Lenin referred to, to wit, bourgeois liberals. They are more concerned with allaying and weakening the widespread revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people and nations than with destroying the imperialists and the other enemies of the people. Naturally, such persons can hardly be expected to understand the thesis that Marxist-Leninists should despise the enemy strategically.**

### **Magnificent Models**

After railing at the Chinese Communists' thesis of "despising the enemy strategically," some heroes go on to pour out their wrath on the thesis of "taking the enemy seriously tactically." They say that the formulation of "despising the enemy strategically while taking him seriously tactically" is a "double approach" and is "contrary to Marxism-Leninism." Ostensibly, they acknowledge that strategy is different from tactics and that tactics must serve strategic goals. **But in actual fact they obliterate the difference between strategy and tactics and thoroughly confuse the concept of strategy with that of tactics. Instead of subordinating tactics to strategy, they subordinate strategy to tactics. They engross themselves in routine struggles, and in specific struggles they either make endless concessions to the enemy and thus commit the error of capitulationism, or act recklessly and thus commit the error of adventurism. In the last analysis, their purpose is to discard the strategic**

### **principles of revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and the strategic goals of all Communists.**

We have already pointed out that historically all revolutionaries have been revolutionaries because in the first place they dared to despise the enemy, dared to wage struggle and dared to seize victory. Here we would add that, similarly, all successful revolutionaries in history have been successful not only because they dared to despise the enemy but also because on each particular question and in each specific struggle they took the enemy seriously and adopted a prudent attitude. In general, unless revolutionaries, and proletarian revolutionaries in particular, are able to do this, they cannot steer the revolution forward smoothly, but are liable to commit the error of adventurism, thus bringing losses or even defeat to the revolution.

**Throughout their life-long struggles in the cause of the proletariat, Marx, Engels and Lenin always despised the enemy strategically, while taking full account of him tactically. They always fought on two fronts according to the concrete circumstances against Right opportunism and capitulationism and also against "Left" adventurism. In this respect, they are magnificent models for us.**

Marx and Engels ended the *Communist Manifesto* with the celebrated passage:

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.65.)

This has always been the general strategic principle and goal of the whole international communist movement. But in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels also took careful account of the different conditions the Communists in different countries faced. They did not lay down a stereotyped, rigid formula and force it on the Communists of all countries. Marxists have always held that the Communists in each country must define their own specific strategic and tactical tasks at each stage of history in the light of the conditions prevailing in their own country.

Marx and Engels themselves took direct part in the mass revolutionary struggles of 1848-49. While they regarded the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the time as the prelude to a proletarian socialist revolution, they opposed making the slogan, "For a Workers' Republic," an immediate demand. Such was their specific strategy at that time. On the other hand, they opposed attempts to start a revolution in Germany by armed force from outside, characterizing this approach as "playing at revolution." They proposed that the German workers abroad should return to their own country "singly" and throw themselves into the mass revolutionary struggle there. In other words, when it came to concrete tactics, the proposals and the approach of Marx and Engels were radically different from those of the "Left" adventurists. On matters concerning any specific struggle, Marx and Engels always did their best to proceed from a solid basis.

For a while in the spring of 1850, appraising the situation after the failure of the 1848-49 revolution, Marx and Engels held that another revolution was imminent. But by the summer, they saw that an immediate recurrence of revolution was no longer possible. Some people disregarded the objective possibilities and tried to conjure up an "artificial revolution," substituting revolutionary phraseology for the actual state of revolutionary development. They told the workers that they had to seize state power right away, or otherwise they might as well all go to sleep. Marx and Engels firmly opposed such adventurism. As Lenin said:

When the revolutionary era of 1848-49 ended, Marx opposed every attempt to play at revolution (the fight he put up against Schapper and Willich), and insisted on ability to work in the new phase which in a seemingly "peaceful" way was preparing for new revolutions. (Lenin, "Karl Marx," *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Moscow, 1954, p.61.)

In September 1870, a few months prior to the Paris Commune, Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising. But when the workers were compelled to rise, in March 1871, Marx paid glowing tribute to the heaven-storming heroism of the workers of the Paris Commune. In a letter to L. Kugelmann, Marx wrote:

What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused by internal treachery more even than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets, as if there had never been a war between France and Germany and the enemy were not still at the gates of Paris! History has no like example of like greatness! If they are defeated only their "good nature" will be to blame. (Marx and Engels, "Marx to L. Kugelmann," *Selected Correspondence*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.318.)

See how Marx eulogized the workers of the Paris Commune for their heroic scorn of the enemy! Marx made this evaluation of the Paris Commune in the light of the general strategic goal of the international communist movement and said of the struggle of the Paris Commune that "History has no like example of like greatness!"

True, the Paris Commune made several mistakes during the uprising; it failed to march immediately on counter-revolutionary Versailles, and the Central Committee relinquished power too soon. The Paris Commune failed. Yet the banner of proletarian revolution unfurled by the Commune will be for ever glorious.

Marx wrote in *The Civil War in France*:

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them. (Marx and Engels, "The Civil War in France," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p.542.)

Writing in commemoration of the 21st anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels stated:

Its highly internationalist character imparted historical greatness to the Commune. It was a bold challenge to

every kind of expression of bourgeois chauvinism. And the proletariat of all countries unerringly understood this. (Marx and Engels, "In Commemoration of the Twenty-first Anniversary of the Paris Commune," *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXII, p.291.)

But now our Comrade Togliatti seems to feel that Marx's and Engels' high appraisal of the Paris Commune as of universal significance for the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat is no longer worth mentioning.

As Engels pointed out, after the defeat of the Paris Commune the Parisian workers needed a long respite to build up their strength. But the Blanquists advocated a new uprising regardless of the circumstances. This adventurism was sharply criticized by Engels.

During the period of peaceful development of capitalism in Europe and America, Marx and Engels continued their fight on two fronts in the working-class movement. On the one hand, they severely condemned empty talk about revolution and urged that bourgeois legality should be turned to advantage in the fight against the bourgeoisie; on the other hand, they severely — indeed even more severely — condemned the opportunist thinking then dominant in the social-democratic parties, because these opportunists had lost all proletarian revolutionary staunchness, confined themselves to legal struggles, and lacked the determination to use illegal means as well in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

From this it is evident that while Marx and Engels unswervingly adhered to the strategical principles of proletarian revolution at all times, including periods of peaceful development, they also took care to adopt flexible tactics in accordance with the specific conditions of a given period.

As a great Marxist, Lenin most lucidly formulated the revolutionary strategy of the Russian proletariat when he entered the historical arena of proletarian revolutionary struggle. In the concluding remarks of his first famous work, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, he said:

When its advanced representatives have mastered the ideas of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas become widespread, and when stable organizations are formed among the workers to transform the workers' present sporadic economic war into conscious class struggle — then the Russian WORKER, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT (side by side with the proletariat of ALL COUNTRIES) along the straight road of open political struggle to THE VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION (Lenin, *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1960, Vol. I, p.300).

This strategic principle of Lenin's remained the general guide for the vanguard of the Russian proletariat and for the Russian people throughout their struggle for emancipation.

Lenin always firmly upheld this strategic principle. In doing so, he waged uncompromising struggle against the Narodniks, the "legal Marxists," the Economists, the Mensheviks, the opportunists and revisionists of the Second International, and against Trotsky and Bukharin.

In 1902, when the programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was being drawn up, serious differences arose between Lenin and Plekhanov over principles of proletarian strategy. Lenin insisted that the Party programme should include the dictatorship of the proletariat and demanded that it should clearly define the leading role of the working class in the revolution.

During the 1905 Revolution, Lenin in his book, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, reflected the heroic spirit of the Russian proletariat, which had dared to lead the struggle and to seize victory. He put forward a comprehensive theory of proletarian leadership in the democratic revolution and of a worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, thus developing Marxist theory on the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

During World War I, Lenin raised proletarian thinking on strategy to a new level in *The Collapse of the Second International, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and other most important Marxist classics. He held that imperialism was the eve of the proletarian socialist revolution and that it was possible for the proletarian revolution to achieve victory first in one country or in a few countries. These strategic concepts paved the way for the triumph of the Great October Revolution.

There are many more similar examples.

On specific questions of tactics, Lenin always charted a course of action for the proletariat in the light of varying conditions—for example, conditions in which the political party of the proletariat should participate in and in which it should boycott parliament; conditions in which it should form one kind of alliance or another; conditions in which it should make necessary compromises and in which it should reject compromises; in which circumstances it should wage legal struggles and in which illegal struggles, and how it should flexibly combine the two forms of struggle; when to attack and when to retreat or advance by a roundabout path; etc. In his book, *“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin elucidated these questions profoundly and systematically.

He rightly stated:

. . . First, that in order to fulfil its task the revolutionary class must be able to master *all* forms, or aspects, of social activity without any exception . . . ; second, that the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner. (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 2, pp.424-25.)

Discussing the various forms of struggle, Lenin said further that it was necessary for all Communists to investigate, analyse, explore, appraise and grasp the national characteristics of their own country, when taking concrete measures for the purpose of accomplishing the general international task, of overcoming opportunism and ‘Left’ dogmatism within the working-class movement and of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was absolutely wrong not to take the national characteristics of one’s own country into account in the struggle.

In the light of Lenin’s ideas, it can be seen that the concrete tactics of proletarian parties all have as their aim the organization of the masses by the millions, the maximum mobilization of allies, and the maximum isolation of the enemies of the people, the imperialists and their running dogs, so as to attain the general strategic goal of the emancipation of the proletariat and the people. To use Lenin’s own words:

. . . The forms of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively particular and temporary causes, but the *substance* of the struggle, its class *content*, positively *cannot* change while classes exist. (Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,” *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, Part 2, p.509.)

### The Strategic and Tactical Thinking of the Chinese Communists

Basing themselves on the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the Chinese Communists formulated the strategy and tactics of the Chinese revolution in concrete revolutionary practice.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung outlined the strategic and tactical thinking of the Chinese Communists in the following passage:

Imperialism throughout the world and the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique in China are already rotten and have no future. We have reason to despise them and we are confident and certain that we shall defeat all the domestic and foreign enemies of the Chinese people. But with regard to each part, each specific struggle (military, political, economic or ideological), we must never take the enemy lightly; on the contrary, we should take the enemy seriously and concentrate all our strength for battle in order to win victory. While we correctly point out that, strategically, with regard to the whole, we should take the enemy lightly, we must never take the enemy lightly in any part, in any specific struggle. If, with regard to the whole, we overestimate the strength of our enemy and hence do not dare to overthrow him and do not dare to win victory, we shall be committing a Right opportunist error. If, with regard to each part, each specific problem, we are not prudent, do not carefully study and perfect the art of struggle, do not concentrate all our strength for battle and do not pay attention to winning over all the allies that should be won over (middle peasants, small independent craftsmen and traders, the middle bourgeoisie, students, teachers, professors and ordinary intellectuals, ordinary government employees, professionals and enlightened gentry), we shall be committing a “Left” opportunist error. (Mao Tse-tung, “On Some Important Problems of the Party’s Present Policy,” *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, pp.181-82.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung here provides a very clear-cut and unequivocal explanation of the struggle of the proletariat as a whole, that is, of the question of strategy, and an equally clear-cut and unequivocal explanation of each part, each specific problem, in the struggle of the proletariat, that is, of the question of tactics.

**Why is it that when taking the situation as a whole, i.e., strategically, we can despise the enemy? Because imperialism and all reactionaries are decaying, have no future and can be overthrown. Failure to see this results in lack of courage to wage revolutionary struggle, loss**

of confidence in the revolution and the misleading of the people. Why is it that in specific struggles, i.e., tactically, we must not take the enemy lightly but must take him seriously? Because the imperialists and the reactionaries still control their apparatus for ruling and all the armed forces, and can still deceive the people. To overthrow the rule of imperialism and reaction, the proletariat and the masses of the people must go through bitter and tortuous struggles. The imperialists and the reactionaries will not automatically tumble from their thrones.

A revolutionary party will never carry on revolutionary struggle if it has abandoned the strategic goal of overthrowing the old system, and no longer believes that the enemy can be overthrown or that victory can be won. **A revolutionary party will never achieve the hoped for victory if it merely proclaims the target of revolution without seriously and prudently coming to grips with the enemy in the course of revolutionary struggle and without gradually building up and expanding the revolutionary forces, if it treats revolution simply as a matter for talk, or if it simply strikes out blindly.** This is even more true of proletarian parties. If a proletarian party takes full account of the enemy on each and every concrete problem of revolutionary struggle and is skilful in combating him while adhering to proletarian strategic principles, then, to use Comrade Mao Tse-tung's words, "as time goes on, we shall become superior as a whole" (Mao Tse-tung, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.161), even though the proletariat may be inferior in strength at the outset. In other words, if the enemy is taken seriously in matters of tactics, on concrete questions of struggle, and if every effort is made to win in each specific struggle, the victory of the revolution can be accelerated, and it will not be retarded or postponed.

By taking full account of the enemy tactically and winning victories in specific struggles, the proletarian parties enable the masses in ever greater number to learn from their own experience that the enemy can be defeated, that there is every reason and every basis for despising the enemy. In China there are the ancient proverbs: Great undertakings have small beginnings; a huge tree grows from tiny roots; the nine-story castle begins as a pile of earth; a thousand-*li* journey starts with a step. These hold true for revolutionary people who want to overthrow the reactionaries, that is to say, they can achieve their objective of finally defeating the reactionaries only by waging one struggle after another, by waging innumerable specific struggles, and by striving for victory in each one of them.

In "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "Our strategy is 'pit one against ten' and our tactics are 'pit ten against one' — this is one of our fundamental principles for gaining mastery over the enemy." He added, "We use the few to defeat the many — this we say to the rulers of China as a whole. We use the many to defeat the few — this we say to each separate enemy force on the battlefield." (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. I.) Here he was dealing with principles of military struggle, but they also apply to the political struggle. History shows that, to begin with, all revolutionaries, including bourgeois revolutionaries, are always in the minority, and the forces they lead

are always comparatively small and weak. If in their strategy they lack the will to "use the few to defeat the many" and to "pit one against ten" in the struggle against the enemy, they grow flabby, impotent, and are incapable of accomplishing anything, and they will never become the majority. On the other hand, in their tactics, that is, in specific struggle, unless revolutionaries learn to organize the masses, to rally all possible allies, and to utilize the objectively existing contradictions among the enemies, unless they can apply the method of "using the many to defeat the few" and of "pitting ten against one" in struggle, and unless they are able to make all the necessary preparations for specific struggles, they will never be able to gain victory in each specific struggle and multiply their small victories into large ones, and there will be the danger that their own forces will be smashed one by one by the enemy and the strength of the revolution dissipated.

### A Mirror

To sum up on the matter of the relationship between strategy and tactics, it is vital that the party of the proletariat pay the greatest attention to the ultimate goal of emancipating the working people and that it possess the courage and the conviction needed to overwhelm the enemy. It should not become so engrossed in minor and immediate gains and victories as to lose sight of the ultimate goal, and it should never lose faith in the triumph of the people's revolution merely because of the enemy's temporary and outward strength. At the same time, the party of the proletariat must pay serious attention to the very small, day-to-day struggles, even if they do not appear to be very noteworthy. In every specific struggle, it must prepare adequately, do a good job of uniting the masses, study and perfect the art of struggle and do all it can to win, so that the masses will receive constant education and inspiration. It should take full cognizance of the fact that a large number of specific struggles, including the very small ones, can merge and develop into a force that will rock the old system.

It is, therefore, perfectly clear that strategy and tactics are different from each other and, at the same time, united. This is an expression of the very dialectics with which Marxist-Leninists examine questions. Certain people describe "despising the enemy strategically and taking him seriously tactically" as "scholastic philosophy" or a "double approach." But just what kind of "philosophy" and what "single approach" they have, are beyond us.

In his essay, "Our Revolution," Lenin had the following to say about the heroes of opportunism:

They all call themselves Marxists, but their conception of Marxism is impossibly pedantic. They have completely failed to understand what is decisive in Marxism: namely, its revolutionary dialectics. (Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, Moscow, 1951, p.547.)

In the same article, Lenin also said:

Their whole conduct betrays them as cowardly reformists, who are afraid to take the smallest step away from the bourgeoisie, let alone break with it, and at the same time mask their cowardice by the wildest rhetoric and braggadocio. (*ibid.*, p.548.)

To those who are attacking the Chinese Communist Party we commend these lines of Lenin's for careful read-



ing. Assuredly, they may well serve as a political mirror for certain people.

## VII. A Struggle on Two Fronts

### Modern Revisionism Is the Main Danger in the International Working-Class Movement

The Communist Party of Italy is one of the largest parties in the capitalist world today. It conducted heroic struggles in the extremely dark days of fascist rule. It has a glorious tradition of struggle. During World War II it led the Italian people in courageous armed uprisings and guerrilla warfare against fascism. The people's armed forces arrested Mussolini and sentenced that fascist monster to death.

It is only natural that with this record of militant struggle the Italian Communist Party has won the sympathy and support of the people.

Since World War II, capitalism in Italy has found itself in a period of peaceful development, during which the C.P.I. has done a great deal of work, utilizing legal forms of struggle. In the activities of working-class parties, positive use can be made of conditions of legal struggle, but if while waging legal struggle the working-class party is lacking in revolutionary vigilance and firmness, these conditions may produce a contrary and negative effect. Marx, Engels and Lenin all constantly alerted the proletariat to guard against this.

**Why is it that since World War II revisionism has been publicly recognized as the main danger in the international working-class movement? Because first, the legal struggles in many countries have made available manifold historical experience and taught many lessons; second, the conditions that breed opportunism and revisionism actually exist; and third, there has in fact emerged modern revisionism, represented by the Tito clique.**

Judging from the views of Togliatti and certain other comrades, we may say frankly that the danger of revisionism exists in the Communist Party of Italy, too. Certain comrades in the French Communist Party have recently written a series of articles attacking revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and attacking the Chinese Communists. The points they make on a number of basic questions concerning the international communist movement virtually duplicate those made by Togliatti and other comrades. Moreover, certain other people have recently come to the fore in the international communist movement who, as Lenin put it, "all belong to the same family, all extol each other, learn from each other, and together take up arms against 'dogmatic' Marxism." (Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?", *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, Vol. V, footnote on p.353.) This is a strange phenomenon, but if one has some knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and if one analyses this phenomenon, one can see clearly that it is not accidental.

**Modern revisionism has appeared in some capitalist countries, and it can appear in socialist countries, too. The Tito clique was the first to hoist the revisionist flag, and they have made previously socialist Yugoslavia gradually change its character. Politically, the Tito clique has long since become an accomplice of the United States**

**and other imperialist countries, and, economically, it has turned Yugoslavia into an appendage of U.S. imperialism, gradually transforming her economy into what the imperialists call a liberalized economy.**

At the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in May 1921 Lenin said:

Milyukov was right. He very soberly takes into account the degree of political development and says that stepping stones in the shape of Socialist-Revolutionism and Menshevism are necessary for the reversion to capitalism. The bourgeoisie needs such stepping stones, and whoever does not understand this is stupid. (Lenin, "Speech in Reply to the Debate on the Report on the Food Tax at the All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P. (B), May 27, 1921," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. IX, p.222.)

These telling words of Lenin's read like a prophecy of what the Tito clique was to do a few decades later.

How is it that revisionism can appear in socialist countries, too? As the Moscow Declaration of 1957 points out, "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source."

Reiterating the important thesis of the Moscow Declaration that revisionism is the main danger in the international working-class movement, the Moscow Statement of 1960 condemns the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism. The Statement is completely correct in pointing out:

After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries.

The Moscow Statement also says,

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

This solemn document bears the signatures of the delegates of 81 Parties, including the Italian and French Parties, as well as of the Parties of socialist countries. But the ink was hardly dry on these signatures when the leading members of some of these Parties rushed to fraternize with the Tito clique.

Comrade Togliatti has openly declared that the stand taken in the 1960 Moscow Statement towards the Tito clique of Yugoslavia was "mistaken," saying that "to direct invectives against 'the Tito clique' will not enable us to advance one step, but will make us go back a great deal." ("Apropos the Criticism of the 'Tito Clique,'" in *Rinascita*, October 13, 1962.) Some people have said that

"the Yugoslav Communists have taken steps towards rapprochement and unity with the entire world communist movement," and that between the Tito clique and themselves there is "coincidence and proximity" of positions "on a series of vitally important international problems." What they are doing belies their commitments; they are treating the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement merely as empty official formalities. In order to justify themselves, they have no scruples about prostituting the Moscow Statement and, instead of regarding revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement and working-class movement today, they allege that "latterly the danger of dogmatism and sectarianism has become the main danger." (The resolution adopted by the session of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party on December 14, 1962.) At the recent Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany when the Chinese Communist Party delegate in his speech upheld the Moscow Statement and condemned the revisionism of the Tito clique, he was treated with extreme rudeness. But the delegate of the Tito clique to the congress was given a wild ovation. Can this be called "consistent observance of the commonly co-ordinated line of the communist movement"? Everybody knows that this action, which can only grieve our own people and gladden the enemy, was deliberately planned.

The result of all this is that the market-price of the Tito clique has suddenly shot up tenfold. The purpose of those who have brought this about is to install the Tito clique as their ideological centre; they are trying to replace Marxism-Leninism by modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique and to replace the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement by the Tito clique's modern revisionist programme, or by something else.

**Don't some people frequently say that we ought to "synchronize our watches"? Now there are two watches; one is Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration and Statement, and the other is modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique. Which is to be the master watch? The watch of Marxism-Leninism, of the Moscow Declaration and Statement, or the watch of modern revisionism?**

Some people forbid us to fight modern revisionism, or even to mention the old-line revisionism of the period of the Second International, while they themselves revive the tunes of the old-line revisionists and revel in playing them over and over again. Writing of Proudhonism in the preface to the second edition of *The Housing Question*, Engels said, "Whoever occupies himself in any detail with modern socialism must also acquaint himself with the 'surmounted standpoints' of the movement." He believed that these standpoints or the tendencies emanating from them would inevitably reappear time and again so long as the conditions giving rise to them remained in society. "And if later on this tendency takes on a firmer shape and more clearly defined contours . . . it will have to go back to its predecessors for the formulation of its programme." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, pp.549, 550). Since we are fighting modern revisionism, we must naturally study its predecessors, the lessons of history, and how the modern revisionists have gone back to their predecessors. Should we

not do so? Why is this "a completely impermissible historical comparison"? Does it violate any taboo?

Since they are replaying the tunes of such old revisionists as Bernstein and Kautsky, and are using the latter's viewpoints, methods and language to attack and smear the Chinese Communists and all Marxist-Leninists, they cannot reasonably forbid us to answer them with Lenin's criticism of the old revisionists.

Lenin said:

In exactly the same way the Bernsteinians have been dinning into our ears that it is they who understand the proletariat's true needs and the tasks of building up its forces, the task of deepening all the work, preparing the elements of a new society, and the task of propaganda and agitation. Bernstein says: we demand a frank recognition of that which is, thus sanctifying "movement" without any "ultimate aim," sanctifying defensive tactics alone, preaching the tactics of fear "lest the bourgeoisie recoil." So the Bernsteinians raised an outcry against the "Jacobinism" of the revolutionary Social-Democrats, against "publicists" who fail to understand the "workers' initiative," etc., etc. In reality, as everyone knows, revolutionary Social-Democrats have never even thought of abandoning day-by-day, petty work, the mustering of forces, etc., etc. All they demanded was a clear understanding of the ultimate aim, a clear presentation of the revolutionary tasks; they wanted to raise the semi-proletarian and semi-petty-bourgeois strata to the revolutionary level of the proletariat — not to reduce the latter level to that of opportunist considerations such as "lest the bourgeoisie recoil." Perhaps the most vivid expression of this rift between the intellectual opportunist wing and the proletarian revolutionary wing of the Party was the question: *dürfen wir siegen?* "Dare we win?" Is it permissible for us to win? Would it not be dangerous for us to win? Ought we to win? This question, so strange at first sight, was however raised and had to be raised, because the opportunists were afraid of victory, were frightening the proletariat away from it, predicting that trouble would come of it and ridiculing slogans that straightforwardly called for it. (Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. IX, pp.107-08.)

This quotation from Lenin can very well explain the revival of Bernsteinism in a new historical context and the essence of the difference between Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists.

### **"Our Theory Is Not a Dogma, But a Guide to Action"**

Some people who call themselves creative Marxist-Leninists say that times have changed, that conditions are no longer the same and that there is no need to repeat the fundamental principles stated by Marx and Lenin. They object to our quoting from the Marxist-Leninist classics to explain issues and brand this practice "dogmatism."

To discard Marxism-Leninism on the pretext of shaking off the chains of "dogma" is a convenient trick. Lenin exposed this trick of the opportunists long ago:

What a handy little word "dogma" is! One need only slightly twist an opposing theory, cover up this twist with the bogey of "dogma" — and there you are! (Lenin, "Revolutionary Adventurism," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1961, Vol. VI, p.197.)

We all know that the days when Lenin lived and fought were greatly different from the days of Marx and Engels. Lenin developed Marxism comprehensively and carried it forward to a new stage, the stage of Leninism. In line with the new conditions and the new features of his own time, Lenin wrote many outstanding works which greatly enriched the treasury of Marxist theory and our ideas on the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution, and he advanced new policies and tasks for the international working-class movement. Lenin quoted abundantly and repeatedly from Marx and Engels in order to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism, to safeguard its purity and to oppose its distortion and adulteration by the opportunists and revisionists. For example, in *The State and Revolution* in particular, a great work of fundamental importance for Marxist theory, Lenin was not sparing in the use of quotations. In the very first chapter he wrote:

In view of the unprecedentedly widespread distortion of Marxism, our prime task is to *re-establish* what Marx really taught on the subject of the state. For this purpose it will be necessary to quote at length from the works of Marx and Engels themselves. Of course, long quotations will render the text cumbersome and will not help at all to make it popular reading, but we cannot possibly avoid them. All, or at any rate, all the most essential passages in the works of Marx and Engels on the subject of the state must without fail be quoted as fully as possible, in order that the reader may form an independent opinion of the totality of the views of the founders of scientific Socialism and of the development of those views, and in order that their distortion by the now prevailing "Kautskyism" may be documentarily proved and clearly demonstrated (Lenin, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, Vol. II, Part 1, p.203).

It can be seen that Lenin quoted at great length from Marx and Engels at a time when Marxism was being outrageously adulterated. Today, when Leninism is being outrageously adulterated, no revolutionary Marxist-Leninist can fail to quote from Lenin. The reason is that this practice sharply brings out the contrast between the truth of Marxism-Leninism and the fallacies of revisionism and opportunism.

Clearly, it is no crime to quote from the literature of Marxism-Leninism, as some people allege. The question is whether quotations are called for, how Marxist-Leninist literature is quoted and whether it is quoted correctly.

There are people who deliberately evade the themes we are confirming by our quotations from the literature of Marxism-Leninism. They dare not even publish the quotations, but simply attack us for "citing paragraph after paragraph." ("In What Epoch Do We Live?" in *France Nouvelle*, January 16, 1963.) *L'Humanité*, the organ of the French Communist Party, has gone so far as to accuse the Chinese Communist Party of "denaturing Marxism-Leninism to the point of retaining only rigid formulas, and assuming the right to be high priests in charge of enunciating dogmas." ("Our Unity and Our Discipline," *L'Humanité*, January 16, 1963.) What does it actually signify — this lashing out at us with acrimonious phrases in which they so obviously revel? It simply reflects their state of mind and their feelings, that is, the violent repugnance with which they react the moment they see the words of Marx, Engels and Lenin. These people who

object to others as priests of Marxism-Leninism are themselves serving as priests of anti-Marxism-Leninism and of bourgeois ideology.

While violently attacking us for quoting from the literature of Marxism-Leninism to explain fundamental Marxist-Leninist truths, some people constantly repeat what is in essence the language of Bernstein, Kautsky and Tito, from whom they have borrowed many of their basic ideas.

There are even those who violently assail what they term "dogmatism," yet who delight in biblical dogmas. Their heads are full of the Bible and similar matter but contain not a shadow of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin constantly cited the words of Marx and Engels, "our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action." Now that certain persons are spreading the notion that we are "dogmatists," we have to tell them bluntly: The Chinese Communist Party is rich in experience in combating dogmatism. More than 20 years ago, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we fought an outstanding struggle against dogmatism, and ever since we have paid attention to struggles of this kind.

The true Marxist-Leninist does not recline on a bed of books. He should be skilful in using the Marxist-Leninist method to analyse the concrete environment, situation and conditions of the time, both at home and abroad, in studying the varied experience of actual struggles, and in thus working out his own line of action. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly reminded us of Lenin's celebrated dictum: "The most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism, is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions." (Lenin, "Communism," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXXI, p.143.) He criticized the dogmatists in our ranks as "lazy-bones" who "refuse to undertake any painstaking study of concrete things." (Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. I.)

In a speech in 1942, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized dogmatism in these sharp terms:

Even now, there are not a few people who still regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist works as a ready-made panacea which, once acquired, can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance, and we should conduct a campaign to enlighten them. It is precisely such ignorant people who take Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. To them we should say bluntly, "Your dogma is worthless." Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stated that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. But such people prefer to forget this statement which is of the greatest, indeed the utmost importance. Chinese Communists can be regarded as linking theory with practice only when they become good at applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the Chinese revolution and when, furthermore, through serious research into the realities of China's history and revolution, they do creative theoretical work to meet China's needs in different spheres. Merely talking about linking theory and practice without actually doing anything about it is of no use, even if one goes on talking for a hundred years. To oppose the subjectivist, one-sided approach to problems, we must demolish dogmatist subjectiveness and

one-sidedness. (Mao Tse-tung, *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962, pp. 12-13.)

Those who are now vigorously railing at dogmatism have absolutely no idea of what it really is, let alone of how to combat it. They keep on proclaiming that times and conditions have changed and that one must "develop Marxism-Leninism creatively," but actually they are using bourgeois pragmatism to revise Marxism-Leninism. They are utterly unable to grasp the essence of the changed times and conditions, to understand the contradictions in the contemporary world or to locate the focus of these contradictions. They cannot grasp the laws of development of things that objectively exist and they stagger to and fro, plunging now into capitulationism and now into adventurism. Accommodating themselves to the immediate turn of events, they forget the fundamental interests of the proletariat, and this is characteristic both of their thinking and their actions. Thus they do not have a policy founded on principle, frequently fail to differentiate between the enemy, ourselves and our friends, and even reverse the relationships between the three, treating enemies as if they were our own people and vice versa.

Lenin said that the philistine "is never guided by a definite world outlook, by principles of integral Party tactics. He always swims with the stream, blindly obeying the mood of the moment." (Lenin, "The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Working Class," *Collected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1962, Vol. XI, p. 390.) Now, are not these people exactly the same?

### **Integrating the Universal Truth of Marxism-Leninism With the Concrete Practice of the Revolution in One's Own Country**

The well-known thesis of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution was formulated in our Party by Comrade Mao Tse-tung more than 20 years ago. It sums up the experience of the Chinese Communist Party in its long struggle on two fronts, against both Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism.

**This thesis, the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in one's own country, has two aspects. On the one hand, it is necessary at all times to adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, or otherwise the error of Right opportunism or revisionism will be committed; on the other hand, it is necessary at all times to start from real life, link oneself closely with the masses, constantly sum up the experience of mass struggle and examine one's work in the light of practical experience, or otherwise the error of dogmatism will be committed.**

Why must one adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism? Why must one adhere to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism? Lenin said:

The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. (Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p.78).

The universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, or in other words, its fundamental principles, are not figments of the imagination or subjective fancies; they are scientific conclusions that sum up the experience of mankind in its entire history of struggle and sum up the experience of the international proletarian struggle.

From Bernstein onwards, all sorts of revisionists and opportunists have used the pretext of so-called new changes and new situations to assert that the universal truth of Marxism has been outmoded. Yet events throughout the world in the past century and more have all proved the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to be valid everywhere. It applies both to the West and to the East; it has been confirmed not only by the Great October Revolution but also by the Chinese revolution and by all the triumphant revolutions in other countries; it has been confirmed not only by the entire record of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries of Europe and America but also by the great revolutionary struggles which are going on in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In 1913 Lenin wrote in "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" that each period of world history since the birth of Marxism "has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the period of history that is now ensuing." (Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p. 88.)

In 1922 Lenin stated in his article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism":

... Marx . . . applied [dialectics] so successfully that now every day of the awakening to life and struggle of new classes in the East (Japan, India and China)—i.e., the hundreds of millions of human beings who form the greater part of the population of the world and whose historical passivity and historical torpor have hitherto been conditions responsible for stagnation and decay in many advanced European countries—every day of the awakening to life of new peoples and new classes serves as a fresh confirmation of Marxism. (*ibid.*, pp.559-60.)

The events of recent decades have further confirmed Lenin's conclusions.

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 sums up our historical experience and sets forth the principal laws universally applicable to the countries advancing on the road to socialism. The first general law thus stated in the Declaration is: "Guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat." What Togliatti and other comrades call "the Italian road to socialism" is precisely the abandonment of this most fundamental principle, the principle of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, and a negation of this most fundamental law reaffirmed in the Moscow Declaration.

Those who oppose the universal truth and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism inevitably oppose the integral Marxist-Leninist world outlook and "undermine its basic theoretical foundations—dialectics, the doctrine that historical development is all-embracing and full of contradictions." (Lenin, "Certain Features of the

Historical Development of Marxism," *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1951, p.294.)

This is what the Moscow Declaration says with regard to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook:

The theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism. This world outlook reflects the universal law of development of nature, society and human thinking. It is valid for the past, the present and the future. Dialectical materialism is countered by metaphysics and idealism. Should the Marxist political party in its examination of questions base itself not on dialectics and materialism, the result will be one-sidedness and subjectivism, stagnation of human thought, isolation from life and loss of ability to make the necessary analysis of things and phenomena, revisionist and dogmatist mistakes and mistakes in policy. Application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of the Party functionaries and the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

**Today, there are people who treat this extremely important thesis in the Moscow Declaration with the utmost contempt and place themselves in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. They detest materialist dialectics, dismissing it as a "double approach" and "a scholastic philosophy." They are just like the old-line revisionists who "treated Hegel as a 'dead dog,' and while they themselves preached idealism, only an idealism a thousand times more petty and banal than Hegel's, they contemptuously shrugged their shoulders at dialectics."** (Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. I, Part 1, p.89.) **It is clear that these people attack materialist dialectics because they want to sell their modern revisionist stuff.**

Of course, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook is opposed to dogmatism as well as to revisionism.

Adhering to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, we must oppose dogmatism, because dogmatism is divorced from actual revolutionary practice and regards Marxism-Leninism as a lifeless formula.

Marxism-Leninism is full of vitality, and it is invincible because it grows out of and develops in revolutionary practice, ceaselessly drawing new lessons from new revolutionary practice and therefore ceaselessly enriching itself.

Lenin often said that Marxism combines the greatest scientific strictness with the revolutionary spirit. He said,

Marxism differs from all other socialist theories in that it represents a remarkable combination of complete scientific soundness in the analysis of the objective conditions of things and of the objective course of evolution and the very definite recognition of the significance of the revolutionary energy, the revolutionary creative genius and the revolutionary initiative of the masses — and also, of course, of individuals, groups, organizations and parties which are able to discover and establish contact with these classes. (Lenin, "Against the Boycott," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. III, p.414.)

Here Lenin explained in exact terms that we must adhere to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and at the same time oppose dogmatism, which is divorced

from revolutionary practice and from the masses of the people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's explanation of the inter-relationship between adherence to the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and opposition to dogmatism fully conforms with Lenin's view. In discussing the question of cognition, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual expansion from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of the common essence and prevent that knowledge from withering or petrifying. (Mao Tse-tung, "On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. I.)

The mistake of the dogmatists lies in turning the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, i.e., the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, into something withered and petrified.

Dogmatists distort Marxism-Leninism in another way. Divorcing themselves from reality, they contrive abstract, empty formulas, or mechanically take the experience of foreign countries and force it on the masses. Thereby, they cramp the mass struggle and prevent it from achieving the results it should. Leaving time, place and conditions out of account, they obstinately stick to one form of struggle. They fail to understand that in every country the mass revolutionary movement takes highly complex forms and that all the forms of struggle required have to be used simultaneously and complement each other; they fail to understand that when the situation changes it is necessary to replace old forms of struggle by new ones, or to utilize the old forms but fill them with new content. Therefore, they very often cut themselves off from the masses and from potential allies, so falling into errors of sectarianism, and they just as often act recklessly, so falling into errors of adventurism.

If the leading body of a Party commits errors of dogmatism, it becomes unable to grasp the laws of the actual revolutionary movement. In the field of theory, it is bound to be lifeless, and in the field of tactics, it is bound to make all kinds of mistakes. A Party of this kind cannot possibly lead the people's revolutionary movement in its country to victory.

During the struggle against dogmatism inside the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung placed stress on integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; he pointed out that the Marxist-Leninist attitude is to employ the Marxist-Leninist theory and method for systematic and comprehensive investigation and study of the environment. He said:

With this attitude, one studies the theory of Marxism-Leninism with a purpose, that is, to integrate Marxist-Leninist theory with the actual movement of the Chinese revolution and to seek from this theory the stand, viewpoint

and method with which to solve the theoretical and tactical problems of the Chinese revolution. Such an attitude is one of shooting the arrow at the target. The "target" is the Chinese revolution, the "arrow" is Marxism-Leninism. We Chinese Communists have been seeking this arrow because we want to hit the target of the Chinese revolution and of the revolution of the East. To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. "Facts" are all the things that exist objectively; "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and "to seek" means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw correct conclusions from it. (Mao Tse-tung, *Reform Our Study*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1962. pp.8-9.)

The history of the Chinese Communist Party, the history of the triumph of the Chinese revolution, is one of ever closer integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Without such integration it is inconceivable that the Chinese revolution could have triumphed.

### Principle and Flexibility

It is a well-known precept of Lenin's that "a policy based on principle is the only correct policy." Marxism was able to triumph over all sorts of opportunist trends and become predominant in the international working-class movement precisely because Marx and Engels persevered in policies based on principle. Leninism was able to continue to triumph over all sorts of revisionist and opportunist trends, to guide the October Revolution to victory and become predominant in the international working-class movement in the new era precisely because Lenin, and Stalin after him, carrying forward the cause of Marx and Engels, persevered in policies based on principle.

What does policy based on principle mean? It means that every policy we put forward and decide upon must be based on the class stand of the proletariat, on the fundamental interests of the proletariat, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and on the fundamental standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. The party of the proletariat must not confine its attention to immediate interests, veer with the wind and abandon fundamental interests. It must not simply submit to the immediate turn of events, approving or advocating one thing today and another tomorrow, and trading in principles as though they were commodities. In other words, the party of the proletariat must maintain its political independence, differentiating itself ideologically and politically from all other classes and their political parties—not only from the landlords and the bourgeoisie, but also from the petty bourgeoisie. Inside the Party, the Marxist-Leninists must draw a line between themselves and both the Right and "Left" opportunists, who reflect various shades of non-proletarian ideology

Only yesterday, some people put their signatures to the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, expressing approval of the fundamental revolutionary principles set forth in these two documents, and yet today they are trampling these principles underfoot. Hardly had they signed the Moscow Statement and agreed to the conclusion that the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have betrayed Marxism-Leninism than they turned round and treated the Titoite renegades as dearly beloved brothers. They concurred in the conclusion in the Statement that "*U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world,*" and yet soon afterwards they maintained that the destiny of mankind depended on "co-operation," "confidence" and "agreement" between the heads of the two powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. They concurred in the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries laid down in the Declaration and the Statement, and yet soon afterwards they abandoned these principles and at their own Party congress publicly and wilfully condemned another fraternal Party and country. Though talking glibly about never allowing ideological differences between fraternal Parties to spread to the economic field and to state relations, these people have wantonly torn up numerous economic and technological contracts between fraternal countries, and have even gone to such lengths as virtually breaking off diplomatic relations with a fraternal country. They concurred in the conclusion in the Declaration and the Statement that revisionism is the main danger in the international working-class movement, and yet soon afterwards they began to spread the idea that "dogmatism is the main danger" far and wide. And so on and so forth. Is there any principle in these actions of theirs? What kind of principles are their policies based on?

While adhering to policies based on principle, the party of the proletariat must also exercise flexibility. In revolutionary struggle, it is wrong to refuse to adjust to changing circumstances or reject roundabout ways of advance. The difference between Marxist-Leninists and the opportunists and revisionists is that the former stand for flexibility in carrying out policies based on principle, while the latter practise a flexibility which is actually the abandonment of principled policies.

Flexibility based on principle is not opportunism. On the contrary, one can make opportunist mistakes if one does not know how to exercise the necessary flexibility and to suit the action to the moment, in the light of the specific conditions and on the basis of persevering in principle, and one will thus bring unwarranted losses to the revolutionary struggle.

Compromise is an important problem in the practice of flexibility.

**Marxist-Leninists approach the question of compromise as follows: They never reject any necessary compromise that serves the interests of the revolution, namely, principled compromise, but they will never tolerate a compromise that amounts to betrayal, namely, unprincipled compromise.**

Lenin well said



It is not without cause that Marx and Engels are considered to be the founders of scientific socialism. They were merciless enemies of all phrase-mongering. They taught us to pose the questions of socialism (including those of socialist tactics) in a scientific way. And in the seventies of the last century, when Engels had to analyse the revolutionary manifesto of the French Blanquists, refugees after the Commune, he said without mincing words that their boastful declaration "no compromises" was an empty phrase. One must not renounce compromise. The problem is to be able, through all the compromises which are sometimes necessarily imposed by force of circumstances even on the most revolutionary party of the most revolutionary class, through all such compromises to be able to preserve, strengthen, temper and develop the revolutionary tactics and organization, the revolutionary consciousness, determination and preparedness of the working class and its organized vanguard, the Communist Party. (Lenin, "On Compromises," *Collected Works*, 4th Russian ed., Vol. XXX, p.458.)

How can a Marxist-Leninist Party which conscientiously seeks truth from facts reject all compromises indiscriminately? The editorial on "Leninism and Modern Revisionism" in the first issue of *Hongqi* for 1963 contains this passage:

In the course of our protracted revolutionary struggle, we Chinese Communists reached compromises on many occasions with our enemies, internal and external. For example, we came to a compromise with the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique. We came to a compromise, too, with the U.S. imperialists, in the struggle to aid Korea and resist U.S. aggression.

It continues:

It is precisely in accordance with Lenin's teachings that we Chinese Communists distinguish between different kinds of compromise, favouring compromises which are in the interests of the people's cause and of world peace, and opposing compromises that are in the nature of treachery. It is perfectly clear that only those guilty, now of adventurism, now of capitulationism, are the ones whose ideology is Trotskyism, or Trotskyism in a new guise.

As is well known, Trotsky played a most despicable role in connection with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as well as in the entire history of the Russian revolution and of Soviet construction. He opposed Lenin and Leninism on all the main problems. He denied that the socialist revolution and socialist construction could triumph first in one country. He lacked all principle on the question of revolutionary strategy and tactics, and this manifested itself now in "Left" adventurism, now in Right capitulationism. In the case of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, he first blindly pressed for an adventurist policy; then, in violation of Lenin's directive, he refused to sign the treaty at the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and at the same time made the traitorous statement to the German side that the Soviet Republic was preparing to end the war and demobilize. The German aggressors thereupon became more arrogant and laid down even more onerous terms. Such was Trotskyism in the matter of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

**Now certain people have arbitrarily lumped together the Cuban events and those of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, although the two were completely different in nature, and they have drawn an historical analogy in which they**

**liken themselves to Lenin and brand those who opposed sacrificing the sovereignty of another country as Trotskyites. This is most absurd.**

Lenin was perfectly right in wanting the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to be signed. Lenin's purpose was to win time to consolidate the victory of the October Revolution. In his "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary Wars" written in 1936, Comrade Mao Tse-tung strongly criticized "Left" opportunist errors. Referring to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, he said: "After the October Revolution, if the Russian Bolsheviks had acted on the opinions of the 'Left Communists' and refused to sign the peace treaty with Germany, the new-born Soviets would have been in danger of early death." (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. I.) Events confirmed Lenin's foresight, and the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk proved to be a revolutionary compromise.

**How about the Cuban events? That was a completely different story. In the Cuban events, the Cuban people and their leaders were determined to fight to the death to defend the sovereignty of their fatherland; they displayed great heroism and high principle. They did not commit the error of adventurism, nor did they commit the error of capitulationism. But during the Cuban events certain people first committed the error of adventurism, and then committed the error of capitulationism, wanting the Cuban people to accept humiliating terms which would have meant the sacrifice of the sovereignty of their country. These persons have tried to cover themselves by using the example of Lenin's conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but this has turned out to be a clumsy sleight-of-hand, for they have actually uncovered themselves all the more clearly.**

Comrade Liu Shao-chi explained the relation between principle and flexibility, on the basis of the experience of the Chinese revolution, in the following remarks which he made at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of China:

Our flexibility is based on definite principles. Flexibility without principle, concessions and compromises that go beyond principle, and ambiguity or confusion of principle, are all wrong. The criterion or measure for all changes in policy or tactics is Party principle. And Party principle is the criterion and the measure of flexibility. For example, one of our unchangeable principles is to fight for the greatest interests of the largest majority of the people. This unchangeable principle is the criterion and the measure by which the correctness of all changes in policy or tactics should be judged. All changes in keeping with this principle are correct while those conflicting with it are wrong. (Liu Shao-chi, *On the Party*.)

This is our view on the relation between principle and flexibility, and we believe it to be the Marxist-Leninist view.

## VIII. Workers of All Countries, Unite!

"Workers of All Countries, Unite!" The great call made by Marx and Engels more than a century ago will for ever remain the guiding principle which the international proletariat must observe.

The Chinese Communist Party consistently upholds the unity of the international communist movement, the safeguarding of which it regards as its sacred duty. We reaffirmed our stand on this question in the editorial of the *Renmin Ribao* on January 27, 1963:

Are the ranks of the international communist movement to be united or not? Is there to be genuine unity or sham unity? On what basis is there to be unity—is there to be unity on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, or “unity” on the basis of the Yugoslav revisionist programme or on some other basis? In other words, are differences to be ironed out and unity strengthened, or are differences to be widened and a split created?

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

This is the unswerving position of the Chinese Communist Party on the question of the unity of the international communist movement.

**After launching and organizing a series of preposterous attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, certain people have suddenly begun to strike up the tune of “unity.” But what they call unity consists of giving themselves permission to abuse others, while not allowing the others to reason with them. By “calling a halt to open polemics,” they mean permission for themselves to attack others as they please, while the others are forbidden to make whatever reply is called for. While talking of unity, they continue to undermine unity; while talking of calling a halt to open polemics, they continue their open attacks. What is more, they say threateningly that unless those whom they attack keep their mouths shut, it will be “imperative to continue and even step up decisive struggle against them.”**

**But when it comes to the Tito clique, these people really seek unity. Their desire is unity with the Tito clique, not the unity of the international communist movement; they desire unity on the basis of modern revisionism as represented by the Tito clique, or unity on the basis of the baton of certain people, and not unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. In practice, therefore, their unity is a pseudonym for split. Using unity as a smokescreen, they are trying to cover up their actual splitting activities.**

Revisionism represents the interests of the labour aristocracy, and hence also the interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Revisionist trends run counter to the interests of the proletariat, of the masses of the people and of all oppressed people and nations. Ever since the days of Bernstein, Marxism-Leninism has been repeatedly assailed by revisionist and opportunist trends, each in its day stirring up a commotion. But history has confirmed that Marxism-Leninism represents the highest interests of the largest number of people and is invincible. One after the other, all the revisionists and opportunists who challenged revolutionary Marxism-Leninism have col-

lapsed in the face of the truth and have been spurned by the people. Bernstein was a failure and so were Kautsky, Plekhanov, Trotsky, Bukharin, Chen Tu-hsiu, Browder, and all the others. Those who are launching the new attacks on revolutionary Marxism-Leninism today are just as overbearing and arrogant; yet, if they continue to turn a deaf ear to all advice and persist in their wrong course, it can be said for certain that their end will be no better than that of the old revisionists and opportunists.

There are people who are working frantically to create a split by resorting to many dishonest tricks, spreading rumours, slinging mud and sowing dissension. But the overwhelming majority of the people of the world want unity in the international communist movement and are opposed to a split. The activities of certain people in creating a split, attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal Parties, and undermining the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, go against the desires of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world and are extremely unpopular. People can see through their tactics of sham unity and actual splitting. Historically, none of the splitters who betrayed Marxism-Leninism ever came to a good end. We have already advised those who are working to create a split to “rein in at the brink of the precipice,” but certain people are unwilling to take our advice. They believe they are not yet at the “brink,” and they are not ready “to rein in.” Apparently they are very much interested in continuing their splitting activities. Let them go on creating trouble if they must. The masses, and history, will pass judgment on them.

Something very interesting is happening on a wide scale in the international communist movement today. What is this interesting phenomenon? The doughty warriors who claim to possess the totality of Marxist-Leninist truth are mortally afraid of the articles written in reply to their attacks by the so-called dogmatists, sectarians, splitters, nationalists, and Trotskyites whom they have so vigorously condemned. They dare not publish these articles in their own newspapers and journals. As cowardly as mice, they are scared to death. They dare not let the people of their own countries read our articles, and they have tried to impose a watertight embargo. They are even using powerful stations to jam our broadcasts and prevent their people from listening to them.

Dear friends and comrades, who claim to possess the whole truth! Since you are quite definite that our articles are wrong, why don't you publish all these erroneous articles and then refute them point by point, so as to inculcate hatred among your people against the “heresies” you call dogmatism, sectarianism and anti-Marxism-Leninism? Why do you lack the courage to do this? Why such a stringent embargo? You fear the truth. The huge spectre you call “dogmatism,” i.e., genuine Marxism-Leninism, is haunting the world, and it threatens you. You have no faith in the people, and the people have no faith in you. You are divorced from the masses. That is why you fear the truth and carry your fear to such absurd lengths. Friends, comrades! If you are men enough, step forward! Let each side in the debate publish all the articles in which it is criticized by the other side, and let the people in our own countries and the whole world think over and judge who is right and who is

wrong. That is what we are doing, and we hope you will follow our example. We are not afraid to publish everything of yours in full. We publish all the "masterpieces" in which you rail at us. Then, in reply we either refute them point by point, or refute their main points. Sometimes we publish your articles without a word in answer, leaving the readers to judge for themselves. Isn't that fair and reasonable? You, modern revisionist masters! Do you dare to do the same? If you are men enough, you will. But having a guilty conscience and an unjust case, being fierce of visage but faint of heart, outwardly as tough as bulls but inwardly as timid as mice, you will not dare. We are sure you will not dare. Isn't that so? Please answer!

The Chinese Communist Party believes that there is a way to settle the differences. It is the way pointed out in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. As we are nearing the end of this article, we should like to quote one of the important conclusions of the Moscow Declaration:

After exchanging views, the participants in the meeting arrived at the conclusion that in present conditions it is expedient, besides bilateral meetings of leading workers and exchange of information, to hold, as the need arises, more representative conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties to discuss current problems, share experience, study each other's views and attitudes and concert action in the joint struggle for the common goals — peace, democracy and socialism.

We should also like to quote the paragraphs of the Moscow Statement dealing with the fundamental principles guiding the relations among fraternal Parties:

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world communist movement. Unity and solidarity redouble the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realization. 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.

Since the incident over a year ago where one Party at its own congress publicly attacked another fraternal Party, we have appealed many times for the resolution of the differences between the fraternal Parties in accordance with the principles and procedures set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, as just quoted. We have pointed out many times that public and unilateral attacks on any fraternal Party are not helpful in resolving problems, and are not helpful to unity. We have constantly maintained that the fraternal Parties having disputes or differences ought to stop the public debate and return to the course of inter-Party consultation, and that in particular the Party which first launched the attack ought to take the initiative. Our opinion today remains the same.

In April 1962, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party stated to the fraternal Party concerned that we wholeheartedly supported the proposal made by several Parties that a meeting of the fraternal Parties be convened, and that we believed it was appropriate to consider the convening of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to discuss problems of common concern.

At that time, we said that the convening of a meeting of the fraternal Parties and the success of such a meeting would depend on the prior overcoming of many difficulties and obstacles and on the doing of a great deal of preparatory work.

At that time, we expressed the hope that the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries which had disputes would thenceforth take steps, however small, to help ease relations and restore unity, so as to improve the atmosphere and prepare the conditions for the convening of such a meeting and for its successful outcome.

At that time, we proposed that the fraternal Parties concerned should stop making public attacks.

At that time, we maintained that for some of the fraternal Parties to conduct such bilateral or multilateral talks as were needed to exchange opinions would also help to make such a meeting successful.

These views which we put before the fraternal Party concerned in April 1962 are entirely reasonable and fully conform with the provisions on the settlement of differences between fraternal Parties set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. We have since

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

*Following is a translation of an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on March 8, 1963. Subheads and bold-face emphases are ours. — Ed.*

ON January 9 of this year, the Communist Party of the United States of America issued a statement publicly attacking the Communist Party of China. Certain comrades of the C.P.U.S.A. have also made a number of other attacks on the Chinese Communist Party in recent months.

The C.P.U.S.A. statement was particularly vicious in slandering the Chinese Communist Party for the position it took on the Caribbean crisis. It said that the Chinese Communist Party had advocated "a policy leading to thermonuclear war," and that "this pseudo-Left dogmatic and sectarian line of our Chinese comrades dovetails with that of the most adventurous U.S. imperialists and gives the latter encouragement."

What kind of talk is this? People cannot help being amazed that U.S. Communists should utter such shameful slanders.

The position of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people on the Caribbean crisis was very clear. We supported the five just demands of the Cuban Revolutionary Government, we were against putting any faith in Kennedy's sham "guarantee," and we were against imposing "international inspection" on Cuba. From the outset we directed the spearhead of our struggle against U.S. imperialism, which was committing aggression against Cuba. We neither advocated the sending of missiles to Cuba, nor obstructed the withdrawal of so-called offensive weapons. We opposed adventurism, and we also opposed capitulationism. We would like to ask: What was wrong with this correct position of ours? How can it be described as "a policy leading to thermonuclear war"? What was there about it that "dovetails" with the line of U.S. imperialism?

### Toeing the U.S. Imperialist Line

**It is not hard to see that there is a line which does dovetail with that of U.S. imperialism. On the question of the Caribbean crisis, certain leaders of the C.P.U.S.A.**

explained these views many times, and we now do so again.

Recently, the leaders of certain Parties have expressed a certain degree of acceptance of our views. If this is sincere and if the deeds suit the words, that will certainly be very good. It is what we have always hoped for.

We hold that the ranks of the international communist movement must unite. They will certainly unite!

Let us proclaim:

Workers of all countries, unite!

All oppressed nations and all oppressed people, unite!

All Marxist-Leninists, unite!

**direct the spearhead of their struggle, not against U.S. imperialism, the criminal aggressor against Cuba, but against the Chinese Communist Party, resolute supporter of Cuba. In this respect, aren't they really cheek by jowl with the most adventurous U.S. imperialists?**

**Since you describe the Chinese comrades, who resolutely oppose U.S. imperialism, as being "pseudo-Left," we would like to ask: What do you consider to be the genuine Left? Can it be that those using the sovereignty of another country as a counter for political bargaining with U.S. imperialism are to be considered the genuine Left? To act in that way is indeed to be through-and-through pseudo-Left, or rather, genuinely Right.**

It is no accident that certain leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. have attacked the Chinese Communist Party on the question of the Caribbean crisis. This action is a reflection of their completely wrong understanding of U.S. imperialism and their completely incorrect class stand.

### Prettifying U.S. Imperialism

For a considerable period, certain leaders of the C.P.U.S.A., in their reports and statements, have been doing their utmost to prettify U.S. imperialism, to prettify Kennedy, the U.S. imperialist chieftain, and to affirm their loyalty to the U.S. ruling class.

They spoke highly of Kennedy's idea of the "New Frontier," which extends U.S. spheres of influence over all six continents, saying that "to speak of a New Frontier, as Kennedy does, is good." (Gus Hall's Report to the National Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., *Political Affairs*, February 1961.)

They praised Kennedy's inaugural speech, which called on the people of the United States to make sacrifices to promote the cause of U.S. imperialism, saying that it was "a possible opening on the road to peace" (*The Worker*, January 29, 1961).

They sang the praises of Kennedy's State of the Union message of 1961, where he proclaimed the dual tactics of counter-revolution in the words, "The American eagle holds in his right talon the olive branch, while in his left

is held a bundle of arrows," and they said it was "welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the American people" (*The Worker*, February 5, 1961).

They held that the Kennedy Administration's "main mass support" is "the working class, the Negro people and the peace forces," and they wished for "a shift in policy . . . in the direction of peace and democracy" on the part of the Kennedy government (Policy Statement by Gus Hall, *The Worker*, July 16, 1961).

From Kennedy's 1962 State of the Union message, in which he announced the stepping-up of armaments to realize the U.S. goal of world domination, they drew the conclusion that the Kennedy Administration "can be compelled to yield to the pressures from the people" (*Political Affairs*, February 1962).

They described Kennedy's action supporting the Rockefeller group in its attack on the Morgan group during the 1962 incident concerning steel prices as having "awakened anew the anti-monopoly tradition of Americans" and "rendered a great service" (*The Worker*, April 22, 1962).

Commenting on Kennedy's 1963 State of the Union message in which he expressed the intention of using nuclear blackmail to establish "a world of order" led by the United States, they played up his statement that "we seek not the worldwide victory of one nation or system but a worldwide victory of man" and described this deceitful rubbish as Kennedy's "recognition of world realities," which "most people were happy to hear" and which inspired "hopefulness" (*The Worker*, January 20, 1963).

They said that they would "any day and every day" take an oath not to advocate using violence to overthrow the U.S. Government. When someone asked "If the Soviet Union attacked the U.S. whom would you support?", the answer was, "I would defend my country if I thought it was being attacked. . ." (*The Worker*, February 24, 1963).

### **In Contravention of the Moscow Declaration and The Moscow Statement**

Statements of this sort by certain leaders of the C.P.U.S.A., prettifying U.S. imperialism and affirming their loyalty to it, have nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist conclusions about U.S. imperialism set forth in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement.

Presenting a scientific analysis of U.S. imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the greatest international exploiter, the centre of world reaction, the chief bulwark of modern colonialism, the international gendarme, the main force of aggression and war, and the enemy of the people of the world.

Under the cover of "peace" and "disarmament" U.S. imperialism is stepping up arms expansion and war preparation. It is preparing for wars of all types, for all-out nuclear war as well as for limited wars, and it is already waging "special warfare." In order to suppress and sabotage the national-democratic revolutionary movement and to promote neo-colonialism all over the world, and especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. imperialism is using dual counter-revolutionary tactics — using the dollar and armed force both alternately and simultaneously — and is employing the revisionist clique

of Yugoslavia as its special detachment for this purpose. U.S. imperialism is voraciously plundering the wealth of many countries, not even sparing its own allies. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has taken the place of German, Japanese and Italian fascism and rallied around itself all the most reactionary and decadent forces of the world. Today it is the most parasitic, most decadent and most reactionary of all capitalisms. It is the main source of aggression and war.

From the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, from its policies of aggression and war and from world realities, more and more people everywhere are coming to see ever more clearly that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of all oppressed people and nations, the common enemy of the people of the world and the chief enemy of world peace.

### **Can the Pentagon Act Independently of the White House?**

Some leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. will probably say they do not deny that U.S. imperialism is perpetrating the crimes of aggression and war in various parts of the world. When they mention these criminal activities, however, they always hasten to add that these evils are not the work of the President of the United States, but of the "ultra-Rights," or are done by the President under the pressure of the "ultra-Rights." They have described the former U.S. President, Eisenhower, and the present President, Kennedy, as being "sober-minded," "realistic" and "sensible." These leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. often speak of "two power centres in Washington, one in the White House, the other in the Pentagon," and speak of "the Pentagon generals and admirals and their coalition partners among the ultra-Rights, the Republican leaders and Wall Street" as forces independent of the White House. We should like to ask: Do the leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. still accept the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and admit that the U.S. state apparatus is the tool of monopoly capital for class rule? And if so, how can there be a president independent of monopoly capital, how can there be a Pentagon independent of the White House, and how can there be two opposing centres in Washington?

Let us consider, for instance, the present U.S. President, Kennedy. He is himself a big capitalist. It is he who ordered the armed invasion of Cuba in 1961, and who ordered the military blockade and war provocations against Cuba in 1962. It is he who has carried on the inhuman "special war" in southern Viet Nam, who has used the "United Nations force" to suppress the national-liberation movement in the Congo, and who has organized "special forces" in a frantic effort to crush the national-democratic revolutionary movement in various Latin American countries. Every year since he became president, Kennedy has greatly increased U.S. military spending. Kennedy's 1963-64 budget calls for military expenditures of over \$60 billion, or over 30 per cent more than the \$45.9 billion for military expenditures provided in Eisenhower's 1959-60 budget. These facts show that the Kennedy Administration is still more adventurous in pursuing policies of aggression and war.

### **Not Different From Browder's Revisionism**

In trying so hard to portray Kennedy as "sensible," are not these C.P.U.S.A. leaders serving as willing apolo-

gists for U.S. imperialism and helping it to deceive the people of the world?

The fact that certain leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. are so eager to prettify U.S. imperialism and so eager to affirm their loyalty to the ruling class of the United States recalls to mind Browder's revisionism, which existed in the C.P.U.S.A. for some time. This renegade from the working class, Browder, denied Lenin's basic thesis that imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism, and denied that U.S. capitalism is imperialist in its nature, maintaining that it "retains some of the characteristics of a young capitalism" and would play a progressive role and be a force for world peace for a long time. Why don't these leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. stop and consider: What is the difference between your present embellishment of U.S. imperialism and Browder's revisionism?

It is obvious that differences of principle exist in the international communist movement today as to how to appraise and how to deal with U.S. imperialism, the arch enemy of the people of the world.

### **What Attitude to Be Adopted Towards Revolutionary Propaganda?**

We have always held that, basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism and taking things as they really are, we must constantly expose the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism, constantly expose the policies of aggression and war pursued by U.S. imperialism, including its government leaders, and clearly point out that U.S. imperialism is the chief enemy of the people of the world. We must ceaselessly carry on revolutionary propaganda among the masses of the people, arm them ideologically, enhance their revolutionary staunchness and vigilance, and mobilize them in waging the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

However, there are certain persons who, while calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, do their utmost not only to prettify U.S. imperialism, but also to stop others from unmasking it. They smear revolutionary propaganda against U.S. imperialism as being nothing but "curses," "vilification," "verbal weapons," "incantations," "cardboard swords," etc., etc. And they add, "vituperation alone, however just, will not weaken imperialism." In the eyes of these persons, aren't all the revolutionary propaganda undertaken by Communists since the time of the *Communist Manifesto*, all the writings of Marx and Engels exposing capitalism, all Lenin's works exposing imperialism, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement jointly drawn up by the Communist Parties of the world—aren't they all only "cardboard swords"? **These persons completely fail to understand that once the theory of Marxism-Leninism grips the masses of the people a tremendous material force is generated. Once armed with revolutionary ideas, the masses of the people will dare to struggle and to seize victory, and they will accomplish earth-shaking feats. What then is the purpose of these persons in opposing the exposure of imperialism and in opposing revolutionary propaganda of any kind? It can only be to prevent the people from waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Clearly, such a stand is completely contrary to Marxism-Leninism.**

### **Correct Understanding of a Tit-for-Tat Struggle**

We have always held, moreover, that we must rely on the masses of the people to wage a tit-for-tat struggle

against imperialism and its running dogs. This is the basic lesson the Chinese people have drawn from their 120 years of struggle against imperialism and its running dogs. It is also the common lesson which all oppressed nations and people of the world have drawn from their struggles against imperialism and its running dogs. **The imperialists and the reactionaries in every country use every available means and method against the revolutionary people. It is therefore imperative for the revolutionary people of all countries to study and master every means and method of struggle that can hurt the enemy and protect and develop their own forces. Examples are: to oppose the counter-revolutionary united front of imperialism and its running dogs by a revolutionary united front of the masses against imperialism and its running dogs, to oppose dual counter-revolutionary tactics with dual revolutionary tactics, to counter a war of aggression with a war of self-defence, to counter negotiation with negotiation, to oppose counter-revolutionary propaganda with revolutionary propaganda, etc. That is what we mean by "tit for tat."** Experience has demonstrated that only thus can we temper and expand the forces of the people, accumulate and enrich our revolutionary experience and win victory for the revolutionary cause. And only thus can we puncture the arrogance of imperialism, stop imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace.

Certain persons, however, deliberately misrepresent and attack our view that a tit-for-tat struggle has to be waged against imperialism, charging that we are opposed to negotiations with the imperialists. Following them, the C.P.U.S.A. in its statement also misrepresents and attacks this view of ours without any valid grounds. Actually, these persons are not unaware that the Chinese Communist Party has consistently approved of negotiations between socialist and imperialist countries, including summit meetings of great powers, in order to settle international disputes peacefully and relax international tension. They are also aware that the Chinese Government has made positive efforts and important contributions to this end.

### **Why These Attacks on the Correct Stand of the C.P.C.?**

Why then do these persons keep on distorting and attacking this correct stand of ours?

The basic reason is that there is a difference of principle between them and us on the question of the fundamental policy for fighting imperialism and defending world peace. We place our confidence in the great strength of the masses. We hold that in fighting imperialism and defending world peace we should rely mainly on the unity and struggle of the people of all countries, and on the concerted struggle of the socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movements and all peace-loving forces. In contrast, these persons have no confidence in the masses and pin their hopes, not on the unity and struggle of the masses, but mainly on the "wisdom" and "goodwill" of the imperialists and on talks between the heads of two great powers. They are infatuated with the idea of summit meetings of great powers and laud them as marking "a new stage," "a turning point in the history of mankind" and opening "a new stream in world history."

In their opinion, the course of history and the fate of mankind are determined by two great powers and two



“great men.” In their opinion, the statement that all countries are independent and equal irrespective of size is an empty phrase, and the hundred and more countries in the world ought to allow themselves to be ordered about by these two great powers. In their opinion, the statement that the masses are the makers of history is another empty phrase, and every matter under the sky can be settled if the two “great men” sit together. Isn’t this great-power chauvinism? Isn’t this the doctrine of power politics? Does this have anything in common with Marxism-Leninism? Actually, there is nothing new about this view, it has been copied from the renegade Browder. Browder said long ago that the “alliance” of the two greatest powers in the world “will be a great fortress for the collective security and progress of all peoples in the postwar world,” and that “the future of the world” depended upon the “friendship, understanding and co-operation” of the two greatest powers.

### Fancy Talk

With an ulterior purpose, the statement of the C.P.U.S.A. referred to Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao. It said that the Chinese comrades were “correctly, not following the adventurous policy in Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao that they advocate for others. Why this double standard approach?”

We know from what quarter they have learnt this ridiculous charge. And we know, too, the purpose of the person who manufactured it.

Here we should like to answer all those who have raised this matter.

For us there never has been a question of a “double standard.” We have only one standard, whether in dealing with the question of Taiwan, whether in dealing with the questions of Hongkong and Macao, or whether in dealing with all international questions, and that standard is Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, the interests of the Chinese people and of the people of the world, the interests of world peace and the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries. In international struggles we are opposed both to adventurism and to capitulationism. These two hats can never fit our heads.

### History of Imperialist Aggression Against China

Inasmuch as some persons have mentioned Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao, we are obliged to discuss a little of the history of imperialist aggression against China.

In the hundred years or so prior to the victory of the Chinese revolution, the imperialist and colonial powers—the United States, Britain, France, Tsarist Russia, Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain and Portugal—carried out unbridled aggression against China. They compelled the governments of old China to sign a large number of unequal treaties—the Treaty of Nanking of 1842, the Treaty of Aigun of 1858, the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858, the Treaty of Peking of 1860, the Treaty of Ili of 1881, the Protocol of Lisbon of 1887, the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, the Convention for the Extension of Hongkong of 1898, the International Protocol of 1901, etc. By virtue of these unequal treaties, they annexed Chinese territory in the north, south, east and west and held leased territories on the seaboard and in the hinterland of China. Some seized Taiwan and the

Penghu Islands, some occupied Hongkong and forcibly leased Kowloon, some put Macao under perpetual occupation, etc., etc.

At the time the People’s Republic of China was inaugurated, our Government declared that it would examine the treaties concluded by previous Chinese governments with foreign governments, treaties that had been left over by history, and would recognize, abrogate, revise or renegotiate them according to their respective contents. In this respect, our policy towards the socialist countries is fundamentally different from our policy towards the imperialist countries. When we deal with various imperialist countries, we take differing circumstances into consideration and make distinctions in our policy. As a matter of fact, many of these treaties concluded in the past either have lost their validity, or have been abrogated or have been replaced by new ones. With regard to the outstanding issues, which are a legacy from the past, we have always held that, when conditions are ripe, they should be settled peacefully through negotiations and that, pending a settlement, the status quo should be maintained. Within this category are the questions of Hongkong, Kowloon and Macao and the questions of all those boundaries which have not been formally delimited by the parties concerned in each case. As for Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, they were restored to China in 1945, and the question now is the U.S. imperialist invasion and occupation of them and U.S. imperialist interference in China’s internal affairs. We Chinese people are determined to exercise our sovereign right to liberate our own territory of Taiwan; at the same time, through the ambassadorial talks between China and the United States in Warsaw we are striving to solve the question of effecting the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. Our position as described above accords not only with the interests of the Chinese people but also with the interests of the people of the socialist camp and the people of the whole world.

Why is it that after the Caribbean crisis this correct policy of ours suddenly became a topic of discussion among certain persons and a theme for their anti-China campaign?

### Lifting Up a Rock Only to Crush One’s Own Feet

These heroes are apparently very pleased with themselves for having picked up a stone from a cesspool, with which they believe they can instantly fell the Chinese. But whom has this filthy stone really hit?

You are not unaware that such questions as those of Hongkong and Macao relate to the category of unequal treaties left over by history, treaties which the imperialists imposed on China. It may be asked: In raising questions of this kind, do you intend to raise all the questions of unequal treaties and have a general settlement? Has it ever entered your heads what the consequences would be? Can you seriously believe that this will do you any good?

Superficially, you seem to agree with China’s policy on Hongkong and Macao. Yet, you compare it with India’s liberation of Goa. Anyone with a discerning eye can see at once that your sole intention is to prove that the Chinese are cowards. To be frank, there is no need for the Chinese people to prove their courage and staunchness in combating imperialism by making a show of force on the questions of Hongkong and Macao. The imperialists, and

the U.S. imperialists in particular, have had occasion to sample our courage and staunchness. Shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people, the finest sons and daughters of the Chinese people fought for three years and shed their blood on the battlefields of Korea to repulse the U.S. aggressors. Don't you feel it "stupid" and "deplorable" on your part to taunt us on the questions of Hongkong and Macao?

We know very well, and you know too, that **you are, to put it plainly, bringing up the questions of Hongkong and Macao merely as a fig-leaf to hide your disgraceful performance in the Caribbean crisis. But all this is futile.** There is an objective criterion for truth, just as there is for error. What is right cannot be made to look wrong, nor can wrong be made to look right. To glory in your disgraceful performance will not add to your prestige. How can the correct policy of the Chinese people on the questions of Hongkong and Macao be mentioned in the same breath with your erroneous policy on the Caribbean crisis? How can such a comparison help you to whitewash yourselves? Our resolute defence of our sovereignty in the matter of Taiwan is completely consistent with our resolute support of the Cuban people in defending their sovereignty during the Caribbean crisis. How can this be described as having a "double standard"?

#### **Who Really Follow the "Double Standard"?**

**We say to these friends who are acting the hero, it is you, and not we, who really have a "double standard."** With regard to the U.S. imperialists, one day you call them pirates and the next you say they are concerned for peace. As for revolutionary Cuba, you say that you support her five demands for safeguarding her independence and sovereignty, but on the other hand you try to impose "international inspection" on her. With regard to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, you speak of "fraternal China" and "friendly India" on the one hand, but on the other you maliciously attack China and support the Indian reactionaries in divers ways. As for Hongkong and Macao, while you ostensibly speak for China, you are actually stabbing her in the back. Are you not applying a "double standard" in all your actions? Is this not a manifestation of dual personality?

The Chinese Communists and the Chinese people and the Communists and people of the United States are fighting on the same front against U.S. imperialism. We highly esteemed Comrade William Z. Foster, builder of the C.P.U.S.A. and outstanding leader of the U.S. proletariat. We have not forgotten that the U.S. Communists represented by him warmly supported us Chinese people in the difficult years of our revolution and laid the foundation for friendship between the Chinese and the U.S. Parties and between the Chinese and American peoples. U.S. Communists are now being savagely persecuted by the U.S. Government; we have great sympathy for them in their difficult position. In a statement issued a year ago, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party condemned the U.S. Government for its outrageous persecution of the U.S. Communists. The Chinese people also launched a mass movement in support of the U.S.

Communist Party. But, for reasons beyond us, the leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. did not think it worth while to inform its members and the people of the United States of the support given to the U.S. Party by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

#### **What Is Expected of the U.S. Working Class**

The leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. assert that they are conscious of their international obligations in the heartland of the world's most powerful and arrogant imperialism. We will of course be glad if they indeed have a correct understanding of their obligations. In the United States, there is a powerful working class, there are extensive democratic and progressive social forces, and there are many fair-minded and progressive people in the fields of science, art, journalism, literature and education. In the United States, there are large-scale workers' struggles, there is the ever growing struggle of the Negro people, and there is the movement for peace, democracy and social progress. In the United States, there is a social basis for a broad united front against monopoly capital and against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. And there are not a small number of genuine communists, both inside and outside the Communist Party of the United States, who firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism and dogmatism. The leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. can show that they really understand their international obligations and are fulfilling them, if they carry on and enrich the revolutionary tradition of Comrade Foster; if they identify themselves with the masses, rely on them and do arduous revolutionary work among them; if they combat the corrosive influence of the bourgeoisie and the poison of reformism in the working-class movement and eliminate the revisionist influence of the Lovestones and Browders from their ranks; and if they develop the revolutionary struggle of the American people against their imperialist ruling class and co-ordinate this struggle in the heartland of U.S. imperialism with the international fight of all people against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese people and the people throughout the world have the highest hopes for the working class and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the United States.

Today, the urgent task confronting the Communists of all countries is to unite the people of the whole world, including the American people, in the broadest possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States. The great slogan "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" inspires the people of the socialist countries and the proletariat of all countries, inspires the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, and rallies them all to fight shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States.

We Communists throughout the world must unite. We must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement and direct the spearhead of our struggle against the imperialists headed by the United States. We must carry through to final victory the great cause of the people of all countries for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

# A MIRROR FOR REVISIONISTS

*Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on March 9. Subheads and emphases are ours.—Ed.*

**I**N the past 12 months, the revisionist clique headed by Dange have seized the leadership of the Communist Party of India by taking advantage of the large-scale campaign launched by the ruling groups of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords against China, against communism and against the Indian people. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people and embarked on the road of national chauvinism and class capitulationism, thus creating complete chaos in the Indian Communist Party. Their intention is to turn the Indian Communist Party into an appendage of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords and a lackey of the Nehru government.

## An Indenture to Sell Themselves

How low have Dange and company sunk? Let us first look at Dange's letter of greetings to Nehru, dated November 14, 1962, on the occasion of the latter's birthday.

Here is the full text:

My dear Panditji,

Allow me to convey our heartfelt congratulations to you on behalf of the Communist Party of India on your 73rd birthday.

You have inspired and led heroically the Indian nation in its struggle for national freedom.

In the post-independence period you have laid the foundations of a new Indian nation pledged to the policies of planned development, democracy, socialism, peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

Today, in this hour of grave crisis created by the Chinese aggression, the nation has mustered around you as a man to safeguard its honour, integrity and sovereignty.

The Communist Party of India pledges its unqualified support to your policies of national defence and national unity.

May you live long to realize your ideals of building a prosperous and socialist India.

Yours sincerely,

S. A. Dange

Chairman, C.P.I.

**This is not an ordinary courtesy letter. In his letter, (1) Dange completely sides with the Indian reactionaries and violently opposes socialist China; (2) Dange pledges the Indian Communist Party's support to the Nehru government's "policies of national defence and national**

**unity" which are directed against China, against communism and against the Indian people, and what is more, he pledges, not support in general, but "unqualified support"; and (3) Dange places his reliance on Nehru, the representative of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, to bring about socialism in India.**

This letter is the Dange clique's political oath of betrayal of the Indian proletariat; it is an indenture by which they sell themselves to the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords and the Nehru government.

## Apologists and Hatchet Men of the Nehru Government

The Dange clique have revealed their revisionist features more and more clearly ever since the Nehru government provoked the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959. For the past three years or so, they have identified themselves with the stand of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords and served as the apologists and hatchet men of the Nehru government in the anti-China campaign.

(1) In complete disregard of the historical background and the actual situation with regard to the Sino-Indian boundary, the Dange clique have unconditionally supported the Nehru government in its territorial claims on China. With regard to the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, they assert that the illegal McMahon Line is a "virtually demarcated border line" and that it constitutes the "border of India." With regard to the western and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary, they describe the Nehru government's unjustified claims as "correct."

(2) In complete disregard of the fact that the Indian ruling groups have deliberately provoked the border conflict to meet their internal and external political requirements, the Dange clique have tried to shift the responsibility for the border conflict on to China, alleging that China "has a wrong political assessment of the Indo-situation" and "hence this dispute was created."

(3) Instead of revealing the truth about the constant encroachments on China by Indian troops over the past three years and more, the Dange clique, following Nehru, have on a number of occasions most viciously slandered and attacked China to suit the wishes of the reactionary ruling groups of India. They have asserted that China "has committed a breach of faith," that China wants to "settle a border dispute with India by force of arms," that China "insists on the old maps of all their old emperors," that China is given to "a fanatic ambition to restore what it considers its historical geographical national-state form," that China "will lay down his life and fight against his neighbour and brother" "even for an inch of a hedge," that China has been "overcome by something of Bonapartism," that China has taken a

“militarist and recalcitrant attitude” and “now threatens even world peace,” and so on and so forth.

(4) Instead of condemning the Nehru government for its obstinate stand in perpetuating tension along the Sino-Indian border and spurning a peaceful settlement, the Dange clique have done their utmost to justify the Nehru government's attitude of rejecting negotiations. They have expressed their “full support” for the precondition which the Nehru government laid down for the resumption of negotiations.

(5) The Dange clique have shamelessly provided cover for the large-scale attacks launched by Indian troops against China. Seven days after the order issued by Nehru on October 12, 1962, to “free” Chinese territory of the Chinese frontier guards who were safeguarding it, Dange issued a statement, talking about “intrusion by the Chinese forces to the south of the McMahon Line, thus violating Indian territory” and saying that “we take the Indian Government's report as true in this respect.”

(6) After the Nehru government had mounted a large-scale armed attack on China, the Dange clique clamoured for the “defence of the Motherland.” On November 1 and December 2, 1962, and on February 12, 1963, they issued successive anti-China resolutions which pledged full support to the Nehru government's “policies of national defence and national unity,” inveigled the people into making “greater voluntary sacrifices,” supported the Nehru government in “buying arms from any country” and backed its policy of ganging up with U.S. imperialism.

It is only too clear that, cloaked as Communists, the Dange clique have played a role which the Nehru government cannot play in deceiving the people, stirring up reactionary nationalist sentiment and undermining the friendship between China and India. No wonder the Home Minister of the Nehru government said gleefully not long ago: “What better reply could be given to China than the leader of the Communist Party in this country, Mr. Dange, himself condemning the Chinese stand and upholding the viewpoint of the Government of India?”

The national chauvinism of the Dange clique runs counter not only to the interests of the Indian proletariat but also to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people, that is, to the national interests of India. Internally, the national chauvinism of the Dange clique serves the reactionary nationalist purposes of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords; externally, it serves the purposes of U.S. imperialism which is promoting neo-colonialism in India. Their chauvinistic policy is a policy that provides support for the Nehru government in repressing the Indian people and in hiring itself to imperialism at the cost of national independence. Their policy constitutes a betrayal of the international proletariat as well as a betrayal of the Indian people.

### **An Instrument of the Indian Ruling Class for Repressing the Working Class**

From the very first day the Nehru government launched its massive armed attack, the Dange clique, going further and further, have unfolded a whole series of activities in support of the Nehru government's

“policies of national defence and national unity,” and they have pursued their line of class capitulation ever more thoroughly.

Here is a striking example. Four days after the all-out attack by the Indian forces on the Chinese border, and after Nehru had called upon all workers “not to indulge in strikes,” Dange, in his capacity as the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, rushed in with a letter to Nehru. He proposed that a tripartite conference of representatives of workers, employers and the government be held to discuss “the problems of the production front and defence.” The Nehru government readily accepted his advice and lost no time calling such a tripartite meeting. The meeting adopted a unanimous resolution prohibiting the workers from engaging in strikes or slow-downs and urging them to work extra hours, contribute to the “National Defence Fund” and subscribe to “Defence Bonds.”

**By this action Dange directly assisted the Indian big bourgeoisie to sabotage the workers' movement, deprive the workers of their basic rights and intensify the exploitation and enslavement of the working people. This shameless action which Dange took as Chairman of the Communist Party of India and General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress proves that he has wholly turned himself into an instrument of the ruling class for repressing the working class and the working people.**

### **Nothing in Common With Proletarian Internationalism or Genuine Patriotism**

Here is another striking example. In November 1962, S.G. Sardesai, a member of the Dange clique on the Central Executive Committee of the Indian Communist Party, had a leaflet distributed, which reads in part:

Our moral responsibility to defend our country when a socialist country attacks us is greater than that of our other compatriots, not less.

It is our sincere and fervent appeal to the ruling party, the National Congress, as also to all other patriotic parties, that we must set aside all our differences at this crucial hour and unite under the common national flag. The only test and consideration at the moment must be national defence. . . .

. . . We declare explicitly that even if we are excluded from the collective efforts for national defence, we shall still devote all our energy to the same cause. . . . We shall carry it out without expecting the slightest reward, even if some of our own compatriots attempt to treat us as pariahs. . . .

The crucial need of the day, the acid test of our patriotism, is . . . to give monolithic support to Prime Minister Nehru, to strengthen his hands, and to carry out his behests. He is the country's supreme field marshal, its commander-in-chief.

Look! How perfect is the devotion of the Dange clique to Nehru! How disgustingly they fawn upon the Indian Congress Party! And what fanatical national chauvinism! **They are straining themselves to serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords of India and to drive the broad masses of the Indian people to take a stand against socialist China. Does this have**

anything in common with proletarian internationalism or with genuine Indian patriotism?

### **Cat's-Paws of the Indian Big Bourgeoisie**

Here is yet another striking example. In November 1962 in a report to the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Dange said:

We do not lay down conditions for defending our country. Because the country belongs to the people. I do not hold the view that in a condition like ours, we should decide our behaviour by asking whether the country is ours or of the national bourgeoisie.

... We unconditionally support the war effort. . . . My unconditional support to Nehru government is there in the matter of defence.

We have to stand by our nationalism. . . .

... Under conditions of the national emergency, defence and near-war conditions require that the trade unions of the AITUC do modify temporarily their normal relations with the bourgeoisie, their functioning and approach to the questions of the working class.

... We as the working class say that for the time being, we suspend the question of strike struggles and protecting our class interests by that method.

Industrial truce is, in a sense, "class collaboration." But it is consciously accepted. . . .

The question of unstinted support to national bourgeoisie at this juncture of history was not a matter contradictory to the principles of working-class movement.

So we support the war effort, we are with the national bourgeoisie. . . . Don't hesitate. The more you hesitate, the more you will be confused.

**Here Dange, completely denying the class nature of the state, openly describes as belonging to the people a state which is under the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. He has completely gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie and has publicly called for unstinted support of the bourgeoisie. Completely abandoning the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle, he openly advocates class collaboration. Dange and company have thoroughly degenerated and become cat's-paws of the Indian big bourgeoisie.**

### **Splitting the Party Wide Apart**

What is even more shocking is that, while closing ranks with the Nehru government under the slogan of "national unity," Dange and company have used the power of the Indian ruling groups to push aside the people who disagree with them within the Indian Communist Party and to split the Party wide apart. After China had effected a ceasefire and withdrawn her frontier guards on her own initiative, the Nehru government, acting on a list of names previously furnished to it, made nationwide arrests, throwing into gaol eight or nine hundred members and leading cadres of different levels of the Indian Communist Party, who are loyal to the cause of the proletariat and the people. While "calling on all members of the Party not to be provoked by the arrests but carry out the policies of the Party with calm and cool determination," the Dange clique exploited the

situation and sent their trusted followers, on the heels of the police, to take over the leading organs of the Party committees in a number of states. **The purpose of these actions by the Dange clique was to reconstitute the Indian Communist Party and wreck the Indian revolutionary movement so as to serve the ends of the big bourgeoisie.**

Furthermore, Dange and company are assisting the Nehru government to hoodwink the people with its sham "socialism." They laud Nehru as "the symbol of national unity" and say, "When you have such a person at the head of the nation, and we [Dange and company] take our correct position inside the common front, the front grows into a leading force for future development. What future development? For socialism!"

The Moscow Statement clearly points out that Communists should expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans. But Dange and company have done nothing to expose Nehru's so-called socialism; on the contrary, they have tried to persuade the Indian Communists and the Indian people that Nehru is really pursuing a policy of socialism and should be given unstinted support. **They have publicly asked the Congress Party to co-operate with the Indian Communist Party in order to build socialism in India under the leadership of the Nehru government. We would like to ask: If the Dange clique believe that Nehru and his Congress Party can be depended upon to realize socialism, what need is there for a Communist Party controlled by Dange and company?**

### **Sliding Farther and Farther Down the Path of Revisionism**

The series of facts just cited make it evident that the Dange clique are sliding farther and farther down the path of revisionism. They have replaced the theory of class struggle by the slogan of class collaboration, and they have replaced proletarian socialism by bourgeois socialism. They are devotedly defending the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, and have cast to the winds the revolutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people. They are giving unconditional support to the Nehru government in its policy of hiring itself to U.S. imperialism and have totally abandoned the task of fighting imperialism. They are trampling underfoot the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and are acting as buglers for Nehru's anti-China campaign. For proletarian internationalism they have substituted bourgeois chauvinism. **In brief, the Dange clique have already gone so far in their degeneration that they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and they are sinking deeper and deeper into the swamp of class capitulationism and national chauvinism.**

This is not the first time in history that revisionists like Dange and company have turned up in a Communist Party.

### **Two Mirrors**

Since World War II, revisionist trends have afflicted the Communist Parties of a number of countries. Renegades from Marxism-Leninism, like Browder and Gates in the United States, Larsen in Denmark and Shojiro

Kasuga in Japan have appeared in a good many Parties. And it is not only in Communist Parties of capitalist countries that such renegades have made their appearance; in Yugoslavia where the proletariat once held power, there emerged the revisionist Tito clique which betrayed Marxism-Leninism. It is important for Communists throughout the world to draw lessons from the damage these traitorous cliques have inflicted on the cause of communism.

The Tito clique provides a mirror. It reveals how a group of renegades following a revisionist line corrupt a Party and cause a socialist country to degenerate into a capitalist country.

The Dange clique provides another mirror. It reveals how the leaders of a Communist Party in a capitalist country take the road of revisionism, slide down it and end up as the servants and the tail of the bourgeoisie.

### **Genuine Representatives of the Indian National Interests**

Today, the Indian Communists and the Indian people find themselves in a most difficult situation. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have a deep concern and profound sympathy for the Indian Communists who are persisting in their struggle for the com-

munist cause, and for the Indian proletariat and the Indian people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition. No reactionaries, no revisionists can block the advance of the Indian people. Relying on the proletariat and the broad masses of the people, the forces of Marxism-Leninism will in the end overcome all difficulties, and develop and expand through complex and tortuous struggles. **History will prove that those who are firmly upholding truth and justice and firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are the genuine representatives of the interests of the Indian people and the Indian nation. India's future is in their hands.**

Today, the relations between China and India are also passing through a difficult period. The Indian reactionaries and revisionists are trying hard to undermine the friendship between the peoples of China and India. The imperialists are also doing their best to fish in troubled waters and to sow dissension. But there is every reason not to underestimate the strength of the great friendship which exists between the two peoples and has a long tradition. Compared with the great strength of this friendship, the Indian reactionaries and the Dange revisionist clique are a handful of pygmies. **In the last analysis, nobody can undermine the friendship between the peoples of China and India or the friendship between the Chinese Communists and the Indian Communists.**

## Documents

# Joint Communique of the Chinese and Pakistan Governments

*Following is the full text of the joint communique of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Pakistan issued on March 4, 1963. — Ed.*

**T**HE Governments of the People's Republic of China and Pakistan reached an agreement in principle in December, 1962, regarding the alignment of the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan. The Government of the People's Republic of China extended an invitation to the late Mr. Mohammed Ali, as the Minister of External Affairs of Pakistan, to visit China for signing the formal Boundary Agreement. Due to the tragic demise of Mr. Mohammed Ali, his visit could not materialize. The Government of the People's Republic of China renewed the invitation to Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs of Pakistan.

2. Accompanied by the members of his Delegation, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrived in China on 26th February, 1963. He left China on 4th March 1963. During his stay in China Mr. Bhutto visited Canton, Shanghai and Peking. He was warmly welcomed by the Chinese Government and the Chinese people.

3. Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Mao Tse-tung and Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi received Mr. Bhutto and his Delegation and held cordial and friendly conversations with them. Talks were held in a friendly and frank atmosphere

between Premier of the State Council of China Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi, and Mr. Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs of Pakistan.

4. The Boundary Agreement between China and Pakistan was signed by the two Foreign Ministers on the 2nd of March, 1963, at 3:00 p.m. at the Great Hall of the People. Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders were present at the ceremony.

5. It was agreed that a Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission charged with the responsibility of implementing the Agreement will be established as soon as possible, in accordance with Article Four of the above-mentioned Agreement.

6. In the talks, the representatives of the two Governments reviewed the development of friendly relations between China and Pakistan since the establishment of diplomatic relations between them. They were particularly satisfied at the fact that the Governments of China and Pakistan, in the spirit of equality, cooperation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, have settled the question of the boundary actually existing between the two countries through friendly consultations and have signed the Boundary Agreement. This demonstrated that friendly consultation, on the basis of mutual respect and goodwill, is the effective way to settle boundary differences and other international issues. They expressed their conviction that the conclusion of the Boundary Agreement has a significant bearing on the consolidation and development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Pakistan, and has contributed to the consolidation of peace in Asia and in the world.



7. The representatives of the two Governments reaffirmed their belief in the national sovereignty and equality of all countries and in the basic right of all peoples to decide their own destinies in accordance with their free will. They expressed a common desire to promote cooperation between China and Pakistan on the basis of equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

8. With regard to the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the Pakistan Minister of External Affairs reiterated that Pakistan has consistently worked and will continue to strive for an equitable and honourable settlement of this dispute with India through peaceful negotiations. The Chinese Government expressed its appreciation of the attitude of the

Pakistan Government in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute and was of the belief that expeditious settlement of this question would be conducive to peace in Asia and in the world.

9. With regard to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute, the representatives of the two Governments expressed the hope that a fair and reasonable settlement would be achieved through direct negotiations between China and India. The Chinese Government reiterated that there would be no change in the Chinese Government's determination to strive for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations.

## Boundary Agreement Between China and Pakistan

*Following is the full text of the agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Pakistan on the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan signed in Peking on March 2, 1963. — Ed.*

**T**HE Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Pakistan,

Having agreed, with a view to ensuring the prevailing peace and tranquillity on the border, to formally delimit and demarcate the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan, in a spirit of fairness, reasonableness, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and on the basis of the Ten Principles as enunciated in the Bandung Conference;

Being convinced that this would not only give full expression to the desire of the peoples of China and Pakistan for the development of good-neighbourly and friendly relations, but also help safeguard Asian and world peace;

Have resolved for this purpose to conclude the present Agreement and have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries the following:

For the Government of the People's Republic of China: Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

For the Government of Pakistan: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Minister of External Affairs;

Who, having mutually examined their full powers and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

### Article One

In view of the fact that the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan has never been formally delimited, the two Parties agree to delimit it on the basis of the traditional customary boundary line including natural features and in a spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly cooperation.

### Article Two

I. In accordance with the principle expounded in Article One of the present Agreement, the two Parties have fixed, as follows, the alignment of the entire boundary line between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan:

(1) Commencing from its northwestern extremity at Height 5630 metres (a peak, the reference co-ordinates of which are approximately Longitude 74°34'E and Latitude 37°03'N), the boundary line runs generally eastward and then southeastward strictly along the main watershed between the tributaries of the Tashkurgan River of the Tarim River system on the one hand and the tributaries of the Hunza River of the Indus River system on the other hand, passing through the Kilik Daban (Dawan), the Mintaka Daban (Pass), the Kharchanai Daban (named on the Chinese map only), the Mutsjilga Daban (named on the Chinese map only), and the Parpik Pass (named on the Pakistan map only), and reaches the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass).

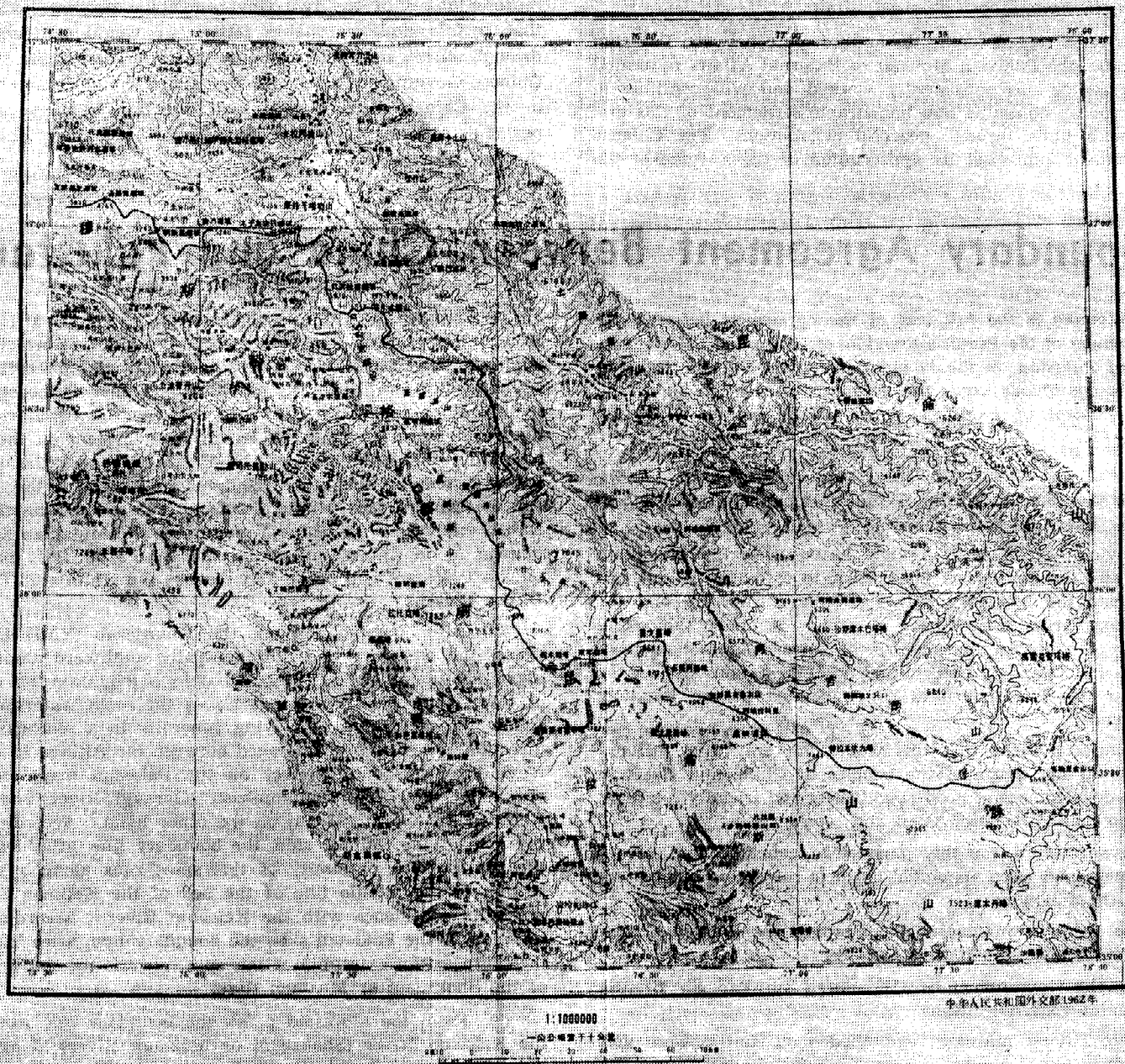
(2) After passing through the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass), the boundary line runs generally southward along the above-mentioned main watershed upto a mountain-top south of this Daban (Pass), where it leaves the main watershed to follow the crest of a spur lying generally in a southeasterly direction, which is the watershed between the Akjilga River (a nameless corresponding river on the Pakistan map) on the one hand, and the Taghdumbash (Oprang) River and the Keliman Su (Oprang Jilga) on the other hand. According to the map of the Chinese side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, runs along a small section of the middle line of the bed of the Keliman Su to reach its confluence with the Kelechin River. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, reaches the sharp bend of the Shaksgam or Muztagh River.

(3) From the aforesaid point, the boundary line runs up the Kelechin River (Shaksgam or Muztagh River) along the middle line of its bed to its confluence (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 76°02'E and Latitude 36°26'N) with the Shorbulak Daria (Shimshal River or Braldu River).

(4) From the confluence of the aforesaid two rivers, the boundary line, according to the map of the Chinese side, ascends the crest of a spur and runs along it to join the Karakoram Range main watershed at a mountain-top (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 75°54'E and Latitude 36°15'N), which on this map is shown as belonging to the Shorbulak Mountain. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line from the confluence of the above-mentioned two rivers ascends the crest of a corresponding spur and runs along it, passing through Height 6520 metres (21,390 feet) till it joins the Karakoram Range main watershed at a peak (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 75°57'E and Latitude 36°03'N).

(5) Thence, the boundary line, running generally southward and then eastward, strictly follows the Karakoram Range main

中华人民共和国政府和巴基斯坦政府  
关于中国新疆和由巴基斯坦实际控制其防务的  
各个地区相接壤的边界的协定附图



Map of the Chinese side in Chinese

watershed which separates the Tarim River drainage system from the Indus River drainage system, passing through the East Mustagh Pass (Muztagh Pass), the top of the Chogri Peak (K2), the top of the Broad Peak, the top of the Gasherbrum Mountain (8068), the Indirakoli Pass (named on the Chinese map only) and the top of the Teram Kangri Peak, and reaches its southeastern extremity at the Karakoram Pass.

II. The alignment of the entire boundary line, as described in Section I of this Article, has been drawn on the 1/one million scale map of the Chinese side in Chinese and the 1/one million scale map of the Pakistan side in English, which are signed and attached to the present Agreement.

III. In view of the fact that the maps of the two sides are not fully identical in their representation of topographical

features, the two Parties have agreed that the actual features on the ground shall prevail, so far as the location and alignment of the boundary described in Section I is concerned; and that they will be determined as far as possible by joint survey on the ground.

**Article Three**

The two Parties have agreed that

I. Wherever the boundary follows a river, the middle line of the river bed shall be the boundary line; and that

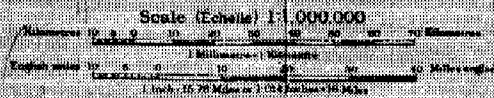
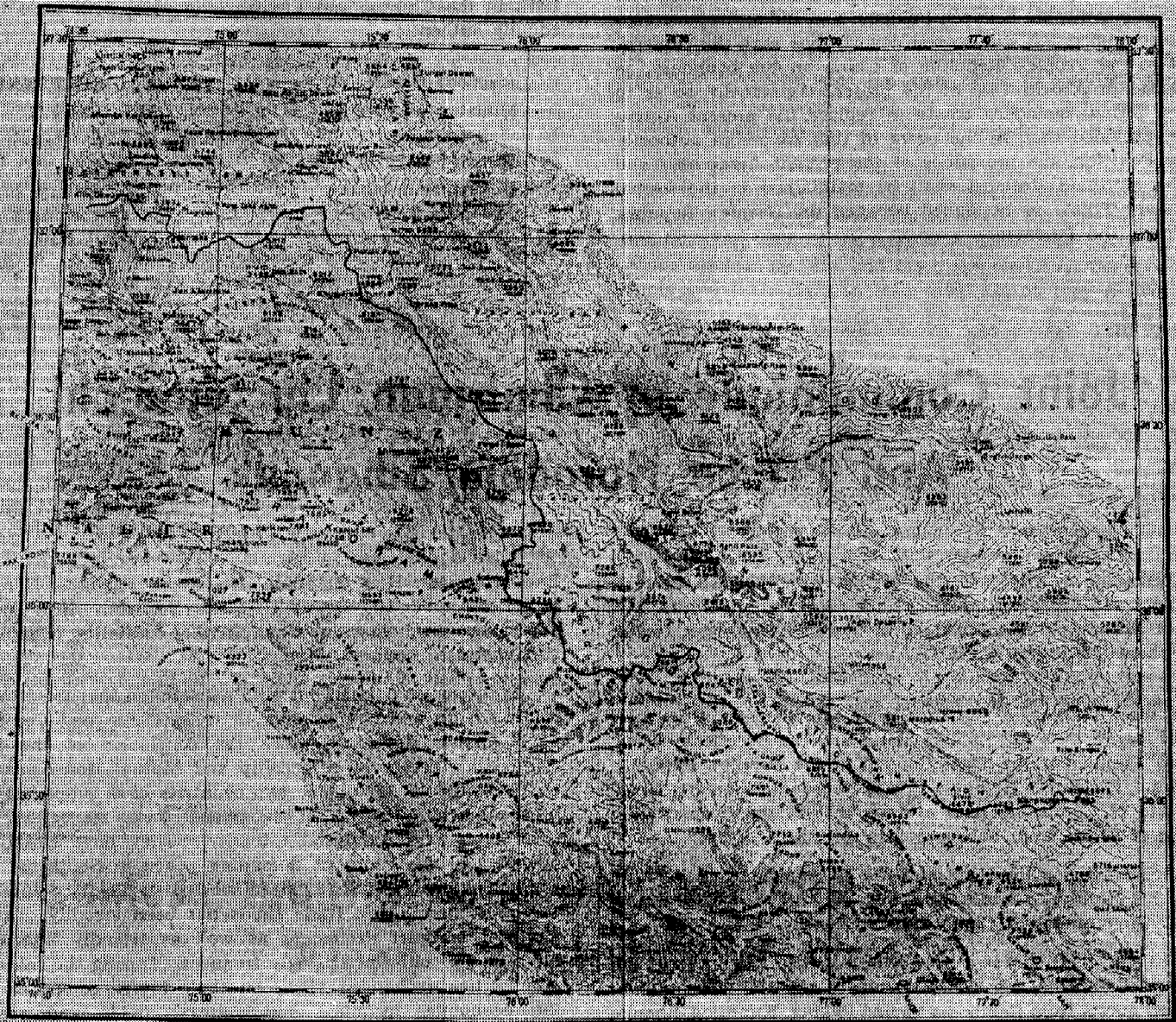
II. Wherever the boundary passes through a Daban (Pass), the water-parting line thereof shall be the boundary line.

**Article Four**

I. The two Parties have agreed to set up, as soon as possible, a Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission. Each



MAP ATTACHED TO THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN ON THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN CHINA'S SINKIANG AND THE CONTIGUOUS AREAS THE DEFENCE OF WHICH IS UNDER THE ACTUAL CONTROL OF PAKISTAN



Map of the Pakistan side in English

side will appoint a Chairman, one or more members and a certain number of advisers and technical staff. The Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission is charged with the responsibility, in accordance with the provisions of the present Agreement, to hold concrete discussions on and carry out the following tasks jointly:

(1) To conduct necessary surveys of the boundary area on the ground, as stated in Article Two of the present Agreement, so as to set up boundary markers at places considered to be appropriate by the two Parties and to delineate the boundary line on the jointly prepared accurate maps.

(2) To draft a Protocol setting forth in detail the alignment of the entire boundary line and the location of all the boundary markers and prepare and get printed detailed maps, to be

attached to the Protocol, with the boundary line and the location of the boundary markers shown on them.

II. The aforesaid Protocol, upon being signed by the representatives of the Governments of the two countries, shall become an Annex to the present Agreement, and the detailed maps shall replace the maps attached to the present Agreement.

III. Upon the conclusion of the above-mentioned Protocol, the tasks of the Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission shall be terminated.

### Article Five

The two Parties have agreed that any dispute concerning the boundary which may arise after the delimitation of the

boundary line actually existing between the two countries shall be settled peacefully by the two Parties through friendly consultations.

### Article Six

The two Parties have agreed that after the settlement of the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authority concerned will reopen negotiations with the Government of the People's Republic of China on the boundary, as described in Article Two of the present Agreement, so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the present Agreement, provided that, in the event of that sovereign authority being Pakistan, the provisions of the present Agreement and of the aforesaid Protocol shall be maintained in the formal Boundary Treaty to be signed between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan.

### Article Seven

The present Agreement shall come into force on the date of its signature.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the second day of March, 1963, in the Chinese and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

(Signed) **CHEN YI**  
Minister of Foreign  
Affairs,  
Plenipotentiary of the  
Government of the  
People's Republic  
of China

(Signed) **ZULFIKAR**  
**ALI BHUTTO**  
Minister of External  
Affairs,  
Plenipotentiary of  
the Government  
of Pakistan

## Joint Communique of Chairman Liu Shao-chi And Prince Norodom Sihanouk

*Following is the full text of the joint communique of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, issued on February 27, 1963. — Ed.*

**A**T the invitation of His Excellency Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from February 8 to February 28, 1963.

Accompanying the Head of State of Cambodia on the visit were his family members and high-ranking officials of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, his family members and the other distinguished guests from Cambodia visited Peking, Kunming, Shanghai, Changsha, Kweilin and Nanning. The distinguished Cambodian guests were ceremoniously, enthusiastically, cordially and friendly received by the Chinese people wherever they went.

During the visit, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, his family members and the other distinguished Cambodian guests were received by His Excellency Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and a cordial and sincere conversation was held between them.

His Excellency Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and His Excellency Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, held talks with His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, on the ever growing friendly relations between the two countries and on other questions of common concern to both countries. Also taking part in the talks were, on the Chinese side, Chi Peng-fei, Chiao Kwan-hua, Yang Lin, Chang Wen-chin, Chou Chiu-yeh and Chen Shu-liang; and, on the Cambodian side, His Excellency Mr. Penn Nouth, His Excellency Mr. Nhieik Tiou-long, His Excellency Mr. Son Sann, General Ngo Hou, His

Excellency Mr. Huot Sambath, His Royal Highness Norodom Phurissara and His Royal Highness Sisowath Sirik Matak. The talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendliness and complete understanding.

Both parties pointed out with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Cambodia have further developed since the conclusion of the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression on December 19, 1960. The two countries have supported each other in the struggle to safeguard their respective state sovereignty and territorial integrity. They have closely co-operated in the cause of defending peace in Southeast Asia and strengthening Asian-African solidarity. Their co-operation in the economic and trade fields has been steadily growing. Cultural and art exchanges as well as friendly intercourse have also become increasingly frequent. During the talks, the two parties exchanged views on their future co-operation in the economic, technical and cultural fields and reached satisfactory results.

The two parties held that the friendly and good-neighbourly relations of mutual respect and equality between China and Cambodia provide a good example of peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems. It is a brilliant demonstration of the two countries' faithful abidance by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

During the talks, the two parties exchanged views on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government thanked His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk for his sincere efforts and just attitude in seeking a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and promoting direct Sino-Indian negotiations; it reaffirmed its firm and unshakable stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk appreciated at their proper value the measures taken by China on its own initiative to cease fire and withdraw its troops. He held that these measures reflected China's sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Head of State of Cambodia expressed the firm

hope that despite the present difficulties, the two great nations, both friendly to Cambodia, will soon find a satisfactory settlement to their problem through direct negotiations. In this regard, Prince Norodom Sihanouk welcomed China's attitude of understanding and co-operation towards the Six Asian-African Nations Conference held in Colombo and thanked China for this.

During the talks, the two parties exchanged views on the situation of Southeast Asia. Chairman Liu Shao-chi praised the Cambodian people for their heroic struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and independence, and held that the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Royal Government of Cambodia is not only in the interests of the Cambodian people, but constitutes an important contribution to stabilizing peace in Southeast Asia and strengthening Asian-African solidarity. The Chinese side strongly condemned the infringement by the imperialists and their followers on Cambodia's sovereignty, independence and neutrality, and stated that the Chinese people will continue to support resolutely the Cambodian people in their just struggle.

The Chinese side is of the opinion that the measures taken by the Royal Government of Cambodia to ensure respect for Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity, i.e., to give the Kingdom of Cambodia the necessary international guarantee through the signing of the two documents of the "Declaration on the Neutrality of Cambodia" and the "Protocol to the Declaration on the Neutrality of Cambodia" by the participants of the Enlarged Geneva Conference for the Settlement of the Laotian Question, will not only conform to the aspirations of the Cambodian people, but help safeguard peace in Southeast Asia. The Chinese Government actively supports these measures and is ready to sign the two documents proposed by the Royal Government of Cambodia. Both parties expressed the hope that the other countries concerned will also make a positive response to this.

### Statement of Chinese Defence Ministry

## Chinese Frontier Guards Complete Withdrawal Along Sino-Indian Border

*Following is the text of the statement of a spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence made on March 1, 1963, on completion of the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards along the Sino-Indian border and the establishment of civilian check-posts by the Chinese local authorities. On March 2, the Chinese Foreign Ministry sent a note to the Indian Embassy in Peking, notifying it of this fact. —Ed.*

**T**HE Chinese frontier guards have completed their plan of withdrawal along the entire Sino-Indian border on China's own initiative. In order to reverse the grave trend in the armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border and to promote a settlement of the boundary question through peaceful negotiations between China and India, the Chinese Government issued a statement on November 21, 1962, announcing three measures, i.e., ceasefire on its own initiative, withdrawal on its own initiative, and establishment of civilian checkposts. Our frontier guards in the Tibet and Sinkiang regions effected the ceasefire on the very next day of the issuance of the above-mentioned statement of our Government, and began to withdraw along the entire Sino-Indian border on December 1, 1962. After three months' active endeavour, the Chinese frontier

Both parties held that the formation of the Coalition Government of Laos and the signing of the Geneva Agreements on the settlement of the Laotian question had promoted the unification of Laos and the restoration of peace there, and reinforced the independence and neutrality of Laos. Chairman Liu Shao-chi expressed his admiration to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk for his important contribution to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. Both parties expressed the hope that the signatories to the 1962 Geneva Agreements will truly abide by and carry out these international agreements in the interest of peace in this region.

Both parties reaffirmed their determination to continue their efforts for the relaxation of international situation, the preservation of world peace, the victory of the Bandung principles, the promotion of the solidarity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the liberation of all the oppressed people and their right to lead their life as they desire.

The Head of State of Cambodia paid homage to the absence of chauvinism and racism on the part of China. He held that China will finally exercise its sovereignty over Taiwan which is part of China's territory.

Cambodia will continue to oppose the refusal by certain powers to restore to China its rightful place in the United Nations Organization and in big international assemblies.

Both parties solemnly reaffirmed that the two Governments will continue to base their relations on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the spirit of the Bandung Conference. The Chinese side held that the present visit by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, his family members and the other distinguished Cambodian guests constituted a new contribution to the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Cambodia.

guards had by February 28, 1963, fully completed their plan of withdrawal. From the positions they reached during their counter-attack in self-defence, they have withdrawn not only to the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, but to areas 20 kilometres behind the line of actual control on the Chinese side. They are now far behind their positions on September 8, 1962.

In order to ensure the normal movement of the border inhabitants of China and India, prevent the activities of saboteurs and maintain public order along the border, our Government, after our frontier guards completed their plan of withdrawal, has instructed the local authorities in Tibet and Sinkiang to establish civilian checkposts at a number of points within the 20 kilometre zone on our side of the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959. The number and location of these civilian checkposts are as follows:

In the eastern sector: 16, located in the Tibet region at Le, Hsiao, Chuna, Gongna, Lung, Migyitun, Tamaden, Laiguo Bridge, Nanyi, Lusha, Titung, Dergong, Budzong, Hsiachiang, Tsayul and Sama.

In the middle sector: 3, located in the Tibet region at Shipki, Poling and Silangta.

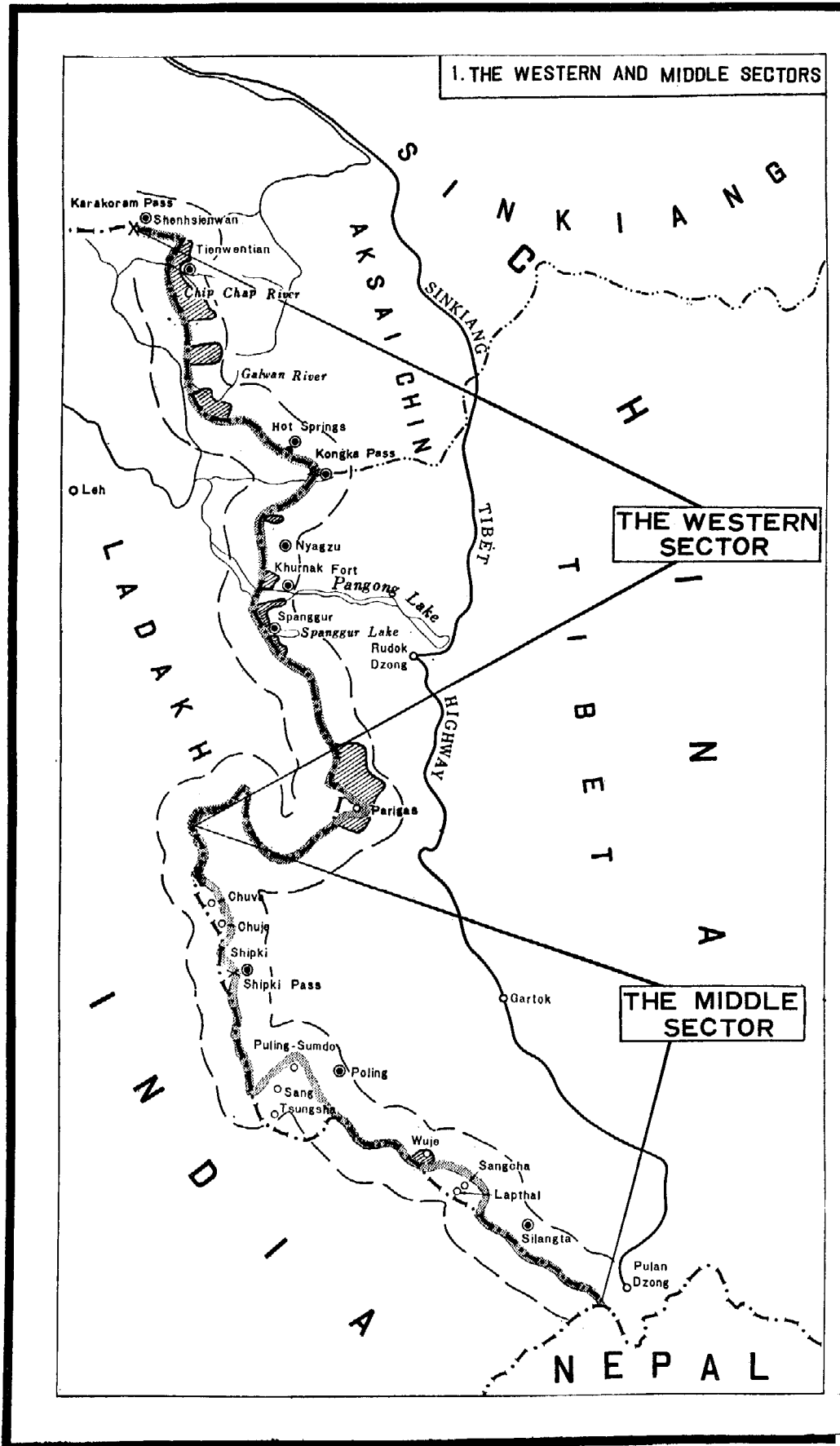
# SKETCH MAP SHOWING THE CIVILIAN ON THE CHINESE SIDE OF

In the western sector: 7, located at Shenhshienwan, Tienwentian and Hot Springs in the Sinkiang region, and at Kongka Pass, Nyagzu, Khurnak Fort and Spanggur in the Tibet region. These are the 7 places where China had maintained frontier posts prior to November 7, 1959.

With regard to the four areas within the 20-kilometre zone on our side of the line of actual control where there is a dispute between China and India about the ceasefire arrangement—namely, the Che Dong area and Longju in the eastern sector, Wuje in the middle sector and the area in the western sector where India once established 43 military strongpoints and where China had set up additional frontier posts in order to resist Indian invasion—our Government, in response to the appeal of the Colombo conference, has decided to vacate them and refrain from establishing civilian checkpoints there after the withdrawal of our frontier guards.

Owing to the series of important measures of ceasefire, withdrawal and vacating the areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangement, all taken on China's own initiative, there exist now along the Sino-Indian border a de facto ceasefire and a de facto disengagement of the armed forces of the two sides, and the Sino-Indian border situation has already eased. The eased border situation will not become tense again provided the Indian side refrains from making provocations again and from re-entering the four areas where there is a dispute about the ceasefire arrangement.

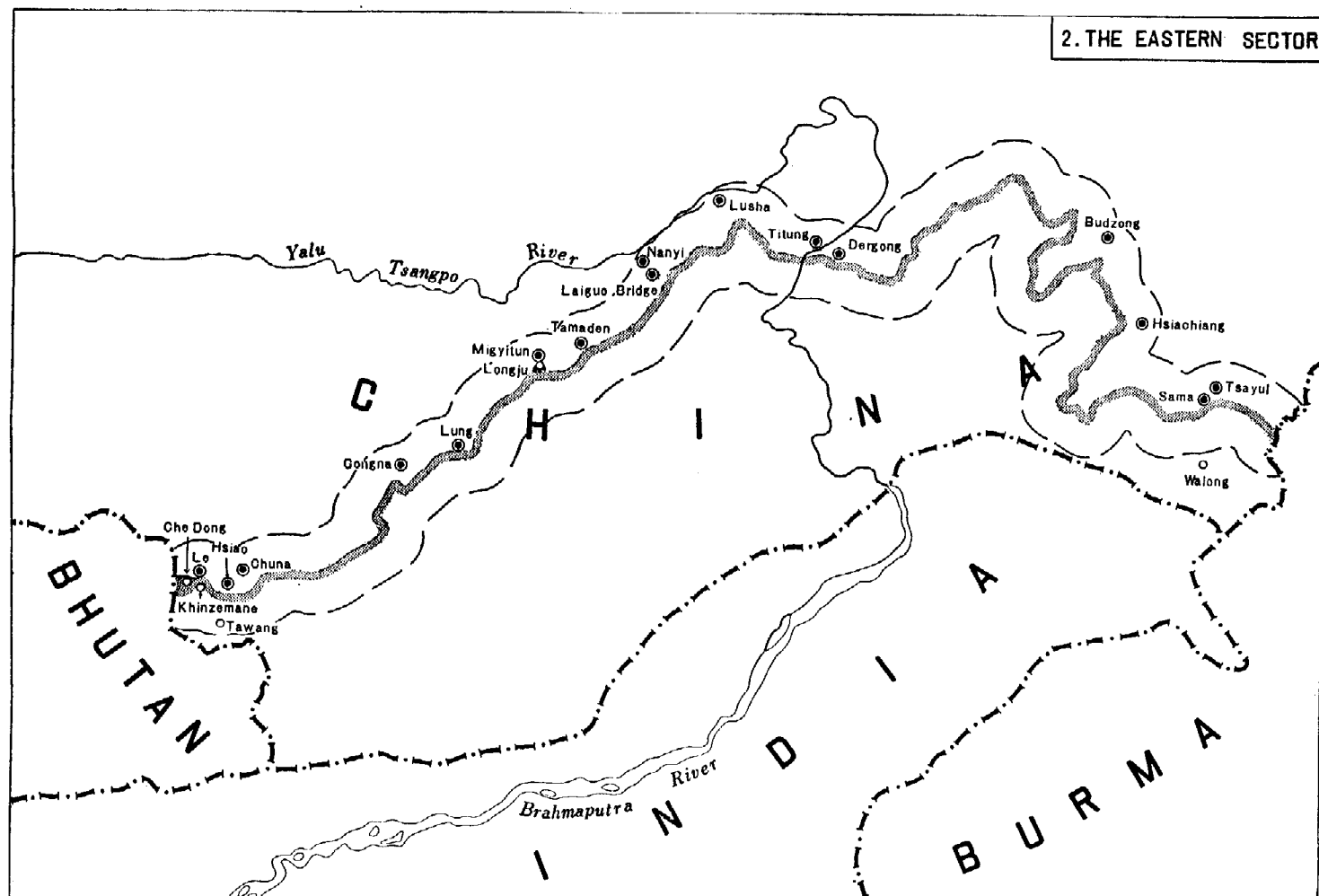
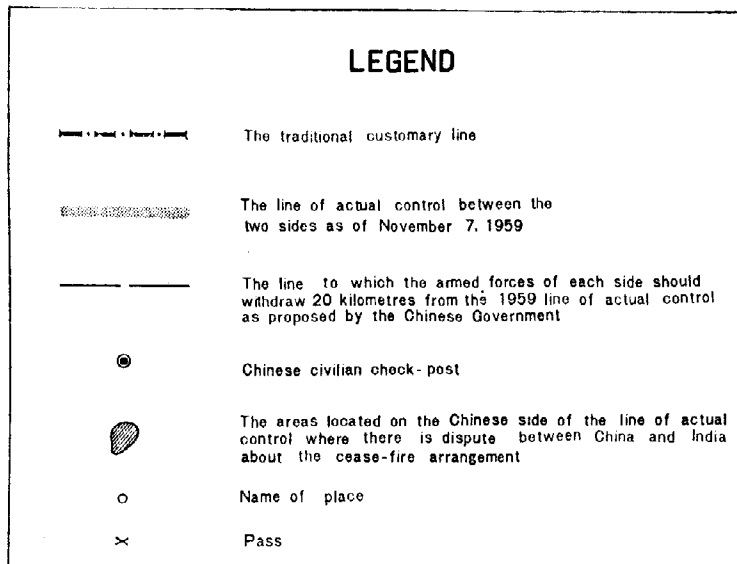
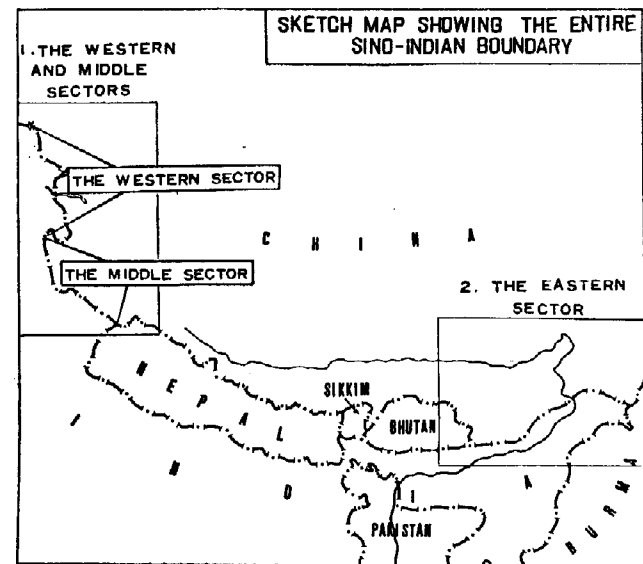
But it has to be pointed out that, after the Chinese frontier guards effected the ceasefire and began to withdraw on China's own initiative, the Indian side, far from taking any corresponding measures, has kept sending Indian military personnel and military aircraft to intrude into our territory and air space for provocation and harassment. Aided by Western powers, the Indian troops have been stepping up their war preparations and harbour the intention of waiting for an opportunity to renew their invasion of China. This cannot but arouse our serious attention. Although the Chinese frontier guards have withdrawn from the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959, we have not given up our right to self-defence. We hope that the Indian Government will set store by the friendship of the Chinese and Indian peoples and Asian-African solidarity, correctly understand China's peaceable efforts and respond to them positively and favourably so that the border situation will continue to be eased and so create a good atmosphere for direct negotiations between China and India.





# CHECK-POSTS ESTABLISHED BY CHINA IN THE AREA WITHIN 20 KILOMETRES

## THE LINE OF ACTUAL CONTROL ALONG THE SINO-INDIAN BORDER



# Sino-Laotian Joint Communiqué

*Following is the text of the Joint Communiqué of the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Laos issued on March 10, 1963. — Ed.*

**A**T the invitation of Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, His Majesty Sri Savang Vatthana, King of Laos, paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from March 6 to 10, 1963.

Accompanying His Majesty the King of Laos on the visit were His Royal Highness Prince Sourya Vong Savang; His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Laotian Government; H.E. Quinim Pholsena, Minister of Foreign Affairs; H.E. Phoumi Vongvichit, Minister of Information, Publicity and Tourism; H.E. Ngon Sananikone, Minister of Public Works and Transport; and other high-ranking officials of the Royal Laotian Government. During the visit, the distinguished guests from Laos were accorded a grand and enthusiastic welcome and a cordial and friendly reception by the Chinese Government and people wherever they went.

During the visit, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, received His Majesty King Sri Savang Vatthana and the other distinguished guests from Laos and held cordial and sincere conversations with them.

Chairman of the People's Republic of China Liu Shao-chi and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Chou En-lai held talks with His Majesty Sri Savang Vatthana, King of Laos, and His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Laotian Government, on the question of respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos, the question of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries and other questions of common concern to the two countries. Also taking part in the talks were, on the Chinese side, Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chang Han-fu and Chi Peng-fei, Vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs; Chou Chiu-yeh, Director of the Second Department of Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Liu Chun, Chinese Ambassador to the Kingdom of Laos; and on the Laotian side, Prince Sourya Vong Savang; Quinim Pholsena, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Phoumi Vongvichit, Minister of Information, Publicity and Tourism; Ngon Sananikone, Minister of Public Works and Transport; and Khamking Souvanlasy, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Laos to China. The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and full understanding.

The two sides considered that the formation of the Provisional Laotian Government of National Union and the conclusion of the Geneva agreements for the settlement of the Laotian question have paved the way for the Kingdom of Laos to free itself from outside intervention and to realize peace, neutrality, independence, democracy and prosperity for the country, and are of great significance to the relaxation of tension in Indo-China and the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia. The peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is a great victory for the Laotian people, as well as the result of the common efforts of all patriotic forces in Laos.

The Chinese side praised the great successes won by the Laotian people in their struggle for national independence,

peace and state neutrality. The Chinese Government and people deeply sympathize with and support the just cause of the Laotian people, and have always faithfully abided by all the provisions of the Geneva agreements and fully respected the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Laos. The Chinese side reiterated that the Chinese Government would, as in the past, earnestly implement the international obligations undertaken in the Geneva agreements and resolutely support the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Royal Laotian Government, and it sincerely hoped that all the patriotic forces in Laos would unite and co-operate with each other in building Laos into a prosperous, rich and strong country along the road of independence, democracy and neutrality.

The Laotian side thanked the Chinese Government for the important contributions it made during the two Geneva conferences held respectively in 1954 and 1961-62 for the preservation of the peace, independence and neutrality of Laos; and expressed satisfaction with the consistent efforts of the Chinese Government to safeguard the Geneva agreements.

The two parties considered that all the countries concerned should strictly observe all the provisions of the Geneva agreements, respect the independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos, and refrain from interfering in any form whatsoever in the internal affairs of Laos.

The Laotian side expressed the hope that the People's Republic of China would take its legitimate place in the United Nations Organization.

The two parties agreed to and supported the proposal put forward by the Kingdom of Cambodia for guaranteeing respect for the independence and neutrality of Cambodia and expressed the hope that the signatories to the 1962 Geneva agreements would make a positive response to that.

During the talks, the two parties exchanged views on the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese side reaffirmed the Chinese Government's consistent stand for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Laotian side expressed the hope that a settlement of the boundary question satisfactory to both sides would be reached through direct negotiations between China and India.

Both parties expressed their determination to make efforts for easing international tension and safeguarding Asian-African solidarity and world peace. They expressed concern over the tension still prevailing at present in Indo-China and some other areas in Southeast Asia. The two parties reaffirmed their resolute support for the struggles against old and new colonialism, and their opposition to interference in the internal affairs of other countries by any outside forces in whatever form.

The two parties pointed out with satisfaction that the friendly relations between China and Laos had continuously developed since the 1954 Geneva conference; the two visits by Premier Souvanna Phouma to China had made positive contributions to the strengthening of the friendly relations between the two countries; and the economic and cultural contacts between the two countries had become closer since the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Laos. During the present visit, the two parties exchanged views on further developing the economic and technical co-

operation between the two countries, and reached satisfactory results.

The highway being constructed by the Chinese side at the request of the Laotian side from the Chinese border in Yunnan Province to Phong Saly in Laos as aid without compensation will be completed in April 1963. The Laotian Government expressed its satisfaction and thanks to the Chinese Government, which, in turn, insisted that the responsibility for the highway should be taken over by the Laotian Government on the day of its completion. The Chinese Government also reaffirmed its decision to withdraw all its personnel engaged in road construction immediately after the taking over.

The two parties solemnly declared that they would continue to develop the friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and in the spirit of the Bandung Conference. The Chinese side thanked His Majesty Sri Savang Vatthana, King of Laos, His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of the Royal Laotian Government, and the other distinguished guests from Laos for their friendly visit, and considered that the present visit had made new and important contributions to promoting the mutual understanding and strengthening the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 7.)

and wage a life-and-death struggle against imperialism. It was quite evident, he said, that the road of armed struggle was the road to complete liberation. "The Moshi conference," said Liu Ning-I, "urged the use of force to meet force and called on the Afro-Asian peoples to give warm support to the armed struggles of the oppressed nations." All this, he said, "is a crushing blow to the modern revisionists who persistently advocate that the people should not struggle but should wait for the 'bestowal' of independence by imperialism."

Referring to the sabotage carried out by the Indian delegation, Liu Ning-I told how that delegation and a handful of anti-China zealots, collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries, had tried in vain to use the Sino-Indian border dispute for cold war purposes and launch an anti-China campaign so as to undermine Afro-Asian solidarity. The other delegations to the conference, however, had denounced and utterly frustrated these despicable provocations.

Minoru Ito, head of the delegation of the Japanese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, also spoke at the rally. He gave a high evaluation of the successes achieved at the Moshi conference and expressed confidence that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America would increase their mutual understanding, friendship and unity in their struggle against their common enemy—imperialism headed by the United States.

The rally unanimously adopted a resolution declaring the Chinese people's determination to struggle to-

gether with all the peoples in Asia and Africa for the thorough implementation of the resolutions of the Moshi conference and for the ultimate elimination of all the imperialist as well as old and new colonialist forces from the continents of Asia and Africa.

### Anti-China "March" Exposed

A new gimmick has appeared in the unscrupulous campaign against China and Sino-Indian friendship, which the imperialists and reactionaries are waging in India. It carries the signboard of "peace" and "friendship."

A report from India states that a 13-member group, including two Americans, one Englishman, one Austrian, and one Japanese, set out from New Delhi on March 1 on a so-called Delhi-Peking friendship march. The marchers plan to pass through East Pakistan and Burma and enter China along the China-Burma road. The whole thing was planned and organized by the "Bharat Sewak Samaj" (India's Service Society) and the "Indian Shanti Sena Mendal" (Peace Brigade Society) and has received the enthusiastic support of Muste, an American who is one of the co-chairmen of the "World Peace Brigade."

A statement issued on March 2 by the China Peace Committee exposes this stunt as just another anti-China move made by a group of Indian reactionaries working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists. The statement says in part: "This handful of anti-Chinese elements allege that the aim of their 'march' is 'to establish friendly relations between the people of India and China' and 'to urge a peaceful solution of any disputes between the two nations.' The facts, however, point to the opposite. One of the ringleaders engineering this 'march'

is J. Narayan, a notoriously reactionary Indian politician brought up in the lap of U.S. imperialism, who consistently opposes Sino-Indian friendship and wants India to lean completely towards the West."

The statement recalls that, over three years ago, it was this same Narayan who asserted that India was the "successor to the rights" which Britain had in Tibet, who supported the rebellion of the Tibetan serf-owners and called for intervention in China's internal affairs. Under the direction of U.S. imperialism and the Indian Government, it was he who staged the ugly farce of the "Afro-Asian Tibet Convention." It was this same Narayan who opposed a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute through negotiations, and as early as 1959 publicly advocated that India should use force to deal with China.

The statement also calls attention to the fact that on November 22, 1962, the day after the Chinese Government had announced the important measure of a ceasefire and withdrawal of its frontier guards along the Sino-Indian border on its own initiative, the "India Service Society," which also took part in plotting the current "friendship" march, issued a slanderous statement alleging that China had used force for aggression and that the conflict was "forced upon India." The statement draws attention to the intriguing speed with which Narayan and other anti-China diehards have changed their garb and decked themselves out as envoys of peace defending Sino-Indian friendship. It would be more to the point, the statement concludes, "if they would urge the Indian Government to change its course, start negotiations at once with the Chinese Government, and settle the boundary question in a peaceful and friendly way."

# ROUND THE WORLD

## U.S.A.

### **Something Wrong With the System**

Recession, the fifth since the end of World War II, threatens the U.S. economy. According to official figures, January's industrial production index dropped to 119 (with 1957 as 100); the index reading was 119.2 for December, 119.5 for November, and 119 for the months of October, September, August and July. This means that since mid-1962, the shot in the arm in the form of military and space programme spendings has failed to revive the U.S. economy. What is especially ominous is the fact that production sags in such major industries as automobile, housing construction and steel. Unemployment figures are again rising.

Speaking before the American Bankers Association Symposium on February 25, President Kennedy admitted that there were some "deeply disturbing statistics" in the present-day U.S. economy. These included a 5.6 per cent unemployment rate in 1962, the same as in the "recession year" of 1954, and business spending on new plant and equipment at a lower level last year than in 1957. If a fifth recession occurred, he said, there would be "a heavy loss of jobs and profits; a record-breaking budget deficit and an increased burden of national debt"; unemployment and unused business capacity would remain "at or above their present high level" and this would create "a lack of investor confidence at home and a lack of confidence in the dollar abroad."

The Kennedy Administration finds itself between the devil and the deep blue sea. To forestall the threatening crisis, it seeks to stimulate the faltering economy by combining tax reduction with increased arms expenditure (military allocations for 1963-64 total over 60,000 million dollars). However, this leads to a still larger budget deficit, inflation, depreciation of the dollar and an even faster run on the country's diminishing gold reserves.

An indication of the shape of things to come is the growing number of gloomy predictions from bourgeois

economists, who have a habit of whistling in the dark. Per Jacobsson, Director of the International Monetary Fund, recently said in New York that the postwar economic expansion in the United States and Western Europe was over. "A new situation has arisen which shows certain similarities with what happened in the early 1930s," he stated. Competition, both national and international, had become sharper in the main capitalist countries, he added.

## NATO

### **Multilateral Nuclear "Farce"**

Great confusion attends the U.S.-proposed creation of a NATO multilateral nuclear force. To outflank de Gaulle and isolate him, Kennedy has modified his original plan to make it more palatable to NATO countries. However, as the recent meeting of the NATO Permanent Council in Paris shows, his customers are far from being sold on the idea.

Reneging on the Kennedy-Macmillan agreements made in Nassau only last December, Washington now wants to establish a NATO nuclear force made up of Polaris-carrying surface vessels instead of Polaris submarines. It even suggests cargo ships can, with some refitting, be equipped to carry the Polaris missiles! According to Livingston Merchant, Kennedy's special envoy to Europe to peddle the project, this change has great advantages: it will take less money and time than the building of nuclear submarines and will be easier to operate. This, it is stressed, will enable more NATO countries to join the "nuclear club on an equal footing."

The new U.S. proposal has cooled down whatever British enthusiasm there was for the original plan. At Nassau, it had been agreed that the NATO multilateral nuclear force would be built in two stages. During the first stage, i.e., prior to 1968, only Britain and the United States were supposed to share in this "nuclear deterrent," each contributing part of its strategic nuclear force. The other NATO countries would come in with

U.S. Polaris submarines during the second stage. Now, Kennedy has unilaterally proposed the accelerated formation of this nuclear force with other countries.

Official British circles make no bones about their dissatisfaction with this latest American sleight-of-hand. During the Anglo-American talks in Washington last month, the British representative insisted on "priority for a force set up by contribution of existing strategic weapons, like the British V bombers." Speaking in the House of Commons, Macmillan stated that Britain was not prepared to consider anything which was not in conformity with the Nassau agreements.

The other West European countries too are sceptical about the merits of the new Kennedy plan. They suspect that a nuclear force formed by a surface fleet will still be costly but not really effective. As the British journal *Economist* pointed out, from the military point of view such surface missile ships will be useful only in the sense that they will act as "sitting ducks" for an enemy and draw the attack away from the U.S. Polaris submarines.

The right of control over the nuclear weapons remains the bone of contention between these countries and the U.S. Though Washington has stressed that the multilateral nuclear force would be their "common" force, in fact under the present arrangement there is still only one finger on the nuclear trigger — that of the U.S. President.

To break up the Paris-Bonn axis, Washington made special efforts to win over West Germany to the new proposal. However, as Bonn Defence Minister Von Hassel indicated during his recent visit to Washington, West Germany supports the project only insofar as it helps her get into the "nuclear club" by the back door. She is not interested in seeing the U.S. enjoying singly the right of veto over the multilateral nuclear force.

De Gaulle is enjoying himself over the disarray facing the Kennedy plan. His representative boycotted the Paris meeting of the NATO Permanent Council. *La Nation*, journal of the Gaullist Union for the New Republic, pokes fun at the new proposal by calling the "multilateral nuclear force" a multilateral farce.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### 30 Pieces of Silver

Those who claim that the Tito band of modern revisionists has abandoned its policy of selling out to imperialism are wilfully shutting their eyes to reality.

For one thing, the imperialists themselves are unworried by the supposed "change" in Tito's foreign policy. They continue to give him hand-outs, the 30 pieces of silver paid to the renegade for his wrecking activities in the international communist movement. On February 20, Tito received from Britain a loan of £28,000,000 sterling (\$78,400,000) for industrial equipment. This is one of the largest single exports of British capital goods in the last few years.

As for the other Western countries, especially the United States, they gave the Tito clique loans and "aid" of other kinds to the tune of \$307,313,000 in the 13 months of 1962 and January of this year. According to the Yugoslav press, these include \$154,933,000 from the United States, \$33,030,000 from France, \$78,000,000 from Italy and \$41,350,000 from the United Nations and other international organizations.

Writing in the influential American magazine *Foreign Affairs*, (January 1963) John Campbell, former member of the State Department policy planning staff, strongly advocates continued U.S. aid to the Titoites. He argues that "Yugoslavia will have an influence both inside and outside the communist world that in the long run can only be of benefit to the West." He points out that "if his [Tito's] government talks about the sins of imperialism or the virtues of 'peaceful coexistence,' we have to interpret those words on the basis of Yugoslavia's conduct. . . ."

If this interpretation of Tito's policies is not considered authoritative, let's hear what Tito himself has to say about the "change." According to *Tanjug*, speaking at the Yugoslav People's Youth Congress on January 23, Tito described as "completely absurd" the guesswork of certain people that Yugoslavia would change its policy of maintaining good relations with the United States and other Western countries because of the improvement in its relations with the

Soviet Union. "This is a wrong appraisal of the principles embodied in our foreign policy," he said. "So far as we are concerned, we will not only never give up this policy, but will make efforts to stick to it."

## INDIA

### Air Umbrella and Alliance

Nehru's cloak of "non-alignment" has worn threadbare. Western military supplies are streaming into India, and in an atmosphere of war hysteria, Right-wing Indian politicians and newspapers are calling for an open alliance with their U.S. and British "brothers."

A subject much talked about in the Indian press is the so-called air umbrella scheme. This proposal came to light with the recent visit of a U.S.-British Commonwealth joint military mission. At New Delhi's invitation, it spent 24 days in India, inspecting air force installations and equipment and discussing Western air support with Indian officials. According to the *Indian Express* (March 5), the mission advanced in its "summary of findings" two alternatives for Indian consideration: "(a) supply to India of a fleet of modern aircraft and ground equipment; (b) assurance of immediate help in an emergency preceded by steps to improve operational facilities already available." In either case, foreign aircraft will use Indian air bases. Earlier, the London *Daily Telegraph* also reported that Western aid to India would include radar

equipment, pilot training, supersonic fighters and anti-aircraft artillery. It added: "The use of United States aircraft carriers in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea may be under consideration" and foreign aircraft "would operate from Indian airfields if necessary."

In view of these widely reported moves, the question of the nature of India's relations with the West naturally arises. The Indian paper *Tribune*, for example, wrote: "In spite of the passionate denials of Mr. Nehru, India is firmly aligned to Britain and America insofar as she asked and accepted extensive and long-term military aid to be handled and controlled by them and not by India."

Nehru himself is still a bit shy of doffing his "non-alignment" mantle. He characterized reports of the use of foreign planes and the establishment of foreign bases in India as "exaggerated" but he said: "In the event of a sudden emergency arising, the Government will have to deal with it in the light of developments with support from friendly countries which may become suddenly necessary and available."

Be that as it may, with U.S. support behind him, Nehru is going the whole hog in an arms build-up and war preparations. The Lok Sabha has just been presented with a 1963-64 budget in which military expenditure is roughly double that of fiscal 62-63. The Indian army is being reorganized and expanded. In an interview with the

## THE PASSING SHOW

### The Headsnatcher

The British Minister of Science Lord Hailsham has deplored the fact that the U.S. is "deliberately undertaking a systematic recruiting drive to secure British scientists." American business concerns, universities and government are sending talent scouts to Britain dangling dollar baits in front of top-flight scientists to lure them away. Nine Fellows of the Royal Society have emigrated to the U.S. in the last five years. Lord Hailsham suggested that because the American school system was deficient the U.S. had been compelled to "live parasitically" off the brains of the other nations.



U.S. *Saturday Evening Post*, Nehru declared: "I do not see any real compromise [with the Chinese]. . . . We should be prepared for four or five years of war." In the Lok Sabha, he announced that in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary the Indian Government was proceeding "step by step" to send troops to areas vacated by the Chinese. In the western sector Indian troops had already "moved up" in areas (east of the line of actual control) from which the Chinese had also withdrawn.

## SOUTH KOREA

### **A Live Volcano**

The public admission by the south Korean "strongman" Pak Jung Heui that his "military regime has met with complete failure" and that he will not participate in the future "civil government" shows that the U.S.-ruled dictatorship in south Korea is at a dead end. Pak himself said: "Without the conscious efforts of politicians, there may be the danger of another revolution."

Pak Jung Heui came to power in May 1961 when Washington masterminded a military coup to replace the discredited U.S. placeman Chang Myun who was the original substitute for the hated Syngman Rhee. Pak's job was to rule with a strong hand, to stamp out popular opposition and the rising movement for the peaceful reunification of Korea. This he did with a vengeance, using all the fascist methods he learnt from his C.I.A. masters. A state of emergency was declared. Political parties and even social organizations were banned, the press gagged, tens of thousands of patriots arrested, jailed and shot. Yet, in less than two years' time, the repressions notwithstanding, the military regime has become so hated and the undercurrent of opposition so powerful that the scheme to continue Pak's rule under the cover of a newly formed political party is no longer practicable. South Korea is like a volcano, ready to blow up any time.

The fact is that no terrorist methods can solve the basic contradiction facing south Korea. Only an end to U.S. occupation can allow the country to continue. U.S. rule and exploitation have resulted in economic impoverishment and now chaos. The currency

"reform" in June 1962 was a flop, and production has practically stopped in all branches of industry. Last year, crops failed again and grain is short in both countryside and city. There is runaway inflation (prices have risen by 20 per cent in the last two months) and staggering unemployment (out of a population of 20 million, 6 million are permanently or semi-permanently without work). Strikes and other forms of popular struggle are growing.

Berger, U.S. Ambassador in Seoul, is busy consulting with the military faction in Pak's regime and the old-time politicians. Again they are trying to deceive popular sentiment. U.S. imperialism is scheming once more to change its puppet and nothing else. However, even if it disposes of Pak, it will have a still harder time since it is reckoning without the host—the south Korean people.

## SOUTH VIET NAM

### **Clutching at a Straw**

So many U.S. helicopters have been downed by the people's forces in south Viet Nam that the Pentagon is thinking of sending an aircraft carrier to the South China Sea as a floating repair shop for these damaged choppers. This suggestion was made by General Wheeler, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, after a recent inspection tour to see how the war there was going. He was shocked to find that about one-third of the U.S. planes were out of action, despite the fact that the people's forces have no air force of their own.

To boost the badly sagging morale of U.S. pilots and "special force" troops, Washington is planning to double the pay of those on "hazardous duty" in south Viet Nam. There is also a crash programme to train south Vietnamese helicopter pilots.

Another bright idea thought up by the brasshats is the use of Filipinos as substitutes for Americans. According to the *Manila Chronicle*, this proposal was raised during recent talks between U.S. officials and the Philippine Defence Secretary Peralta when the latter visited Washington. Members of the Philippine armed forces will be attached to U.S. "special forces" in Southeast Asia and be paid by the U.S. Government. These troops are considered to be especially useful because of their "oriental appearance"!

So, it is the same old game of "making Asians fight Asians." Like all the other "special war" devices, it won't work. Mercenaries, whether Asians or Americans, can never win a war in which they are men fighting without a cause.

## LAOS

### **Thief Crying "Stop Thief!"**

The malicious charge made by U.S. news agencies that China had violated the Geneva agreement during road construction in Laos has come home to roost. Twice during his recent trip to the United States, Prince Souvanna Phouma told newsmen that China was building the road at his request "so that isolated villagers in northern Laos can have access to the outside world." The Laotian Premier specifically stated that Chinese road-building activity had not exceeded the terms of the agreement with his government and that the report it had gone beyond original plans "was not true." Pheng Phongsavan, Laotian Minister of the Interior and Social Relief, and the Radio of the Pathet Lao Fighting Units also denounced the U.S. allegation as "sheer fabrication."

The request for Chinese assistance in road construction was made by Premier Phouma when he came to China in 1961. This was recorded in the joint statement of the Chinese and Laotian Premiers which said, *inter alia*, "In order to help the development of the Laotian economy and facilitate communication between the two countries, the Chinese Government, at the request of the Royal Laotian Government, has agreed to help the Kingdom of Laos build a motor road." In January 1962, the two Governments accordingly decided to build a road linking Mnongla, Yunnan Province, and Phong Saly, Phong Saly Province.

Washington has picked the present moment to stir up a fuss about China's assistance to Laotian road construction with an ulterior motive. Aside from trying to estrange China and Laos and sow dissension among the Laotian patriotic forces, it hopes to divert public attention from its own shady activities in that country—violations of the Geneva agreement and meddling in Laotian internal affairs under the cover of "aid." This is a clear case of the thief crying "Stop thief!"



## NEWS IN BRIEF

China and Albania signed in Tirana on February 18 an agreement on co-operation in examining and preventing diseases and insect pests in crops.

The 114th meeting of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks was held in Warsaw on February 20. It was announced that the next meeting will be on April 17.

On February 23, the 1963 plan for cultural co-operation between China and the Soviet Union was signed in Peking by Chang Chih-hsiang, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Commission for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and S.V. Chervonenko, Soviet Ambassador to China.

Chinese and Vietnamese railway delegations signed on February 23 the protocol of the sixth session of the Sino-Vietnamese joint committee on border railways.

Three visiting foreign journalists, W.M. Bhukoli, assistant propaganda secretary of the Tanganyika African National Union and editor of *Uhuru*; L.E. Morrison, vice-president of the South African Journalists' Association; and D. Manuwera, deputy editor-in-chief of *Times of Ceylon*, were received by Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi on February 26.

An exhibition of Chinese paintings depicting the history of the Chinese revolution is now on in Tirana.

A photographic exhibition devoted to China's public health and sanitation work opened in Accra on February 27.

On February 27, the China Peace Committee sent a cable of support to the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in connection with the national meeting to be held in Yaizu city to commemorate the 9th anniversary of the Bikini disaster. The message gives firm backing to the Japanese people's just

struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, U.S. nuclear tests and the use of Japan in U.S. nuclear war plans.

The new Swedish Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to China, Lennart Petri, presented his credentials to Chairman Liu Shao-chi on February 28.

China and Cuba signed a general agreement in Havana on February 28 on the purchase of films from each other.

Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, has sent a message of greetings to Colonel-General Heinz Hoffmann, Minister of National Defence of the G.D.R., on G.D.R. Army Day. Celebrating the occasion, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Kautzsch, Military Attache of the G.D.R. Embassy in China, gave a reception in Peking on March 1.

Gonzalez Mantici, conductor of the State Philharmonic Society of Cuba, is in Peking on a visit and has given several concerts in co-operation with Chinese musicians. He was received by Vice-Premier Lu Ting-yi on March 1 and 8.

To celebrate the arrival in Albania of the S.S. *Hsinhua* of China's Ocean Shipping Co., the Chinese Ambassador to Albania Lo Shih-kao held a reception on March 1 aboard the ship which brought cargo and passengers to the port of Durres. Abdyl Kellezi, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania and Chairman of the Albania-China Friendship Society, was among those attending the reception.

The Peking Acrobatic Troupe, now touring Japan, has given successful performances in Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe.

On February 22, between 14:06 hours and 14:38 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the waters south of Pinghai in Kwangtung Province.

On February 27, between 12:45 hours and 12:55 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Yunghsing Island, Shih Island and Pei Island of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

On March 1, between 12:05 hours and 12:19 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Yunghsing Island and Tung Island of the Hsisha Islands, Kwangtung Province.

On March 6, between 12:50 hours and 13:07 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area of Yunghsing Island, Shih Island, Pei Island and Tung Island of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 231st, 232nd, 233rd and 234th serious warnings to the U.S. about these provocations.

On March 2, Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress sent a message of condolences on the death of Zainul Arifin, Speaker of the Indonesian Co-operation Parliament.

The China Peace Committee in a message to the Japanese Peace Committee warmly greeted the militant anti-U.S. rally held by the Japanese people in Yokosuka on March 3.

The Nepalese Ambassador to China Kaisher Bahadur and his wife gave a lunch in honour of Premier Chou En-lai on March 4. During the lunch they proposed toasts to the growing Sino-Nepalese friendship.

The 1963 Sino-Bulgarian goods exchange and payments agreement was signed in Peking on March 5 following talks held between the government trade delegations of the two countries.

The agreement stipulates that China will supply Bulgaria with printing and dyeing equipment, machine tools, textiles, light industrial products, mineral ores and other goods while Bulgaria will supply China with chemical fertilizers and other chemical products, agricultural machinery, automobiles, tractor parts and other goods.

**EXPORT**

**COMMODITIES**

**FAIR**

at Canton

In the Chinese Export Commodities Exhibition Hall  
Sponsored by the China National Foreign Trade Corporation

**SPRING 1963**

April 15—May 15

**SAMPLES OF ALL MAJOR EXPORT COMMODITIES  
WILL BE ON DISPLAY AT THE FAIR**

- Industrial machinery, transport machinery and instruments
- Metals and minerals
- Industrial chemicals and pharmaceuticals
- Oils, fats, cereals and animal byproducts
- Tea, textiles, foodstuffs, native products and sundries

**FAIR TERMS**

Every facility for doing business will be at your service.  
Whether you wish to BUY or SELL, representatives of every branch of  
China's foreign trade will be at the Fair ready to discuss trade with you.

**CHINA TRAVEL SERVICE (HONGKONG) LTD.** 6 Queen's Road Central, Hongkong  
acting for **CHINA INTERNATIONAL TOURIST SERVICE**  
will be pleased to look after all your  
travel arrangements

For full information, please write to

**CHINESE EXPORT COMMODITIES FAIR, Canton, China**  
Cable Address: CECFA CANTON

**C  
E  
C  
F  
A**