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Revisionism In Trouble

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Khrushchev's dismissal has inexorably revealed what enormous damage his revisionism has done to the international Communist movement.

Obedience to Khrushchev and his various so-called "creative" re-appraisals led a long series of party leaderships the world over out into the morass of revisionism, where they lost their sense of orientation, surrendered every important goal, even their very belief in principles. Therefore these party leaderships, with the possible exception of the Italians, whose revisionism is of a more independent nature, stood helpless and confused when Khrushchev disappeared from the podium.

The party leaderships in the revisionist dominated parties followed Khrushchev's "creative" reappraisal about "peaceful coexistence" which in Khrushchev's interpretation is equal to capitulation to and cooperation with imperialism, first and foremost with the arch enemy of the peoples, American imperialism.

They followed him in his "creative" reappraisal about "peaceful transition" which in practice means abandonment of the proletarian revolution and with it, of socialism.

They followed him in his "creative" reevaluation about "cooperation between Communists and Socialists" which in his mouth meant abandonment of the leading role of the proletarian party.

They followed him in his so-called "fight against the personality cult of Stalin" which was and is a disguise for the breaking down of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Marxism-Leninism itself. (Mistakes

made during the building of socialism in the first country were used by Khrushchev for attacks on socialism itself.)

Confusion and Fear

The confusion at the top of the revisionist parties was and still is total. While, for example, the chairman of the Netherlands Communist Party expressed his unconcealed pleasure that Khrushchev was out -- because this in his opinion would provide new opportunities for a "reconciliation" between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism -- Janos Kadar of Hungary utilized the opportunity at a meeting in Warsaw to direct a new attack against the Chinese Communist Party. At the same time, both parties are in complete agreement on backing the line from CPSU's 20th and 22nd Congress -- in other words on backing Khrushchev's line. The Czechoslovak Communist Party expressed the greatest concern for the future of economic policy in the Soviet Union. They are afraid there will be a return to socialist planning and centralism in Soviet policy, because the Czechs themselves in their new plan have developed further the profit idea as the driving force in the development of production, this which was one of the distinguishing features of Khrushchev's innovations.

The British and Hungarian Communist Parties made it abundantly clear that the new people at the top in the Soviet, Brezhnev and Kosygin had been particularly active in implementing Khrushchev's policy, while the Italians have continued to build on Togliatti's direct attack on the CPSU for not being revisionist enough (too slow in carrying out the "liberalization" and the so-called "destalinization".)

While the majority of the parties either decided that everything about Khrushchev's dismissal had happened in a completely normal and "reassuring" manner, or declared that the shift in power had taken place in a manner harmful to the movement, the Danish Communist Party distinguished itself by holding both positions simultaneously. At the same time that Ib Norlund on several occasions emphasized that everything had happened in a democratic way, and that it was a sign of the strength of socialist democracy that Khrushchev was dismissed, Land og Folk [Land and People, DCP daily] in editorials and speeches by the editor-in-chief plunged into something that came suspiciously close to anti-Sovietism.

Common to all these parties is however the fact that they put the greatest possible pressure on the new CPSU leadership to induce it not to deviate one iota from the revisionist positions of the 20th and 22nd congress. Why do they do it? Because it is the only chance of these parties to maintain, at least to themselves, the illusion that they have arrived "independently" at the same distortion of Marxism that Khrushchev dished out.

The fall of Khrushchev has placed the revisionist party leadership in an uncomfortable situation. If they do not utilize the situation after Khrushchev's fall, or are forced to utilize it, for necessary trenching and self-critical appraisal of the activities and policies of the parties during the past several years, three possible paths are open to them. All three lead to their grave.

Either they continue in beautiful harmony with CPSU on the line followed until now, carry out the open split in the socialist camp and in the international Communist movement and drive at a constantly increasing rate of speed toward the right -- and there they die.

Or in order to prove their "independence" they hold onto Khrushchev's line in spite of a possible Soviet return to Marxism -- and there they die.

Or they turn with the old obedience, without sincere self-criticism and without a genuine appraisal and examination of their own faults, with such a Soviet return to the right path -- and there they die.

Basis for Unity

At the time of writing, nothing is as yet known about the outcome of the negotiations in Moscow. The delegation from the Chinese Communist Party has gone home, but there is no information as to whether Chou En-lai and his comrades succeeded in persuading the new Soviet leaders to re-create unity based on Marxism-Leninism.

One thing is certain however:

The Chinese Communist Party and the other Marxist parties insist that the fight against revisionism must and shall be carried to a conclusion. They insist that unity can be recreated only on the basis of principle. The Chinese Communist Party sent its delegation to Moscow precisely because it wishes such unity and because it is unconditionally opposed to a split and an open break.

Does that mean that CCP and other Marxist parties will demand a clear, sharp and immediate dissociation from Khrushchev's revisionism as the condition for further negotiations and the reestablishment of normal conditions? Of course not.

It might be obvious that true unity in the final analysis is possible only if the CPSU reintroduces the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union; only if the CPSU, in other words, acknowledges that there still are classes and a class struggle, and the absolute leading role of the working class is still necessary, and that the "state of all the people" can only mean that others take over this role; only if the CPSU acknowledges that the so-called "way to Communism" in the CPSU program is impassable

and leads to the resurrection of capitalism; only if it acknowledges that the class struggle still exists and that the revolution must be carried to its conclusion also in the political and ideological area. True and lasting unity is only possible when and if the CPSU acknowledges that the touchstone for a party's revolutionary attitude is whether it stands for the fight against American imperialism and if and when the CPSU returns the foreign policy of the Soviet Union its right foundation.

It might, however, be equally obvious that such a return necessarily must take time. To begin with, the revisionist line was adopted at the party's congresses and can therefore be changed only at new congresses. Secondly, a sudden hasty return would unavoidably do new damage to the international Communist movement and could give the imperialists new opportunities for designs against parts of the socialist camp.

The Touchstone

Marxist-Leninist parties and groups the world over must intensify the fight against modern revisionism now that its top man has fallen. They must painstakingly study and follow the development. They must protest every new manifestation of the wrong policy (the Soviet trade union paper Trud for example, on 30 October this year again attacked Japan's Communist Party) but they must also welcome and support every positive sign. (Thus the Soviet Union has not, as would have been unavoidable under Khrushchev, directed new slanders against China on the occasion of this country's first test explosion.)

The first test for CPSU's new leaders is immediately at hand: the test takes the form of their attitude toward the meeting of 26 Communist parties called by the CPSU's own Central Committee for 15 December. This meeting must either be called off or be given another form and other content, so that it not become a preparation for the planned unilateral "world conference" for the revisionist parties next summer. The way to the goal -- the end of revisionism -- is long and winding. The abandonment of this conference of dissension must be a first step.

