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Workers of all lands, unite!

For the Unity of the International Communist Movement

Documents and Articles

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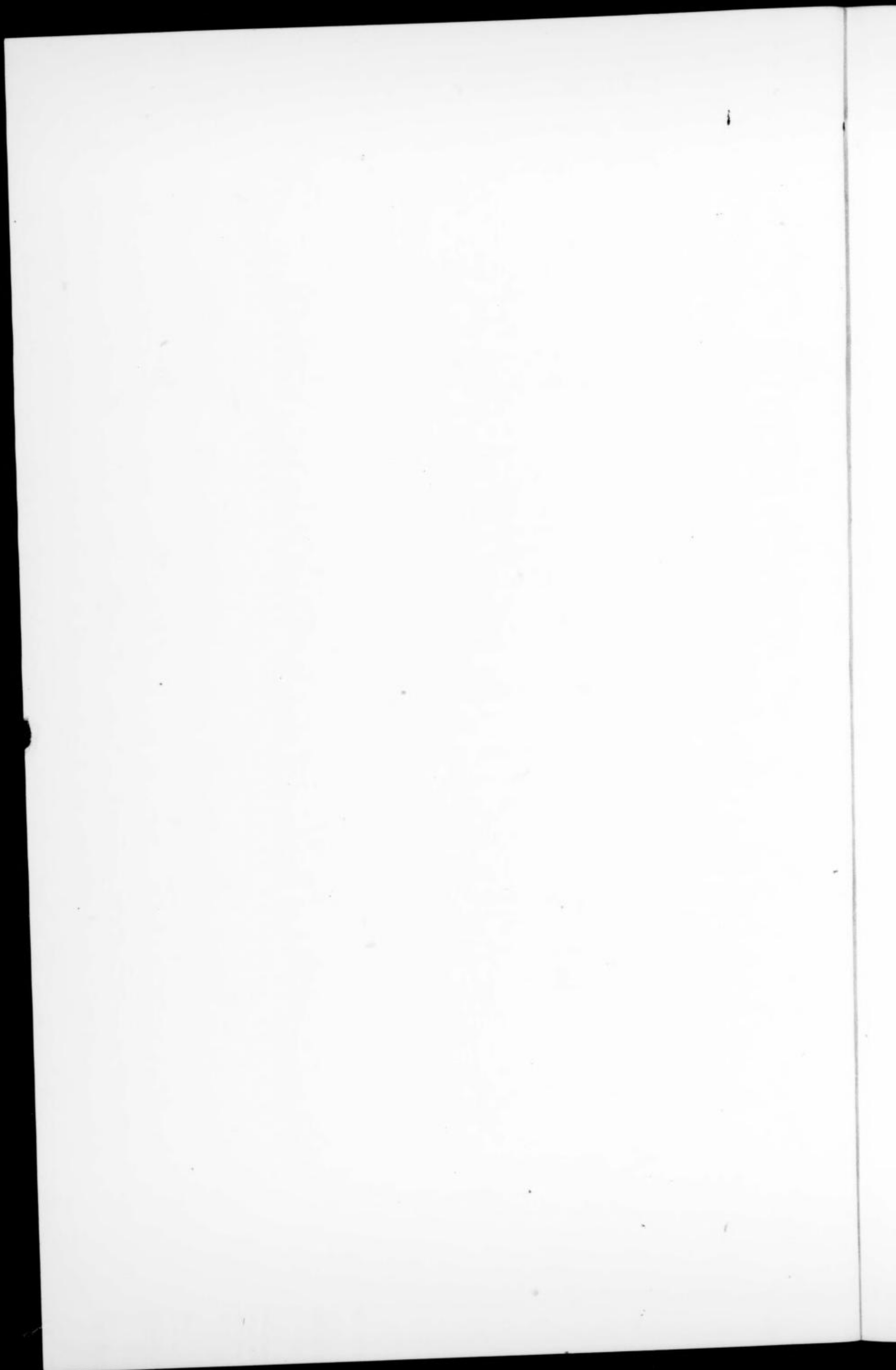
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The present collection of documents issued by Communist and Workers' parties is the first of a series of compilations of documents on the current problems of the world Communist movement which we propose to publish from time to time. We believe that these problems are of interest to large sections of world public opinion.

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STATEMENT of the Soviet Government

Another "Statement of a Spokesman of the Chinese Government" against the Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water was published in Peking on September 1, 1963. On acquainting oneself with its contents one immediately notices that this time too a Government statement is being used mainly to slander the CPSU and other Communist Parties on a wide range of questions where differences exist between the Chinese Communist Party leadership and the international communist movement.

In the new statement the PRC Government actually leaves aside all the arguments put forward by the Soviet Government, the governments of the other socialist countries in favour of signing this Treaty. Apparently the Chinese leaders have nothing to say in justification of their opposition to the banning of nuclear tests and therefore they make up for lack of arguments by abuse and slander against the Soviet Union and its peaceloving foreign policy.

At the same time they are again elaborating on their erroneous and adventurist platform on questions of war and peace, which was emphatically rejected by the peaceloving peoples. Moreover, the Chinese leaders have openly attacked the agreed views and positions of the international communist movement and, instead of increasing the struggle against imperialism, have turned the front against the fraternal socialist states and the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The statement of the PRC Government of September 1, like the entire extensive propaganda campaign started lately by the Chinese leadership is no longer a comradely discussion between Communists, but actions of people who have set themselves the aim of discrediting at any cost the CPSU and the Soviet Union, of splitting the communist movement and undermining the unity of the anti-imperialist forces.

Being aware of the weakness of their ideological position, the Chinese leaders are trying to degrade the discussion on principled questions of our times to the level of a vociferous exchange of angry words and groundless accusations. The Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will never embark on such a road so unworthy of Communists.

We shall not trade abuse for abuse. At the same time we find it

necessary to return once again to a detailed consideration of the questions touched upon in the PRC Government's statement of September 1, and to state our position. It is all the more necessary in that the policy of the Soviet Union is again and again crudely distorted, generally known facts are juggled and documents are even falsified in this, third statement.

I.

In its statement the Chinese Government asserts that the Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water is a "deceit", a "betrayal" of the interests of the socialist countries and the peoples of the whole world.

Nothing could be more absurd than such statements. The reason the nuclear test ban Treaty received such wide support in the whole world is that it meets the interests of all peaceloving peoples and is the first, though limited, but genuine success of the many-years-long struggle of the broad mass of peoples of the whole world against the danger of nuclear war. This success not only did not blunt the vigilance of the peoples as to the intrigues of imperialism, as is asserted by the Chinese leaders, but infused new strength in the fighters for peace, strengthened the belief in the possibility of forcing the imperialists to make concessions.

The peoples of the world see the practical significance of the Treaty in that its signing stops the contamination of the atmosphere with radio-active substances (Strontium-90, Cesium-137, etc.) which are dangerous to the health of people not only of the present but also of the future generations. It is an open secret that the nuclear tests held in the atmosphere, the total yield of which was equal to hundreds of millions of tons of TNT, have increased the level of radio-activity on our planet. Scientists have estimated that every new series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere jeopardises the health and lives of hundreds of thousands of people. One can say with full conviction—and the experience of the past years fully corroborates this—that this year or in the nearest future nuclear tests would again have been held in the atmosphere, spreading to new areas and, undoubtedly, increasing the danger of radio-active contamination, had not this Treaty been signed. Further nuclear tests in the atmosphere would have increased the harmful influence of radio-activity on people, as well as on the animal and vegetable world.

The signing of the nuclear test ban Treaty is directly beneficial to the cause of peace and the interests of the peoples also in other respects. Given that the Treaty is observed by all countries, it will slow down to a certain degree the further intensification of the nuclear arms race.

But not only herein lies the positive significance of the Treaty. The fact that the Soviet Union, on the one hand, the United States and Great Britain on the other, have succeeded in agreeing on the prohi-

bition of nuclear tests in three media creates the prerequisites for increasing trust between states with different social systems and, thus, also for new steps towards easing international tension.

It follows from the foregoing that the nuclear test ban Treaty is good and useful for the people of the world.

Of course, it would have been better if agreement could be now reached on the prohibition of all nuclear tests, including underground tests. It would have been even better to attain the general prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. And it would have been extremely good for mankind to achieve general and complete disarmament today. Precisely such a proposal was made by the Soviet Government at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1960. It is for this that the socialist countries, all peaceloving forces are fighting. The nuclear test ban Treaty is precisely one of the links in this important struggle.

Absolutely groundless are the attempts of the Chinese leaders to present matters in such a way as if the signing of the nuclear test ban Treaty tends to weaken the defence potential of the socialist community. Is it not true that the test ban Treaty imposes identical obligations on all parties to it: none of the states that signed this document obtains any unilateral military advantages. Try as they may, the Chinese leaders are powerless to prove that the nuclear test ban agreement gives any unilateral advantages to the United States of America. In the latest statement, for instance, they are trying to prove that the United States has a superiority in the sphere of underground testing and that this is all that matters. But this is what exactly exposes the utter helplessness of the arguments of the Chinese leadership because in reality the fact of the matter is quite different.

It is no secret that the essence of the nuclear power of the Soviet Union which deters imperialists from aggression is not at all those types of nuclear weapons which are perfected by means of underground tests but exactly those with regard to which the balance is in favour of the Soviet Union, as many American leaders are compelled to admit. This is first. Second, the Treaty that has been signed does not prevent the Soviet Union from carrying out underground nuclear tests should this be necessary for ensuring the security of our country, for the security of all the socialist states. Should one speak at all about who lost and who gained from the conclusion of the Treaty, one can say definitely that it is the forces of aggression and war which have lost, and it is the cause of peace and progress, all humanity, which have gained.

Most diverse forces have given their support to the test ban Treaty. Already over ninety states have signed the Treaty. Among them, along with the socialist countries, there are all the major powers of the world, except France, the ruling circles of which have embarked on a plan of nuclear armament, which has nothing to do with the interests of peace. The overwhelming majority of the states of Asia, Africa and

Latin America which have achieved national liberation have acceded to the Treaty. The Treaty has been positively assessed by international democratic organisations, trade unions, political parties, numerous progressive public organisations. Each passing day brings more and more reports of world-wide support for the Treaty.

Fearing political isolation, even those to whom the Treaty definitely goes against the grain felt themselves compelled to join the Treaty. Chinese leaders are trying to seize upon this fact alone in their hopeless attempts to discredit the Treaty. But did the cause of peace suffer from the fact that the Treaty has been signed for instance by the Government of West Germany, or the Government of Franco Spain? The fact that even these governments, hostile as they are to the cause of peace, have not ventured to evade signing the Treaty, shows its tremendous attractive power to the people which the ruling circles of the capitalist countries are compelled to reckon with.

The world-wide referendum which swept all the continents after the conclusion of the Treaty demonstrated that the Chinese leaders, having come out against the banning of nuclear tests, suffered a serious moral and political defeat.

The unseemly stand of the Chinese Government on the nuclear test ban Treaty is not supported by the peoples. This was convincingly demonstrated at the recent session of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation in Nicosia. Hard as the Chinese delegates tried to induce the participants in that session to refrain from adopting a resolution approving the Moscow Treaty, they had no success. In order not to find themselves completely isolated and "to save face", the Chinese representatives were compelled to dodge and wriggle in every way. They did not dare to vote against the resolution which spoke about support of the Moscow Treaty, although back stage they conducted all kinds of intrigues against the Treaty and before their departure from Nicosia they made a special statement on this question. An unenviable situation for people who try to pose as the only exponents of the opinion of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

Completely untenable are the attempts of the Chinese leaders to appeal to the international communist movement to claim that their obstruction of the nuclear test ban Treaty allegedly follows from the documents of the Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties. One can easily convince oneself that the position of the PRC Government signifies complete apostasy from the common, collectively defined line of the communist movement on these questions. As is known, the 1957 Moscow Meeting of the Communist Parties, along with the Declaration, adopted a peace Manifesto which contains a solemn appeal to all people of good will urging them "to demand prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and, as a first step, an immediate end to the testing of these weapons". Under this document stands also the signature of the leader

of the delegation of the Communist Party of China Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Is it that the events of the subsequent period have compelled the world communist movement to change its attitude to the problem of banning atomic tests and drop from the order of the day the task of struggle for the implementation of this demand? By no means—life has confirmed that this task confronts the peoples just as acutely as before, and this found expression in the decisions of the second international Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960.

The Statement, adopted at the meeting of representatives of 81 Parties, says: "*The meeting considers that the implementation of the programme for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind.* To realise this programme means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realise owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this programme into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the *banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament.*"

This document also bears the signature of the delegation of the Communist Party of China.

This shows that but recently the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party had come out together with all fraternal Parties for the banning of nuclear weapon tests, regarding this as the first and necessary step towards general and complete disarmament.

Three years have passed since then, the struggle of the peoples against nuclear weapon tests mounted more and more. And now that it has been crowned with success, the first step has been made and a test ban Treaty has been signed, the Chinese leaders made a *volte face* and declare it to be "deceit", "treachery", "conspiracy of the imperialists". What is the logic of this one may ask. Is it not clear that we observe here a complete renunciation by the Chinese leaders of the decisions adopted by the fraternal Parties, their full departure from the jointly coordinated positions and commitments?

The Chinese leaders can publish a thousand and one statements more on the nuclear test ban Treaty, but they will not be able to whitewash their perfidy and hypocrisy in the eyes of Communists, in the eyes of all mankind.

The age-old dream of mankind to rule out war from the life of society, has been expressed by the Marxist-Leninists in the slogan: a world without arms, a world without wars. Communists are consistently

fighting for this great goal, rallying around their banner the broadest masses of all the world. This struggle does not mean at all, as the Chinese leaders claim, departure from class positions, but, on the contrary, corresponds fully to the class interests of the proletariat and all the working people, to the tasks of the social and national liberation of the peoples. This struggle strengthens the positions of the anti-imperialist forces and weakens imperialism.

Imperialism props up its domination by force of arms. To achieve disarmament means to deal a blow at the forces of imperialist aggression. It is not difficult to understand why the struggle for disarmament, for a world without arms is one of the most important trends of struggle against imperialism, against the aggressive policy it pursues.

The Chinese leaders pretend not to understand this. They deliberately present the struggle for disarmament as pacifism, thereby depriving it of class content and ignoring the fact that the broadest masses of the working people are primarily interested in the solution of the disarmament problem.

As a matter of fact, the arguments of the Chinese theoreticians place them in a vicious circle, out of which there is no way. According to their logic wars can be done away with and disarmament achieved only after imperialism is liquidated. At the same time the liquidation of imperialism is directly linked with the need for the working class and all the popular masses to undermine its militarist foundation. But this is precisely the struggle that the Chinese leaders attack, arrogantly calling it pacifism. The erroneousness of this position stems from the incapability or unwillingness of the Chinese leaders to see realistic ways of struggle against imperialism, which open up in the present-day epoch. Their loud, bombastic revolutionary phrases on the need for putting an early end to imperialism actually cover up their lack of confidence in the forces of world socialism, in the forces of the working class, the national-liberation movement, fear of difficulties in the struggle.

One should not be surprised that such points of departure lead the Chinese leadership to capitulation over the most important questions of foreign policy, including the possibility of solving the problem of disarmament.

The world communist movement holds that in our time the solution of the disarmament problem is a realistic and feasible goal. The possibility of achieving disarmament was already foreseen by the founders of scientific communism, and what is more, in an epoch when capitalism dominated all the world. Thus, characterising the conditions in Europe in the closing quarter of the last century, Engels wrote in 1893 about the mad arms race, about the desire of every great power to outstrip others in war preparedness. "Is there no other way out of the blind alley," he inquired, "except a devastating war never before seen by the world?" And he replied: "I maintain that disarmament, and hence a guarantee of peace, is possible..."

What premises did Engels proceed from in this conclusion? Primarily from the fact that "In all countries the broad sections of the population on whom almost exclusively lies the obligation to supply the mass of troops and to pay the bulk of the taxes, are calling for disarmament". (Marx and Engels, Works, 2nd Edition, Vol. 22, p. 387.)

It will be seen from the above that Engels regarded disarmament as a problem which has a most direct bearing on the interests of the broad popular masses and if for this fact alone is a deeply political and therefore a class problem. And, of course, it is a far cry from what the Chinese "theoreticians" who are so prone to pose as the most righteous Marxists, say about disarmament.

In our epoch the prerequisites for a successful fight for disarmament and peace have grown immeasurably. The appearance of mass-destruction weapons has made disarmament a truly essential task for the broadest masses. The forces of the international working class, the forces of champions of disarmament and peace have greatly multiplied. These forces now lean on the might of the world socialist system: they are headed by the most influential political force of modern times—the international communist movement. The demand for disarmament is supported by scores of peaceloving states, by peoples who are waging a struggle for national liberation, by the trade unions and many political parties and democratic organisations.

It is clear that in such conditions the question of whether there will be a war or not, whether disarmament will be achieved or not, depends to an ever increasing extent not on the imperialists, but on the peoples themselves, on all peaceloving forces of the world, on the vigour and scope of their struggle.

It is an elementary truth that as long as imperialism exists it retains its aggressive nature, its contradictions, it is fraught with war. Proceeding from this the Chinese leaders contend that war is inevitable. Communists cannot take up such a fatalistic position. We realise that the struggle against a new world war, for disarmament is not an easy task. But we clearly see the possibilities for settling this historic task, we have done and are doing everything necessary to mobilise the peoples for the struggle against the arms race, for preventing a new world war.

One also cannot by-pass the fact that the PRC leaders have lately been attempting to use questions of disarmament for unseemly political manoeuvres.

Together with other fraternal Parties the Chinese leaders have signed the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting which expresses support for the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament. However, soon afterwards they declared disarmament an illusion, launched a campaign against these proposals and are waging it for several years already. Suddenly, on July 31, 1963 the PRC Government loudly and solemnly proclaimed a programme of complete prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and all means of delivering them to

targets. It was with surprise that world public opinion saw that this programme had actually been compiled from earlier Soviet proposals, which but recently were called "illusions" in Peking.

The question naturally arose: in the name of what aims has the PRC Government come out now with this programme? It is not difficult to see that the Chinese leaders made this manoeuvre in the hope of counterpoising the demand for the prohibition and liquidation of nuclear weapons to the nuclear test ban Treaty. But this manoeuvre failed because anyone, even a person not well versed in politics, understands that an ending of nuclear weapon tests does not contradict, but, on the contrary, facilitates the task of fully prohibiting and liquidating it.

But in its new statement of September 1 the PRC Government in point of fact is again beating a retreat. Now it leaves aside the solemnly proclaimed programme for nuclear disarmament, that was copied from Soviet proposals, and narrows things only down to a prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons "just as the use of poison gases was prohibited". It thus disavows its previous demand for a stoppage of production of nuclear weapons, for liquidating their stockpiles and means of delivery.

The raising of the question on prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons is, of course, also not new. This proposal has already long been advanced and upheld by the Soviet Union and many other states. Already two years ago, thanks to the joint efforts of the socialist countries, the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it was possible to achieve the adoption by the United Nations' General Assembly of a decision on the need for concluding an international agreement prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons. Undoubtedly the conclusion of such an agreement would be useful. One cannot, however, counterpoise the task of achieving such an agreement to the already signed nuclear test ban Treaty, just as one cannot direct the entire struggle for disarmament to this—also partial—measure.

As is seen, the Chinese leaders do not have any programme for disarmament. They do not wage and do not want to wage struggle for this great aim and if they do sometimes speak about disarmament, they do this only to conceal their real plans.

II.

The statement of the Chinese Government says that in "justifying" the nuclear test ban Treaty (as if this treaty needs justification) the Soviet Union has advanced some sort of "slandorous concoctions" about China. What are they referring to? To the fact, it appears, that our Statement of August 21 exposed the actual motives that guided the Chinese leaders in their opposition to the nuclear test ban Treaty—it showed their desire to acquire their own atom bomb at any cost. The Chinese leaders do not agree with this conclusion. In their statement of September 1 they even call it "ridiculous" and, to make their answer more

biting, they quote a Chinese legend with the following moral: "Everyone has his own ideals and it is not for gnomes to measure with their yardstick the doings of giants".

One will have to return once again to the motives that prompted the Peking "giants" to rush into battle against the nuclear test ban Treaty. What is said about this in their new statement? It actually confirms the conclusion that we have drawn and confirms once again that the negative position of the PRC Government to the nuclear test ban Treaty is explained precisely by their desire to turn their country into a nuclear power. The Chinese statement again reiterates the contention that the Treaty allegedly fixes the "monopoly" of three powers on atomic and nuclear weapons and is aimed at "binding the hands of socialist countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union, binding all peaceloving countries".

In the first place it is deeply provocative of the Chinese leaders to pose the question of "monopoly" on nuclear weapons in such a way as to put the Soviet Union, a socialist state, on the same footing as imperialist states—the United States of America and Britain. The peoples of the countries of the socialist community and all the peoples of the world know well whom the nuclear weapons at the disposal of the Soviet state serve, and whom the nuclear arsenal of the imperialists serves.

But this is not the only point. The Chinese leaders found it necessary to talk about "monopoly" also to justify their right to nuclear weapons. But in vain the authors of the statement are trying to speak for the socialist and for all peaceloving countries; as is known, not one of them had proclaimed its intention to acquire nuclear weapons. Far from that, the governments of socialist states have more than once made statements to the effect that they did not intend to create their own nuclear weapons, being convinced that the nuclear-rocket shield possessed by the Soviet Union was a reliable means of their defence.

This time, however, the Chinese Government revealed its intentions even more openly having proclaimed for all to hear that despite all the economic difficulties experienced by the country it was prepared to work, if need be for a hundred years, to create its own atomic weapons. Thus, we see that the schemes of the Peking "giants" are quite transparent.

Naturally, the question whether or not China is to develop nuclear weapons is one for the People's Republic of China herself to decide. But other socialist countries are entitled to say what they think about the position of the PRC Government which obstructs the nuclear test ban Treaty, which has the unanimous support of all the peoples. It is a fact that the international consequences of such a position directly affect all the socialist countries.

The striving to secure an atom bomb at any price by any means cannot but cause serious doubts concerning the aims of the foreign policy of the PRC leaders. It is a fact they cannot prove that this is

necessary in the interests of the defence of China and of the entire socialist camp. It is well known that the nuclear power of the USSR is sufficient to wipe off the face of the earth any state or coalition of states which would encroach on the revolutionary gains of the socialist countries. Even the imperialists have no illusions on this score.

In these conditions are Chinese atomic bombs too needed for the defence of the socialist camp? Of course not! The Chinese leaders themselves not so long ago admitted that, inasmuch as the Soviet Union achieved great successes in the production of nuclear weapons, China clearly "need not organise the production of such weapons, all the more so considering that it is very expensive". It was none other than Mao Tse-tung who said this in September 1958. What has changed since then? Has the nuclear-rocket power of the USSR become weaker? On the contrary, the whole world knows the tremendous successes of our country in this sphere. If anything did change it was the policy of the PRC Government, its attitude toward the Soviet Union, toward the entire socialist community.

In recent times quite a lot has been said about the spread of nuclear weapons not being in the interests of the cause of peace. An increase in the number of socialist countries possessing nuclear weapons would immediately evoke a chain reaction in the imperialist camp and the atomic sarcoma would spread throughout the whole globe, multiplying the threat of nuclear war. The authors of the statement hint that the Soviet Union could, if it wanted, hand nuclear weapons to China with one hand and, with the other, fight against the United States giving nuclear weapons to West Germany. But such prescriptions have a bad odour, so to speak.

Indeed what would have happened if the Soviet Union on the one hand would start arming its allies with atomic bombs and on the other, would shower protests against similar actions of the United States? What would be the consequences of this? The most deplorable. If the United States imperialists have not up till now given atomic weapons to West Germany, Japan and their other allies, this is explained first of all by the fact that they did not venture to go against the position of socialist countries, the unanimous demand of the public in their own and other countries. And what would happen if we followed the insistent advice from Peking? The aggressive circles in the United States and in the other imperialist countries would immediately use this for stepping up the nuclear arms race, for involving ever more and more countries in it. This can only hamper people's resistance to the nuclear arms race in the countries of capitalism. We consider such a development of events as very dangerous for the cause of peace.

The Chinese Government believes that the atomic arming of West Germany, Japan and the other imperialist powers could allegedly be compensated by China gaining possession of nuclear arms. But if we recognise that imperialism is the source of war, it is necessary also to recognise that the danger of war will increase proportionately to the

number of imperialist states receiving nuclear arms. Especially when these are countries where aggressive, revanchist elements are so strong. It is common knowledge that the rulers of West Germany, for instance, are not only allies of American imperialism, but have their own aggressive plans vis-a-vis the GDR, as well as Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, and are striving to secure the revision of frontiers. Revanchist designs are also harboured by Japanese reaction.

The reason why the imperialists of West Germany and other countries are trying to acquire nuclear weapons for themselves is easily explainable: they need them for their predatory, aggressive foreign policy. But it is inconceivable how people who call themselves Marxists can, by their policy, help the revenge-seekers and other reactionaries to realise their schemes. To enable revenge-seekers to get hold of nuclear weapons is tantamount to placing a torch into the hand of madmen dancing on a powder keg.

Common sense indicates that it is in the interests of peace to refrain from increasing the number of nuclear powers, to wage struggle for the banning and complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

Unfortunately, common sense is not the forte of the Chinese leaders. Otherwise they would have reckoned at least with the interests of economic development of their country and would have been grateful to the Soviet Union for shouldering the difficult task of manufacturing nuclear weapons for the defence needs of the entire socialist camp. It is well known that China does not have surplus means. And it really takes enormous means to produce nuclear weapons.

We have spoken of all this honestly and frankly with the Chinese leaders. But the authors of the statement tried to reproach us even with this. Wishing, evidently, to play upon the national feelings of the Chinese people, they present matters in such a way as if the Soviet Union gloated over China's poverty and backwardness. And this they say about the Soviet people who themselves suffered enormous privations in overcoming the age-old backwardness of tsarist Russia. We do not consider ourselves a poor country, but even we have much to do to put an end to those material difficulties which still exist for the time being and about which we speak openly.

Our Party, the Soviet Government, approach with full understanding and sympathy the difficulties experienced by other peoples, by the great Chinese people. We know that their basic cause is the grim past of China, the aftermath of imperialist domination, of many years of wars, of the tyranny of the feudal-bureaucratic upper crust.

Soviet people sincerely rejoiced when, as a result of the heroic work of the Chinese people, the physiognomy of China began to change, new factories and mills appeared, irrigation works were built and the reorganisation of agriculture on socialist principles began. Comrade N. S. Khrushchov spoke of this on November 29, 1956: "Soviet people view with admiration the victories of the Chinese people, the victories

of the glorious fraternal Communist Party of China under whose leadership the Chinese people are successfully building socialism."

The Soviet people not only rejoiced at the successes of fraternal China, but also helped the Chinese people to overcome quicker the dire legacy of the past, to develop successfully their national economy, to create new branches of industry, to carry out a technical revolution, to train national cadres, to put an end to poverty and need. The Chinese leaders do not like it for some reason or other when we recall this. But we speak of our assistance not for the sake of boasting, but to show the peoples that the Soviet people honestly discharge their international duty to the fraternal Chinese people. It is not our fault that the leaders of the People's Republic of China have curtailed economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and thereby deprived the Chinese people of a chance to benefit by the Soviet Union's unselfish help.

Because the interests of the Chinese people are dear to us, we were upset by the change which occurred in the development of the Chinese national economy in 1958, when the PRC leaders proclaimed their course of the "three red banners", announced the "great leap" and began setting up people's communes. Our Party saw that this was a road of dangerous experiment, a road of disregard for economic laws, for the experience of other socialist states. For instance, we could not help doubting the plan to increase steel output in the People's Republic of China from 5 million to 80—100 million tons in five years, to increase gross industrial output 6.5-fold, and agricultural production—2.5-fold. These planned assignments were not corroborated by any grounded economic calculations. We could not but feel alarmed when the leaders of the PRC began attacking, at every step, the Leninist principle of material incentive, abandoned the principle of remunerating labour and went over to an equalising distribution in the people's communes.

Our Party did not deem it expedient to come out with open criticism of this course of the Chinese leadership. At the same time we also could not advertise these unjustified experiments, because we would thereby have done a disservice to the Chinese Communists and have misled other fraternal Parties. We deemed it our duty back in 1958 to tell the Chinese leaders in a straightforward and comradely way our doubts concerning such "innovations". This was said by N. S. Khrushchov personally to Mao Tse-tung in the summer of 1958. The head of the Soviet Government noted in these conversations that many things, which the Chinese comrades regard as the latest additions to Marxism, as a method of accelerating the construction of communism, have already been tried by our people in practice during the first years of the revolution. We have learnt in our time that such a form of the production organisation of peasants as the commune did not justify itself for many reasons. Our Party solved the task of reorganising the socialist transformation of agriculture according to Lenin's cooperative plan.

The Chinese leaders did not wish to heed our arguments, did not take into consideration the experience of our Party and state. Moreover, people in China began to call us conservatives, believing that the "great leap" and people's communes would permit the People's Republic of China to skip a whole stage of construction of a new society and go over to communism right away.

Everybody now knows what really came out of all this. The industry and agriculture of China were gravely deranged, and the leaders of the CPC have been compelled for several years to work on a so-called "adjustment" of the national economy, which actually means recognition of the utter failure of the "three red banners" course.

Today the leaders of China try to explain the serious economic difficulties of their country by various objective reasons. What is more, they strive to put the blame for these difficulties on the Soviet Union, declaring that failures in the PRC economy arose because the Soviet Union had allegedly violated the existing agreements and recalled its specialists. The Soviet Government has already explained more than once the reasons why it was compelled to recall from China specialists, who were placed by the Chinese authorities in conditions excluding the possibility of normal work and humiliating to their human dignity. And we do not deem it necessary to dwell at length on this question here. The attempts of the Chinese leaders to justify difficulties in the development of the Chinese economy by references to the recall of Soviet specialists are absolutely groundless, the more so since not a single Soviet specialist is known to have worked in Chinese agriculture or in many branches of industry. No matter how the Chinese leaders manoeuvre they will have to admit sooner or later that the true reason for the dire state of the Chinese economy lies in the fact that the Leninist principles of managing the socialist economy were grossly violated there, grave mistakes were committed, for which the Chinese people now have to pay.

Striving to substantiate their stand in the question of nuclear arms, the PRC leaders have gone to such lengths as to say that the Soviet Union has for some time now become an unreliable ally, that now it could not be relied upon, and this is why China must create her own nuclear arms. To give this so-called argument the semblance of truth, they distort the Soviet stand over Taiwan, which is known to all the world, and accuse the Soviet Union of having agreed to recognise the existence of "two Chinas".

What "proofs" are adduced to confirm this? Primarily that the Chiang Kai-shekites have signed the American copy of the nuclear test ban Treaty. In this connection the Chinese Government hastened to declare: you accuse us of linking up with the American "madmen", French extremists and West German revanchists, while you yourselves, having signed the Treaty have landed in the same company as Chiang Kai-shek.

And this is called proof! As if the Chinese leaders do not know that

the Chiang Kai-shekites have signed the Treaty precisely for the purpose of speculating on the political miscalculations of the PRC Government its irresponsible stand with regard to the Treaty and thereby create the impression that, as distinct from the PRC, they are for easing international tension. American propaganda is using this fact to further its own ends in every way.

It is not the Soviet Union that is to be blamed for the fact that the Chiang Kai-shek scum and American propaganda have received a chance for such speculations, but the Chinese Government, which alone is responsible for this. There can be no doubt that the imperialists will strive to avail themselves further of every such opportunity in their interests. One cannot expect anything else from them.

As to our attitude to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, it is well known. We did not recognise and do not recognise the signature of the Chiang Kai-shek representative on any international document. The Soviet Government did not invite the Chiang Kai-shek representative to sign the Treaty and did not give its consent to this. Moreover, the Soviet Government warned the United States Government during the talks on the conclusion of the Treaty that it would not recognise the signature of a representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and that the only legitimate signature of China under the Treaty could be the signature of a representative of the People's Republic of China.

It can only be regretted that precisely this signature is lacking under the test ban Treaty.

The statement of the PRC Government also contains another absurd invention, namely, that the Soviet Union "wants China to agree with the shady deeds of the United States, aimed at setting up 'two Chinas' ". What is more, references are made to the statement of Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, made in October 1959 during a conversation with PRC leaders. During this talk N. S. Khrushchov said, touching on the Taiwan question, that different ways were possible to solve it—not only military, but peaceful, too. Now the Chinese leaders, distorting the meaning of this statement, strive to present the case as though the Soviet Union, believing in the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan issue, thereby recognised the "two Chinas" situation.

But this, of course, is utter nonsense. It was none other than the PRC Government which once advanced the idea of Taiwan's peaceful reunification with the rest of the territory of China and even, as it was reported, was ready to give Chiang Kai-shek a responsible post in the Chinese Government. Did it thereby also want to legalise the "two Chinas" situation?

All the world knows that the Soviet Government has always shared and supported the stand of the People's Republic of China over the question of Taiwan. The Soviet Union has never agreed, nor will it agree, to the severance of Taiwan from China, and it resolutely rejects the "two Chinas" concept. In the course of the talks with the United

States President in 1959, the head of the Soviet Government. N. S. Khrushchov, resolutely stressed that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China and that the Chinese people have every right to liberate Taiwan. The message from the head of the Soviet Government to the President of the United States of October 12th 1959 said, "The so-called Taiwan question is a question of relations between Chinese and Chinese, the purely internal affair of China. The extension to Taiwan of the state system existing now on the rest of the territory of China will in point of fact be the concluding stage of the revolutionary liberative process which has been going on in China for many years. No international complication would have arisen over Taiwan had it not been for foreign interference in the Civil War in China, had it not been for the situation artificially created in Taiwan as a result of military support and protection of Chiang Kai-shek by the United States of America."

Addressing the United Nations General Assembly session in 1960, the head of the Soviet Government N. S. Khrushchov declared: "It is no secret to anyone that the idea of 'two Chinas' in actual fact is a poorly disguised diversion aimed at partitioning the territory of great China and at annexation of one of its parts—the Taiwan Province. It is long since clear that the provocative plans for creating 'two Chinas' are doomed, and the sooner certain politicians in the United States understand that, the better it will be for the cause of world peace."

The Soviet Union more than once proved by deeds its loyalty as an ally in relation to fraternal countries, including China. Who does not remember, for instance, that when a dangerous situation arose in the area of the Taiwan Strait, the Soviet Government warned the President of the United States that it would regard an attack on the People's Republic of China as an attack on the Soviet Union and that if the aggressor used nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union would use its nuclear rocket weapons to defend China.

During those anxious days the Chinese leadership was grateful for the effective Soviet support and duly appreciated the role of the Soviet Union in ensuring the security of the People's Republic of China. The letter of the Central Committee of the CPC of October 15, 1958, signed by Mao Tse-tung, said: "We are deeply touched by your boundless devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism. On behalf of all comrades, members of the Communist Party of China, I convey cordial gratitude to you..." The letter went on to say: "We are fully confident that if the course of events on Taiwan comes to a war between China and the United States, the Soviet Union will certainly render us assistance with all its forces. Actually, in our struggle with the Americans we have now received powerful support from the Soviet Union."

The newspaper *Jen Min Jih Pao* wrote the same thing (September 11, 1958): "The Statement of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to the effect that an attack on China would be tantamount to

an attack on the Soviet Union and that the USSR, together with China, would do everything to uphold the security of both states and the interests of peace in the Far East and the world over constitutes effective and powerful support for the people of China in their struggle against American armed provocations. This is a serious warning to the American rulers."

And now that the perilous days of the Taiwan crisis are behind, the Chinese Government makes the directly opposite contention. "A still greater absurdity," it writes in its statement of September 1, "is the fact that the Soviet Statement credits to Soviet nuclear weapons also the victory of the Chinese people in the cause of smashing the armed provocation of the American imperialism in the Taiwan Strait in 1958... Although the situation in the area of Taiwan Strait was tense the possibility of nuclear war did not arise and there was no need to render support to China with Soviet nuclear weapons. When all this became clear to Soviet leaders, they came out in support of China".

The Chinese leaders, it seems, have a short memory. They think that one can appraise facts in one way today, in another tomorrow, and in still another—the day after tomorrow. Unfortunately such a treatment of facts has become the usual method of struggle of the PRC leaders against the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties. But slander and lies only undermine their authority, give rise to still greater doubts about the political aims of the Chinese leadership.

The matter, however, is not limited to this. Now that the United States imperialists know about the might of the Soviet nuclear-rocket shield that is reliably guarding the security of all socialist countries, the Chinese leaders are less afraid of the possibility of American aggression against China. In this situation they believe they can permit themselves to mock those very measures of the Soviet Union during the Taiwan crisis for which, at that time, they themselves ardently thanked us. The Chinese leaders now cynically say in their statement of September 1: "Very well, protect us, Soviet leaders, with your nuclear weapons, but we shall still criticise you."

One cannot but recall in this connection the old Russian proverb: "Don't foul the well, you may need its water."

The statement of the Chinese Government contains also an amazing conclusion which deserves to be quoted: "It is true that if the Soviet leaders really followed principles of proletarian internationalism, then China would not have to ponder over the need for producing nuclear weapons. However, it is also true that if the Soviet leaders really followed principles of proletarian internationalism they would have no grounds whatsoever to prevent China from producing nuclear weapons."

There is also another proverb: "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones." The Chinese leaders who are taking up a more than doubtful position should better be careful in raising the

question of proletarian internationalism, about who is violating its principles. The stones thrown by them are flying back shattering to pieces their fragile logical structures. Indeed, if the leaders of China follow the principles of proletarian internationalism, why do they try so hard to get hold of their own atom bomb? People who do not stop at anything in their desire to acquire new types of devastating weapons should after all have some motives. What stands behind this desire?

From our point of view the very idea of the need for acquiring their own nuclear weapons could occur to the leaders of a country, the security of which is guaranteed by the entire might of the camp of socialism, only in the event that they had developed some sort of special aims and interests which cannot be supported by the military force of the socialist camp. But such aims and interests can be developed only by those who have renounced proletarian internationalism, are departing from socialist positions in questions of foreign policy and discarding the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence.

It is impossible to combine the peaceloving course of the foreign policy of the countries of the socialist system with plans of developing one's own nuclear weapons in order to increase, for instance, one's influence in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, or to create for oneself "a position of strength" in international issues, or to increase international tensions. Frankly speaking, we would not like to think that the PRC Government is guided by such motives.

We are convinced that the prestige of any socialist country is gauged by the example it gives to the peoples in the struggle for the achievement of their aspirations, in the construction of a better life, in the development and strengthening of economy and culture, raising the wellbeing of the working people, developing socialist democracy, in the struggle for peace on earth. This is what really raises the international authority of socialist countries in the eyes of people of the whole world. And it is this policy that was bequeathed to Communists by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

III.

Of late the PRC leaders have quite often had to justify themselves with regard to the just accusations advanced by the world public, to the effect that, by their policy, they are leading the matter to an aggravating of world tension, are pushing the world toward a thermonuclear war. And in the statement of September 1, the Chinese leaders try to prove that they have never come out against the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, but, on the contrary, are the most fervent supporters of the prevention of war.

Such utterances by the Chinese leadership could be welcomed if they indeed signified a turning point in the views of the CPC leaders on questions of war and peace and in their policy on the world scene. In reality, however, we see that they are not even thinking of such

a turning point, but, as before, are upholding their erroneous conception of questions of war and peace, fraught with serious consequences for the security of nations. The difference between their present statements and the previous ones consists only in that they are now trying still more to screen their real position, to hide it behind words about peaceableness, about the desire to preserve peace.

But, by resorting to denial and justification, the authors of the statement become still more confused and give rise to new doubts with regard to the true attitude of the Chinese leadership to the problem of war and peace.

Indeed, what are they trying to prove? They allege that quotations from statements by Mao Tse-tung that not all, but half of mankind will perish in a future war and from his well-known article "Long Live Leninism!" published in the magazine *Hungchi* on the "wonderful prospects" which allegedly will open before mankind after a thermonuclear war, have been divorced from the text and misinterpreted in Soviet documents.

Well, we are ready to examine the question as to who is distorting and who is misinterpreting both quotations. We shall dwell on this below.

But do not the authors of the statement see that in this way they are giving themselves away lock, stock and barrel, that they are not refuting, but only once more confirming the grave fears of the world communist movement and the progressive public with regard to the position of the Chinese leaders to questions of war and peace? What are they trying to say? Actually it is about what portion of mankind will perish in the event of a new world war—100 per cent or only one half. The statement says: "The words of Mao Tse-tung, expressed in 1957 and quoted above, were addressed to those people who allege that, in case a nuclear war is unleashed by imperialism, mankind will perish." "We," the statement goes on to say, "do not agree with these views of theirs, so pessimistic and full of despair. We say that if imperialism unleashes a nuclear war, it will bring death to half of the global population at most." And in conclusion it says: "We are confident of the bright future of mankind."

Monstrous talk indeed. What "wonderful future" can one speak of having in view the prospect of the annihilation of one half of mankind! No less dangerous is another thing: the Chinese leaders are making their forecasts regarding the possible consequences of war not simply because they want to peer with their mental eye into the future but in order to justify a definite policy.

The authors of the statement themselves do not deny that. Summing up the argument on how many people will perish in the flames of thermonuclear war, they write: "Essentially the question is what policy, after all, should be followed in the face of the nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat of the American imperialism—to offer resistance or to surrender?" It goes without saying that no Soviet leader ever posed or could pose the question of surrender. It is not for surrender

that the Soviet Union has created and is perfecting its enormous nuclear might. There is not, nor can there be any doubt that if the imperialist aggressors attack the socialist camp they will receive a crushing rebuff.

The question stands differently: should we seriously and with all our strength fight for peace, should we adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as the general line of foreign policy, or take the cue from the "wild men" and compete with the imperialists in building up international tension? It is in solving this question that the Chinese leaders deliberate whether a half or 100 per cent of mankind would be destroyed in the flames of a new war. If "only" a half would be destroyed, then a war may be risked because a "wonderful future" is in store for the other half!

That this is exactly how the question is being posed is evident also from the pronouncement of Mao Tse-tung even in the altered form in which it is given in the statement of the Chinese Government of September 1st: ("...If it comes to the worst a half of humanity will perish but a half will remain. But imperialism will be razed off the face of the earth and the whole world will go socialist"). No less eloquent in this sense is a quotation from the *Hungchi* magazine which the statement seeks to disprove, to the effect that in case of war the victorious peoples "will rapidly create on the ruins of destroyed imperialism a civilisation a thousand times higher."

We consider that it is absolutely impermissible for Communists to argue from such positions, determining policy on the basis of how many people will perish in a thermonuclear holocaust: a half of mankind or the whole of mankind. We Marxist-Leninists hold the destinies of all the peoples close to our hearts. We realise full well what modern nuclear weapons mean and therefore we consider as absurd and irresponsible the forecasts concerning the scale of casualties in a future war, which is what the Chinese leaders are doing instead of concentrating efforts on the struggle for preventing a new world war. If Communists, if peace fighters, if all the peaceloving forces permit atom bombs to start falling, then the question of how many people will perish and how many will survive will no longer be controlled by governments and political parties. It will be decided by military technology, by the logic of the development of war, by the number of countries and peoples involved in the sphere of the direct or indirect effect of nuclear weapons.

Trying to distort the clear-cut position of the CPSU on the question of atomic war and its consequences, the Chinese leaders ascribe to the CPSU leadership, to Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, a statement allegedly made by him at the Bucharest meeting of fraternal Parties, to the effect that now that there exist nuclear weapons, "a popular levy is not an army but cannon fodder". Having invented this absurdity, the authors of the statement, then and there draw a staggering conclusion from it: "In the eyes of Soviet leaders the entire three

thousand million population of the globe are nothing but worthless trash."

Will any one who knows the high humanism of Soviet foreign policy, who is aware of our struggle for the destinies of the peoples, believe this invention? This is what N. S. Khrushchov actually said:

"Let the Chinese comrades take no offence. Of course, you have a great experience of war, but chiefly of guerrilla war, while we fought a more serious, so to say, classic war against Hitler Germany. Imperialist strategists now regard divisions as cannon fodder. What counts with them now is who has hydrogen bombs and combat planes and how many. Whereas formerly the enemy had to be put out of action with the bayonet, now bombs will be dropped". This is what was said in Bucharest. What evil intent have the Chinese leaders read into this?

The Chinese theoreticians have set out in earnest to argue their formulas for a "wonderful future". They are even trying to substantiate a certain law according to which the more people perish, the better for the cause of the revolution. "Reactionaries of every stripe sought to destroy the revolution by means of terror," says a Chinese volume entitled *Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers*, "they thought that the more people are killed, the smaller would be the forces of the revolution. Contrary to such reactionary subjective wishes, facts show that the more people are killed by reactionaries, the greater are the forces of the revolution, the nearer is reaction to its doom. This is an inexorable law."

The Chinese leaders urge the socialist countries, Communists to become fatalists and accept the inevitability of sacrificing in a new war half of the population. And can we be certain that it is only a half? It is clear that the losses of the countries with a great population density, of the countries which will be in the centre of hostilities would be even greater and their people may cease to exist altogether.

In point of fact they have spoken about that with utmost frankness and on more than one occasion. For instance, when a Czech journalist noted in conversation with Tao Chu, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, that in Czechoslovakia, inhabited by 13 million people, the entire nation might perish in the event of thermonuclear war, he was told: "In the event of a war of annihilation the small countries belonging to the socialist camp will have to subordinate their interests to the common interests of the entire camp." Another high official of the PRC in conversation with Soviet representatives contended that the General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, Comrade Togliatti, was wrong when, expressing concern for the destiny of his people, he said that in the event of thermonuclear war the whole of Italy would be destroyed. "But other peoples would remain," said that official, "and imperialism would be destroyed..."

This, in essence, is the viewpoint of the Chinese leaders on the ques-

tion of world thermonuclear war. They refuse to consider the tremendous casualties that war would bring, they refuse to consider scientific data and, with stubbornness worthy of better use, keep repeating that one should not exaggerate the dangerous consequences of world war even if half of the population of our planet would perish. But even if some part of humanity—whether half, more than half or less than half—survives, who can seriously think, that those who survive would be able to rapidly build a new and higher civilisation in conditions when cities, economic and cultural centres would be radio-active debris, whole countries scorched by nuclear fire and the earth's atmosphere poisoned by lethal radio-active substances.

In politics one must proceed not from Utopia but from the fact that thermonuclear war would entail disastrous consequences for all the peoples, for all the world. All countries, even those which survive the war, would be set back by decades and perhaps even by centuries in their development. In a world after thermonuclear war matters will look differently with regard to the birth rate than in the picture the Chinese leaders are trying to portray: half the people will perish but, never mind, mothers will give birth to new ones and the human race will be none the worse for that.

Chinese leaders refuse to consider all these facts: essentially they preach that thermonuclear war is permissible. What is this after all, a special brand of heroism, or some new-fangled humanism? Is such a position compatible with the lofty duty of leaders of the working class, of the working people? Did they in Peking stop to ponder over the question who, properly speaking, is destined to perish in the flames of a thermonuclear war, if it does break out? Imperialists, monopolists? Regretfully not they alone. They will touch off the war but it is the tremendous mass of working people, workers, peasants, intellectuals that would perish in it.

Not a single Marxist party which has a responsibility to the people will ever accept the Chinese propositions as the basis of its policy.

This is how matters stand with regard to the substance of the argument. Now let us return to the question of quotations. The authors of the statement quote a corrected text of Mao Tse-tung's pronouncement at the 1957 Moscow Meeting which differs substantially from the original text. In the interests of truth we shall quote from the records of the Meeting the actual words uttered by Mao Tse-tung in the presence of the participants in the Meeting. This pronouncement shows most glaringly the erroneous views of the Chinese leadership.

"Can one estimate," he said, "how great would be the number of human casualties in the future war? Possibly it would be a third of the 2,700 million of the world population, i. e., only 900 million people. I consider that this is even low if atom bombs would really be dropped. Of course, this is terrible. But even a half would be not so bad. Why? Because not we wanted that, but they. It is they who are imposing war on us. If war breaks out atom and hydrogen weapons will be used. For

myself, I think that in the entire world there would be great suffering if half of humanity and perhaps even more than a half were to perish. I have had an argument about this with Nehru. In this respect he is more pessimistic than I am. I told him that if half of humanity is destroyed, the other half would remain, but imperialism would be destroyed entirely and there will be only socialism in all the world, and in half a century or in a whole century the population would again increase by even more than a half."

The substance of this pronouncement is fully confirmed in the statement of September 1, but the version of the text cited in that document contains words and phrases which clearly betray a desire to veil its real meaning. For instance, the statement makes special emphasis on the words: "Here in China we are engaged in construction, we want peace. However, if the imperialists, despite everything, impose war, we shall have to clench our teeth and postpone construction and resume it after the war." The point is, however, that it was not these words at all that were uttered at the 1957 Meeting. This is what Mao Tse-tung said: "In China construction has not got under way in earnest. If the imperialists impose war we shall be prepared to stop the construction; let us first have a test trial of strength and then return to construction."

It is clear to everyone that this pronouncement has quite a different meaning. What meaning has the appeal "first have a test trial of strength and then return to construction"? Does it mean a call to peace, to the struggle for peaceful coexistence? In essence, this is exactly an orientation towards an armed conflict, towards a military solution of the contradictions between socialism and capitalism. And no one would be able to present this orientation as a slip of the tongue. The Chinese leaders are displeased when they are reminded of this statement of Mao Tse-tung, claiming that the matter concerned the case where the imperialists would thrust war on the peoples. In this connection, we would like to ask: where and when did they speak of any other prospect of victory over capitalism? Where and when did they definitely declare that the socialist countries could inflict defeat on capitalism in peaceful competition with it?

The Chinese press and the CPC documents systematically and stubbornly preach the idea that "peaceful economic competition is not a real means of struggle against imperialism", that "peaceful coexistence cannot be recognised as the general policy of the socialist countries".

The facts show that instead of a policy of peaceful coexistence the Chinese leaders are intensely praising the cold war, a situation of world tension.

As far back as 1958, when the view concerning the supposed benefits which the cold war situation offered to the interests of the revolution was apparently only taking shape in Peking, the head of the People's Republic of China advanced the following ideas: the West thinks that it will profit from the cold war. However, the cold war "is

more profitable to our countries". Later the Chinese leaders developed convictions of this kind into a whole "theory". "In the talks on the questions of international policy," runs the resolution of the 3rd plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Costa Rica People's Vanguard Party, "the Chinese leaders told our comrades that the 'cold war is a fine thing' and that the 'situation of tension is a fine situation' for the development of the revolutionary struggle."

These ideas are being extensively advocated in the PRC press. Here are some examples. In one of its December 1962 issues, the newspaper *Jen Min Jih Pao* wrote: "As to the assertion that it is possible to create by means of peaceful coexistence 'a world without wars', this is certainly absolute nonsense". Liao Cheng-chih, Member of the Central Committee of the CPC, tried to prove at the World Peace Council session in Stockholm in December 1961, that those who think that it is possible to reach agreements with the imperialists and ensure peaceful coexistence, are fooling themselves.

Let us analyse the real meaning of these propositions.

On the one hand, the Chinese leaders assert that war is inevitable as long as imperialism exists, and advocate the view that international tension and the cold war are a blessing. On the other hand, they say that if world war does break out nothing terrible will happen because half of mankind will remain alive anyway, and will build a more wonderful future.

If you link these views into one, you will see clearly that they do not deal at all with the things that will happen if the imperialists unleash war, in spite of all the efforts of the peace forces. Such talk is only a camouflage. In reality, the stand of the Chinese leadership looks quite different. The war variant of development of events is regarded by it as inevitable and even more desirable than the peaceful variant.

With all this in the background it is hard for the Chinese leaders to pose as champions of peace and peaceful coexistence.

However, it is not only a matter of quotations and statements, but the fact that in recent years the PRC leaders have been actually implementing a policy which leaves no doubts as to their desire to undermine the peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

Having no faith in the possibility of preventing world thermonuclear war, the Chinese leaders set obstacles on the path of implementation of the measures proposed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to lessen international tension. Every time in recent years when, thanks to the efforts of the socialist countries and peaceloving peoples, a relaxation of tension appeared possible, the CPC leadership left no stone unturned to prevent such a relaxation. At present there remains no doubt of the fact that one of the reasons for the attack of the Chinese leaders on the policy of the world communist movement was the lessening of international tension which began to emerge in 1959, a certain relaxation of the cold war between the Soviet Union

and the United States, especially after Comrade N. S. Khrushchov's trip to the USA.

It cannot be considered as accidental that at that time the Chinese leaders got themselves involved in an armed clash on the Indo-Chinese border, and this, besides creating an acute situation in that part of the globe, was ultimately aimed at torpedoing the relaxation of international tension as a whole, which had occurred.

At the time when the Sino-Indian conflict began in 1959, the Soviet leaders frankly told the PRC Government that the aggravation of the dispute in connection with the frontier territories in the Himalayas, a dispute inherited by China and India from the old days, and the development of this dispute into a large armed conflict was undesirable and fraught with negative consequences not only for Sino-Indian relations, but for the entire international situation. We consider that in frontier disputes, especially in a dispute of the type of the Sino-Indian clash, one should adhere to the Leninist views according to which it is possible to settle any frontier problems without resorting to armed force, granted that both sides desire to do so.

At present, everyone can already see that the Sino-Indian conflict in the Himalayas had the most negative consequences for the cause of peace, inflicted great harm on the unity of the anti-imperialist front in Asia and placed the progressive forces in India in an extremely difficult position.

As could be expected, China herself did not benefit in any way. Her prestige in the eyes of the peoples of the world, and especially of the Afro-Asian peoples, has certainly not grown. It was with a feeling of bewilderment and bitterness that the peoples saw one of the socialist countries, which had recently become independent and served as a model to them, involving itself in a military conflict with a young neutralist state and, using its military superiority, endeavour to gain for itself in that way a favourable solution of an issue over a piece of territory.

The Chinese leaders ignored the comradely advice of other socialist countries and fraternal Parties. Moreover, they saw in this an unwillingness to support them in the international arena and considered this comradely advice a great offence to themselves. In the article "What Is the Cause of Disputes?" the Chinese comrades directly link the beginning of their differences with the fraternal Parties with the fact that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries failed to support unconditionally China's stand in the conflict on the Indo-Chinese border.

The actions of the PRC leaders, undermining the policy of neutralism, in effect, help the imperialist powers to increase their influence in the emancipated countries and especially in India. All this can, of course, impede the development of the struggle for national independence and have a negative effect on the balance of forces in the world arena. Such an attitude to a neutralist country is all the more unclear in view of

the fact that the PRC Government had in every way been making overtures to the obviously reactionary regimes in Asia and Africa, including the countries belonging to imperialist military blocs.

The Chinese leaders often use for anti-Soviet purposes the question of the Soviet Union's aid to India. However, they do not tell their people the truth about the fact that Soviet aid to the peoples of emancipated countries is prompted by a desire to strengthen their economic and political positions in the struggle for independence and against imperialism.

This policy is also manifest in our relations with India. The Soviet Union helped the Indian people, who had shaken off the yoke of British imperialism, to strengthen its neutralist positions and to oppose the attempts of the imperialists to impose an economic yoke on India. We have always considered this policy correct, for it conforms to the interests of peace and socialism.

It would not be amiss to recall the fact that before 1959 the People's Republic of China pursued the same kind of policy with regard to India. We were glad to see the development of good-neighbourly relations between Asia's two largest states, their mutual support in the struggle for peace and against the aggressive designs, of imperialism. We welcomed the friendly contact between Chinese and Indian leaders, their joint statements in favour of peace, and especially, the pancha shila principles proclaimed by Premiers Chou En-lai and Nehru. In the light of all this the Sino-Indian armed conflict was a complete surprise both for the Soviet people and the whole world public.

Now the Chinese leaders make accusations, stating that India is waging war against China and using Soviet armaments. This, first of all, does not tally with the facts. Secondly, if one were to follow this kind of logic, the Indian Government has much more reason to declare that the Chinese troops are waging war against India and are using Soviet armaments, because everyone knows about the tremendous military aid which the Soviet Union renders China.

We were prompted by the best of sentiments in helping socialist China and peaceloving India. We proceeded from these friendly feelings and the interests of consolidation of peace and unity of the anti-imperialist forces when we declared that the Sino-Indian conflict evokes our deep regret. We still consider that the settlement of this conflict in a peaceful way, through negotiations would conform to the interests of the Chinese and Indian peoples, to the interests of world peace.

In recent years the Chinese side has been committing such acts on the borders with neighbouring states that give reason to think that the PRC Government is departing in this question more and more from the Leninist positions. The PRC leaders, deliberately concentrating the people's attention on the frontier problems, artificially fan nationalist passions and dislike for other peoples.

Beginning with 1960, Chinese servicemen and civilians have been systematically violating the Soviet border. In 1962 alone, more than

5,000 violations of the Soviet border from the Chinese side were registered. Attempts are also being made to "utilise" some parts of Soviet territory without preliminary permission. A Chinese citizen, who crossed the border, had the written instruction of the people's committee of Heilungkiang Province, which said: "When fish is caught on the disputed islands of the Amur and the Ussuri, Soviet border guards often demand that our fishermen leave these islands. We propose that the catching of fish on the disputed islands be continued and that the Soviet border guards be told that the above-mentioned islands belong to China, and that the border is being violated by them, and not by us." And further: "... Our fishermen are not to be removed from these islands under any conditions. We presume that, in view of the friendly relations between our countries, the Soviet side will not resort to force to remove our fishermen from the islands."

The Soviet Government has a number of times already offered the PRC Government to hold consultations on the question of ascertaining separate sections of the border line, so as to exclude any possibility of misunderstanding. However, the Chinese side evades such consultations, at the same time continuing to violate the border.

This cannot but make us wary, especially in view of the fact that Chinese propaganda is making definite hints at the allegedly unjust demarcation of some sections of the Soviet-Chinese border, made in the past.

However, the artificial creation in our times of any territorial problems, especially between socialist countries, would be tantamount to embarking on a very dangerous path. If at present states begin to make territorial claims on one another, using as arguments some ancient facts and the graves of their forefathers, if they start fighting for the revision of the historically developed frontiers, this will lead to no good and will merely create feuds among all the peoples, to the joy of the enemies of peace.

It should not be forgotten that in the past the question of territorial disputes and claims had often been a source of acute friction and conflicts between states, a pretext for fanning nationalist passions. It is common knowledge that territorial disputes and frontier conflicts were used as a pretext for predatory wars. That is why Communists consistently work for the solution of frontier problems through negotiations. The socialist countries, which are guided in their relations by the principle of proletarian internationalism, should set other peoples an example of friendly settlement of territorial problems.

The Soviet Union has no frontier conflicts with any of its neighbouring states. And we are proud of this because such a situation accords not only with the interests of the Soviet Union but also with the interests of all the socialist countries, the interests of world peace.

The unworthy methods used by the Chinese leaders in their struggle against the Leninist foreign policy course of the socialist countries are particularly clearly manifested in their statements concerning last

year's crisis in the Caribbean. Much space is devoted to this question in their statement of September 1. You can find there assertions to the effect that the reasons for the crisis were the "careless actions of the Soviet leaders", and that it was "adventuristic" to install Soviet rockets on Cuba, as well as all sort of talk alleging that the evacuation of these rockets from Cuba meant "capitulation". Only one thing is lacking in the PRC Government statement — the truth.

According to the Chinese leaders it was not the aggressiveness of US imperialism that brought the world to the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe in October 1962; it appears that US imperialism is not to blame, for it did not even think of threatening Cuba. This, however, is a flagrant lie, which Peking needs now in order to calumniate retrospectively the Soviet Government's actions, taken at a critical moment for the defence of the Cuban revolution from the threat of US military intervention.

The Cuban leaders and the Soviet Government had no doubts that such a threat existed and that clouds over Cuba were becoming more menacing almost every day. The fact that there existed an understanding between the US Government and the Cuban counter-revolutionaries about the invasion of Cuba and that it was only left to select the moment for the invasion was confirmed half a year later by the statement of Miró Cardona, ringleader of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries. In April 1963 he made public the fact that the Cuban counter-revolutionaries had signed an agreement with the US Government on organising an invasion of Cuba.

Under these conditions the Soviet Union, acting in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, supplied without hesitation its nuclear missile weapons for the defence of Cuba's revolutionary gains. The resolution of the Cuban people and the presence of the Soviet rockets did their job. US imperialism did not venture to attack Cuba, and the plan of invasion was upset. Moreover, assurance was received from the US President that the USA would not attack Cuba and would keep her allies from doing so in the future.

All this is well known to the entire world. And here is how Comrade Fidel Castro assessed the role played by the Soviet Union in those grim days, its might, its policy in safeguarding the integrity of revolutionary Cuba. He said: "Shining in eternal glory will be the country which, to protect a small people thousands of miles away, put on the scales of thermonuclear war the wellbeing forged by 45 years of creative labour and at the price of tremendous sacrifices! The Soviet country, which lost more people in the Great Patriotic War against the fascists than the whole population of Cuba in order to uphold its right to existence and to development of its tremendous wealth, did not hesitate to shoulder the risk of a terrible war in the defence of our small country! History has never known such an example of solidarity.

"This is internationalism!

"This is communism!"

Need we add anything to these words of Comrade Fidel Castro?

This is how the Soviet Union acted, guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism. It acted, brushing aside the provocative "advice" which came from Peking during the Caribbean crisis, advice which would surely have plunged the world into the abyss of thermonuclear war if we had followed it instead of the Leninist course of our foreign policy. For the Chinese leaders, in effect, tried then to push us into an extremely dangerous gamble and to convert Cuba into a testing ground where the conception formulated in Peking for the small peoples—to sacrifice themselves "for the sake of the wonderful future of mankind"—would have been tried out for the first time.

Now a year after the Caribbean crisis it has become even more clear that the Chinese leadership sabotaged the agreed actions of the socialist countries to ensure the security of the Freedom Island, and thereby played into the hands of the aggressive circles of imperialism.

The imperialist circles of the West do not conceal their satisfaction with the present course of the People's Republic of China, frankly declaring that the policy of the PRC Government facilitates their actions in maintaining the tension in the Caribbean. Can this course of the Chinese leaders be described otherwise than betrayal of the interests of the Cuban people, betrayal of the interests of the peoples of the socialist countries?

The policy of the Soviet Government directed towards a peaceful solution of the Caribbean crisis, towards protecting the peaceful labours of the Cuban people has been warmly and unanimously approved by the entire Soviet people, by all the peaceloving people of the globe. Only the extreme malice of the Chinese leadership can explain the fact that they are even now trying to profit from the difficulties which existed during the Caribbean crisis, by repeatedly advancing a provocative version concerning the policy of the USSR during that period.

IV.

This is not the first time that we have dealt with statements by Chinese leaders to the effect that the struggle for relaxation of international tension, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems allegedly contradicts the tasks of world revolution, of the national-liberation movement. In their latest document of September 1 the Chinese leaders are again using the Government statement to raise this question once more. They contend that the struggle of the Soviet Union for peace and peaceful coexistence is nothing but a "ban on revolution", oblivious to the interests of the peoples' liberation struggle.

Inasmuch as the correct understanding of problems of war, peace, and revolution acquires in our time prime importance for working out the correct political line of the socialist countries, of the entire com-

munist movement, we must demonstrate once more the fallaciousness of the views and actions of the Chinese leadership on these questions and state our own position.

Does the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence favour the development of the revolutionary class struggle in the capitalist countries? Does it favour the upsurge of the national-liberation movement? Is it in the interests of the working class, of the working people, i.e., of the overwhelming majority of the population of the earth, to strengthen the cause of peace, to force upon imperialism a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems? It is on the answer to these questions that the strategy and tactics of the working class and the communist movement in large measure depend.

The entire experience of the working class and the national-liberation movement in the post-war years shows convincingly that the struggle for socialism is closely interwoven with the struggle for peace, that not a single problem of the revolutionary and liberation struggle of the peoples of any magnitude can now be regarded out of the context of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

Summing up this experience the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out in its statement that it is "in the conditions of peaceful coexistence that favourable possibilities open up for developing the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonies and dependencies. In turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and the national-liberation struggle help to strengthen peaceful coexistence".

Peace is the prime condition for consolidating and expanding the positions of socialism in the world arena. Socialism does not need war. In conditions of peace the socialist system has the most favourable chance to display its superiority over capitalism, to achieve successes in economic development, to develop democracy, to raise the welfare and culture of the people. And this, as Lenin taught, is the main way for increasing the revolutionary influence of the socialist countries on other peoples.

In conditions of peaceful coexistence of the two systems there takes place an upsurge of the economic and political struggle of the working class and the broad masses of working people of the highly developed capitalist countries against imperialism, for their vital interests, for socialism. In 15 post-war years in the capitalist world, two-and-a-half times more workers and employees took part in strikes than in twenty pre-war years. The tide of the strike movement is rising ever higher. Whereas 13.8 million people took part in strikes in 1956, this figure soared to more than 60 million in 1961. The international communist movement has turned into the biggest political force of our time.

Life shows that the policy of peace, of strengthening peaceful coexistence does not impede but stimulates an upsurge of the national-liberation movement. It is a fact that in conditions of peaceful coexisten-

ce of states with different social systems the peoples of more than 50 countries have achieved national independence. Conditions of peace give them favourable opportunities for consolidating their political independence, for achieving economic independence, for overcoming age-old backwardness. The national democratic forces have opportunities to press for realisation of social reforms in the interests of the broad mass of the peoples. Countries which have freed themselves from colonial oppression are now becoming more and more important political factors in the international arena. Now, not a single world problem can be decided without their participation.

Peace is the true ally of socialism, of the international working class movement, of the peoples fighting for national liberation, and time is working for socialism and progress, against imperialism.

What would have happened had the socialist countries, the international communist movement accepted the line of the Chinese leaders on the issues of war and peace?

For socialist countries that would have meant that they would have had to curtail peaceful construction, to slow down the rate of development of productive forces and raising the living standards of the people because they would have had to divert quite a substantial amount of additional resources for military purposes.

Reactionary circles of capitalist countries usually take advantage of conditions of international tension to resort to violent repressions against working class and democratic organisations, to decimate and drive underground the Communist Parties, to attack the vital interests, the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people.

To countries that have freed themselves from colonialism, the stepping-up of tension would complicate the solution of the task of creating a national industry, of ousting imperialist monopolies from their economies and of the implementation of social reforms by the progressive forces, would divert their resources, scanty as they are, for military preparations. It would retard the liberation of the peoples still under the yoke of colonialists.

Had the viewpoint of the Chinese leaders got the upper hand, had the Communists themselves, instead of fighting for peace, adopted the road of aggravating international tension, had they admitted that world war is fatally inevitable, mankind would have been plunged into a thermo-nuclear holocaust. And in vain the Chinese leaders delude themselves and others into thinking that this allegedly would have brought nearer the triumph of world revolution.

When the CPSU and the fraternal Parties of other countries say that imperialism would be destroyed in the flames of a new world war, they proceed from the assumption that the working people themselves would overthrow the ruling exploiting class of their countries on which lies the grave responsibility for the monstrous annihilation of millions upon millions of people. But if the Communists, following the line of the Chinese leaders, were to lower the banner of peace and, even more than

that, if they themselves were to help to unleash a war, would the people entrust their destinies to such quasi-Communists?

No, the people would never forgive those who, in some way or another, plunged mankind into a thermonuclear war, no matter what revolutionary phrases were used to cover this up.

It will be easily seen that the policy of the Chinese leaders is directed against the fundamental interests of the people of all countries. In reality, it means betrayal of world socialism, of the working class and national-liberation movement, treason to the cause of world revolution.

Revising the teaching of Marx and Lenin, the general line of the communist movement, the Chinese leaders are trying to impose on the international working class and on the national-liberation movement the theory of triggering off revolution by means of "revolutionary wars". They believe that only in this way the socialist countries can promote the cause of revolution in the capitalist countries.

In this case we are dealing with a violation of the Leninist thesis that revolution is the internal affair of the working people of each country and that revolution cannot be imported from abroad. Having adopted a policy of triggering off revolution, the PRC leaders irresponsibly proceed from the assumption that revolutions are possible always, everywhere and under all conditions. They ignore the real balance of class forces, ignore the question of whether a revolutionary situation exists in a given country, and fail to take into account the international situation.

The Chinese theoreticians deliberately lump together a multitude of different questions: world war, local wars, national-liberation and civil wars—popular uprisings, peaceful and non-peaceful revolutionary ways. They need this to distort the position of the CPSU and other fraternal Parties, to present matters in such a way as if the communist movement, by adopting the policy of defending peace, is opposing revolution.

But the position of the CPSU and of the fraternal Parties is clear. We are most resolute opponents of world wars just as we are of wars between states in general. It is only the imperialists that need a world war for the seizure of foreign territories, for enslaving and plundering the peoples, for struggle against the socialist countries. Firmly and consistently we maintain that there is no justification, nor can there be, for unleashing a new world war, which, considering the destructive nature of modern weapons, would be a genuine disaster for the peoples. Naturally, there is no doubt that if the imperialists do unleash war, the peoples will sweep away and bury capitalism. But Communists, who represent the peoples, are called upon to do everything in their power to prevent a new world war.

At the same time, the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties deem it necessary to display maximum vigilance in respect to all local wars and conflicts engendered by the imperialist "positions-of-strength" policy. Facts show that in the face of an abrupt change in the

balance of strength in favour of world socialism, certain imperialist circles, fearing that a world war may end in complete collapse for the imperialists, are banking on touching off local wars, striving thus to realise their aggressive designs.

It is the task of all democratic and peaceloving forces to give a most determined rebuff to the imperialist instigators of local wars. This is all the more important because local wars could be the spark that might ignite the flames of world war. The Chinese leaders make a serious error in contending that under no conditions would local conflicts lead to a universal thermonuclear war. The logic of their reasoning is such that it leads to the recognition of local wars as an acceptable and expedient political method for the socialist countries as well, in particular, for the "export" of revolution.

But the entire experience of the post-war years, the experience of such crises, for instance, as the Suez crisis caused by Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt, shows how great in our time is the threat of local wars developing into a universal war. Likewise, quite real is the danger of the use of thermonuclear weapons in local wars if countries possessing such weapons or countries bound by allied agreements with the nuclear powers are involved in such wars.

Fundamentally different is our attitude towards national-liberation, civil wars—popular uprisings. Peoples fighting, arms in hand, for their freedom and independence, for socialism, are waging a just war and we support them as we always have done.

A war of liberation, just like civil war, is, as a rule, fought within one country. The question of the use of nuclear weapons does not arise in connection with it. Until now, these have not been used in such wars. And this is quite comprehensible because often in such cases there is even no clearly defined frontline dividing the adversaries. So it was in Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, and in other countries.

The Soviet Communists welcome the struggle of the peoples who are waging wars for national and social liberation and render them every possible assistance.

As to the question of peaceful and non-peaceful forms of the national-liberation struggle and the struggle for socialism, here too the position of the CPSU and the fraternal Parties is absolutely clear and fully accords with the interests of the peoples. We proceed from the premise that there exist various forms of struggle, that revolutionary forces must wield all these forms—both peaceful and non-peaceful, be able to apply them properly in conformity with the concrete situation. Such a position is genuinely Leninist and the only correct one. It has been laid down in the most important documents of the international communist movement.

It is not the CPSU, or the communist movement, but the Chinese leaders who are departing from these theses. Mao Tse-tung says outright that "the world can be rebuilt only with the help of a rifle", that "war can be destroyed only through war". War, to quote Mao Tse-tung, is

precisely the bridge over which "mankind will pass over to the new historic epoch".

The theory of "revolutionary war" for the purpose of accelerating the revolutionary process is by no means a new one: it has been extracted from the dusty Trotsky archives. This pseudo-revolutionary theory was smashed to smithereens in his time by V. I. Lenin. And now, many years later, there are people who wish to make this scheme universal and foist it on the revolutionary forces.

What did V. I. Lenin say about the so-called theory of accelerating revolution, preached by Trotsky and the "leftwingers"? He called it an "itch for revolutionary phraseology". V. I. Lenin said that any muzhik would have told the author of such a theory "you know, my lord, it's best you leave off governing a state and enlist as a verbal clown or go and have a hot bath to wash off the itch". (Works, Russian Edition, Vol. 27, p. 18.)

V. I. Lenin used to tell such people: "Maybe the authors believe that the world revolution needs *jogging*, and that it can be jogged only by war—and in no case by peace, which might give the masses the impression that imperialism was being 'legitimatised?' Such a 'theory' would be completely at variance with Marxism, which has always been opposed to 'jogging' revolutions, which develop as the acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions ripens. Such a theory would be tantamount to the view that armed uprising is a form of struggle which is indispensable under all conditions." (Works, Russian Edition, Vol. 27, p. 49.)

V. I. Lenin fought implacably against revolutionary phrasemongers. His behest to the Communists was: "We must fight against the revolutionary phrase, we have to fight, fight without fail, so that it should not some day be said as the bitter truth about us: 'the revolutionary phrase about the revolutionary war killed the revolution'." (Works, Russian Edition, Vol. 27, p. 10.)

The Chinese theorists, who repeat the shabby anti-Soviet slander about a "ban" on the revolution, cannot, of course, be unaware that revolution does not occur on orders from Moscow or from Peking, and that once it is ripe, no "ban" can stop it. And if they seriously believe in the possibility of starting a revolution by left revolutionary phrasemongering, they are very far from Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on revolution is now known to all educated people. Marxism-Leninism teaches that definite objective and subjective prerequisites are necessary for the victory of the revolution. Struggle for the revolution in the capitalist countries is an internal matter of the working class of each country. Only the working class of this or that country and its Communist vanguard can determine the revolutionary tactics, the forms and methods of their struggle, determine the time and forms of the revolution.

The victory of the cause of socialism and the national-liberation movement is inevitable. This is an objective process following from the

developement of human society. Just as in its time capitalism replaced feudalism, socialism in the same way will inevitably defeat capitalism. Neither Washington, nor London, nor Paris, nor Bonn can prevent the process of the collapse of capitalism. The question is not whether "to carry on or not to carry on the revolution", as posed by the Peking theoreticians. Only naive people can think that should some leader suffering from "an itch for the revolutionary phrase" wish it, revolution would immediately flare up in any part of the world. The authors of this theory should ponder over why, despite all their incantations, life is passing them by.

Indeed, can the experience of revolutions in the postwar epoch be confined to any set pattern? The Chinese leaders, for instance, believe that all the post-war years were years of "revolutionary wars", that all the peoples have achieved liberation or can achieve it exclusively by way of war.

But this is an attempt to distort reality, to squeeze it into the narrow pattern of dead schemes. In reality, the national liberation of the peoples was achieved in a struggle in which the most diverse methods and means, both peaceful and non-peaceful, intertwined.

The Chinese leaders are accusing the Soviet people of pacifism, of striving to disarm the liberated countries. Perhaps the Chinese leaders have facts in their possession in this respect? No, they do not have a single fact and for all the length of their statements they have not mentioned concrete examples.

That is why they have to resort to groundless declarations. There are quite a number of them in the latest Chinese Government statement too. It says that our policy in respect of the national-liberation movement boils down to the following: "one should not put up resistance to imperialists who possess nuclear weapons; if oppressed peoples and oppressed nations put up resistance and socialist countries support this resistance then this will mean pushing mankind to world thermonuclear war". Every word here is a lie, intended to delude and deceive uninformed people. The reason for this political subversion is clear: to smear the Soviet Union, to sow mistrust among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the Soviet Union's policy.

But the struggling peoples know full well that the Soviet Union has always come out and will come out against colonialism, that it has supported and will support the sacred struggle of the oppressed nations. "The Soviet Union's position is precise and clear-cut," Comrade N. S. Khrushchov stated. "In Asia, Africa, Latin America, in no area of the world should there be a single people carrying the chains of colonialism. All peoples should be free."

The Soviet Union is doing everything necessary to prevent a nuclear hurricane from sweeping our planet, from scorching the continents, leaving behind millions and millions of corpses, including countries that have become free of colonialism. Is there anything bad in this? Every sensible person will reply: "this is good, I am grateful to the Soviet

Union". But the Chinese Government for some reason is not satisfied by this struggle of the Soviet Union. But, because they did not dare to state this openly they decided to resort to falsifications, attempting to pass black off for white.

In its desire to smear the Soviet Union's policy, the Chinese Government resorts to crude inventions which sometimes reach the point of absurdity. They state, for example, that Soviet leaders have called the national-liberation movement a "movement of corpses". The Chinese leaders apparently think that all means are good provided they lead to the aim they have set. But one may ask: what do such methods have in common with the ethics of Communists? The Soviet Union believed and believes that the newly-independent countries, in order to uphold their independence in modern conditions, must not disarm, but strengthen their defence, and is helping them in this righteous cause.

The Soviet Union is supporting the young, newly independent countries and is helping them to defend their national interests not only by word but also by deed. Our people sees its international duty in rendering this aid. Why are the Chinese leaders keeping absolute silence about this aspect of the question? Why are they so irritated by every mention of the concrete practical aid rendered by our country to the peoples who are in need because of the aggressive intrigues of the imperialists or are experiencing serious economic difficulties in the strengthening of the independence of their countries? The reply to these questions evokes no doubts. The Chinese leaders have set themselves the aim of driving a breach in the relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and other countries of socialism and the national-liberation movement. They are pressing for this for the sake of their own special vanguard aims which dominate their entire present-day political course.

Promoting this course the PRC leaders are trying to shout as loud as possible about their revolutionism. But no one has ever heard of a single instance when shouts have brought down even a flimsy structure. The more so since this refers to the capitalist system. An eastern proverb says: "If one hears someone shouting 'sweets, sweets', he will not have a sweet taste in his mouth". Victory of the revolution needs not hysterical appeals but the resolve of the working people, high organisation, it needs the greatest possible number of practical deeds in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.



When you take a closer look at the theories of the PRC leaders, and especially their practical activities in the world arena in recent times, you cannot help doubting if they are really such zealous revolutionaries as they make out. Are they really so concerned for the fate of the world revolution, for the struggle of the peoples of other countries for socialism? The facts show that far from giving priority to the interests of

the peoples fighting for socialism and national liberation, the Chinese leaders pursue their own great-power aims.

Were the Chinese leaders concerned for the fate of the Cuban revolution in the period of the Caribbean crisis? No, they occupied a provocative position, adding fuel to the glowing embers of conflict, and strove for only one thing, regardless of the consequences this might have had for the Cuban people—to exploit the crisis for factional ends.

And did they reckon in the Sino-Indian border dispute with the consequences their policy might have for the revolutionary forces of India, for the Communist Party, the working class of that country, for the entire national-liberation movement? No, in this case, too, they pursued their own particular aims.

Do they care now for the consequences which this would have for the peoples of the world when they urge them in their statement to disregard the actually existing situation, not to reckon with the possibility of thermonuclear war? Everything shows that the true goals of the Chinese leadership are becoming increasingly removed from the interests of the struggle for the victory of socialism in all countries of the world.



The recent facts, special place among which belongs to the active struggle of the Chinese leaders against the nuclear test ban Treaty and vehement attacks upon the Soviet Union, which are particularly clear in the latest statement of the PRC Government, cannot but evoke deep alarm. The statements and concrete practical steps of the Chinese leaders as regards the questions of war, peace and peaceful coexistence, the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement, the unity of the socialist camp, and Sino-Soviet relations show that the PRC Government is departing more and more from the common coordinated line of the nations of the socialist community, from the programme provisions and principles of the communist movement.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have repeatedly stated that they will do everything to strengthen unity between the CPSU and the CPC, between the Soviet and the Chinese peoples. These statements have been backed by the necessary practical deeds on our part. But, unfortunately, all our calls to the Chinese comrades, urging them to embark upon the road of eliminating the differences, in order to develop our relations on the basis of what unites us, remained unheeded. All our practical steps in this direction did not meet with support.

While the CPSU and the Soviet Government have been working wholeheartedly to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the world communist movement, the PRC leaders are going farther and farther along the road of a split. The disagreements which arose between the leaders of the CPC on the one hand, and the CPSU and the world com-

munist movement, on the other, are being extended by them more and more to inter-state relations. The Chinese Government has resorted to openly hostile acts against the Soviet Union. Its foreign policy steps contradict more and more the peaceloving policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

The latest statements of the Chinese leaders against the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties make one apprehensive in one more respect. They have not only outstripped all the previous statements of the Chinese leaders in abuse and invective but they disclose to the imperialists the internal affairs of the communist movement, the confidential correspondence between the governments and Parties of the socialist countries, international talks and meetings of the fraternal Parties.

Not being scrupulous in the choice of words and expressions, the leaders of the CPC viciously slander the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its leadership, the leading agencies and functionaries of other Communist and Workers' Parties, and especially Comrade N. S. Khrushchov. Judging by everything, they have set before themselves the special task of discrediting the outstanding leaders of the world communist movement, who are waging a principled and consistent struggle against the splitting line of the Chinese leaders.

All this shows that the leaders of the CPC have transcended the boundaries of comradely Party discussion and are now waging an open political struggle against the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, for their special goals. The impression is being created more and more that the Chinese leadership regards the Marxist-Leninist Parties that are not in accord with them and their leaders as their political opponents.

The Soviet people reject wrathfully and indignantly this unseemly campaign against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, against the world communist movement.

All Soviet people, the whole Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are rallied closer than ever around the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov. The sentiments and thoughts of our Party, of all the Soviet people were expressed by the June Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. It stressed in its resolution: "The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee approves fully and unanimously the political activity of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee and of the First Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade N. S. Khrushchov in the further rallying together of the forces of the world communist movement, and also all the concrete actions and steps taken by the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee in mutual relations with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China."

Our country and our Party are linked with the great Chinese people and the Communist Party of China by long-standing unselfish friend-

ship. "The Soviet people," Comrade N. S. Khrushchov stressed, "treat the Chinese people as their brothers, friends and allies." Our fraternal attitude to the Chinese people remains unchanged. The Soviet Government declares that it will go on doing everything in its power to eliminate the existing differences, that it will stint neither forces nor time to strengthen unity with China on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet Government would like to stress again that it is impermissible to transfer differences in ideological questions, disagreements arising between parties, to relations between socialist states, to use them as a pretext to fan nationalism and chauvinism, mistrust and disunity among the peoples of these states. There is no justification nor can there be for the fact that the Chinese leaders instead of considering in the course of friendly discussion the existing differences, as befits Communists sharing the same views, have embarked upon the road of hostile anti-Soviet attacks and slanderous sallies against our Party.

We are deeply convinced that in the prevailing situation the question of ending open polemics between the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the USSR, between the CPC and the CPSU remains just as pressing as before. It is common knowledge that the CPSU Central Committee advanced even prior to the meeting of the delegations of the two Parties in Moscow and during the meeting itself a proposal to end open polemics in order to discuss calmly and in a businesslike way the existing disputed questions, to find ways for overcoming the differences that have arisen. We hold now, too, that those who really strive to strengthen the camp of socialism, who want to consolidate the unity of the world communist movement, must come out for the ending of open polemics, because such polemics stir up and deepen disagreements. Only people who pay lip-service to unity, while actually pursuing a splitting policy, can refuse to end the polemics.

The meeting of representatives of the CPSU and the CPC, which was held in Moscow from July 5th to 20th, 1963, has not ended—it was suspended on the motion of the Chinese delegation and agreement was reached to continue it later. It should be pointed out that the latest action of the PRC Government and the CPC leadership, their open hostile campaign against the CPSU and the Soviet Union do not testify at all to their intention to continue the meeting.

Our readiness to avail ourselves of all opportunities in an effort to overcome the existing disagreements is dictated by sincere concern for the interests of the countries of the socialist community and the world communist movement, for the consolidation of peace and security of all nations. We are taking, as ever, all steps depending on us to achieve unity with China, to strengthen the unity of the communist ranks.

However, it would be a grave mistake for the Chinese leaders to interpret our good-will wrongly. If they intend to go on with their hostile actions against the Soviet Union, to continue slandering our Party and the other fraternal Parties, to step up their factional activities in the world communist movement, they must clearly realise that they will meet with the most resolute rebuff from the CPSU and the Soviet people.

We shall not retreat an iota from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, we shall not be budged by any adventuristic attacks on our policy—after all the vital interests of the Soviet people and all the peoples, further successes of the world revolutionary process, the destiny of peace and socialism depend on the Leninist line of our Party, of the whole communist movement. Our Party has fought and will continue to fight against all attempts to divert us from this correct Leninist road.

STATEMENT

of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Concerning the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Party Organizations and all Communists of the Soviet Union

The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is in full conformity with the views and policy of our Party. That is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia expresses complete agreement with the conclusions of the letter and the policy of Lenin's Party which is making a maximum contribution to the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement. Our Party highly appreciates the fact that the letter of the CPSU is permeated with the consistent implementation and highly principled defence of the ideas which are the joint programme of all Communists in the fight for the peaceful and communist future of the workers of the world.

The absolute unanimity of the views of our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with regard to fundamental questions of our time was also fully expressed by the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which reaffirmed the loyalty of our Party to the interests and aims of communist internationalism and the unity of the international revolutionary forces. In the message of the Twelfth Congress to the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties we stated: "In the interest of the victory of our ideas, in the interest of the realisation of our aims, in the interest of the further successful struggle it is necessary to fight for the consolidation of unity in the Communist ranks and consistently to put into practice the decisions of the documents accepted by all of us. Our congress regards the preservation of peace and the mobilisation of the broadest sections of the people of the world towards this aim, as well as resolute action against all counter-revolutionary forces which are trying to thwart progress in the life of the countries and the peoples, as the main duty at present."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has for some time been following with anxiety the policy of the Communist Party of China which is not in conformity with the policy jointly elaborated and adopted by the international Communist movement. In the past years the Chinese comrades started to arbitrarily and incorrectly interpret documents adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties in an effort to substitute their own line for

the strategic and tactical principles contained in them and to force this divergent line on the other parties.

Our Party, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties, has pointed out more than once the harmfulness of such action for the entire international Communist movement.

We welcomed with full understanding and support the proposal of the Central Committee of the CPSU to end the public polemics between the parties as a requisite for creating a favourable atmosphere in which a meeting of Communist and Workers' parties would be held at which all important problems and the tasks of the international Communist movement would be discussed in all seriousness and with a sense of full responsibility.

But the Chinese comrades, although expressing agreement with this proposal, in reality did not end the polemics but intensified them together with attacks against fraternal Communist parties, especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The culmination of this activity is the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of June 14, 1963. This letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is in sharp contrast with the spirit of the letters of the Central Committee of the CPSU of February 21 and March 30 of this year addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China which were based on an effort to contribute to strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement for the purpose of reinforcing the common struggle against imperialism, for the victory of Socialism and Communism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia resolutely rejects the attacks of the leadership of the Communist Party of China against the Leninist policy of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, against the policy of the international Communist movement, embodied in the documents of the Moscow Conferences.

In order to discredit the policy of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China does not hesitate to use demagoguery, distortion and slander. The CPSU and other fraternal parties are alleged to have made statements which they never made and to hold views which they never held, on which the entire argument of the Communist Party of China and its accusations made from un-Marxist, revisionist positions are based.

The Chinese comrades proceed from the premise that they have a monopoly of the interpretation of the revolutionary principles of the declarations and other documents, while they distort or reject in essence the principles contained in these documents. They try to create the impression that the revolutionary spirit in these documents is their work. To say the truth, however, the delegation of the Communist Party of China complicated the discussions in many ways, tried to impose

its own incorrect conception at all costs and agreed to sign the documents only when it felt completely isolated in trying to push through its erroneous views and its procedure was resolutely rejected by the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. It is astonishing at the same time that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China now attributes some of its erroneous views, which were subjected to strong criticism at the Conference, to other parties and thus turns the facts upside down.

The attacks of the Communist Party of China are marked by effort to minimize the vanguard role of the CPSU in the international revolutionary movement and to pose as the main protector of the purity of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the biggest champion of the oppressed nations and the working people fighting for freedom, independence and the liquidation of regimes of exploitation. Is it not high time that the Chinese comrades realise that such arrogance with regard to the other parties, and assumption of a privileged position which is decidedly unjustified in the international communist movement can never meet with the support of the Marxist-Leninist parties and merely discredits that party in the eyes of all Communists? The international duty of each Communist Party is to stand firmly in the ranks of the international Communist movement, keep the interest of its unity and joint action in mind constantly and not to assume an arrogant attitude, present one's own views as infallible and the only correct ones and to force them upon the other parties by all possible means ignoring their views.

Our Party and the workers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are very indignant at the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in its letter of June 14, does not hesitate to come out in defence of the personality cult which has been condemned by the entire international Communist movement. After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China expressed agreement with the general position of the CPSU on that question but today, when the benefit of the removal of unhealthy phenomena of the personality cult on the entire development has been fully confirmed, it assumes an entirely different stand.

The historic importance of the Twentieth Congress was also felt by all our people. The beneficial effect of that Congress influenced the further development of our Socialist society. This was also the case in the other socialist countries.

The Chinese comrades pose as the defenders of the purity of Marxism-Leninism but the facts are inexorable. Their defence of the personality cult only shows that they have rigidly remained on the old positions and that they have turned away from life.

We resolutely reject the dogmatic sectarian line which the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China wants to force upon the international revolutionary working class movement. This line does

not strengthen but weakens the anti-imperialist front. Proceeding from the character of the present epoch, the international Communist movement laid down its strategic and tactical line. The context of the present world revolutionary process is determined by the merging of the anti-imperialist struggle of the nations who are building Socialism and Communism, the revolutionary working class movement in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the peoples' movement for peace and democracy. All these driving forces of the present have to act in organic unity, with the international working class and the world socialist community playing the leading role.

The position and conduct of the leadership of the Communist Party of China in international affairs with regard to the question of war and peace, peaceful co-existence and competition, the role and development of the world Socialist system, strategy and tactics of the world working class movement and the national liberation struggle cannot, with all due respect for the traditions of the Chinese Communists, be assessed otherwise than as subversion of the united militant anti-imperialist front and as dangerous adventurism.

This is shown by the subversive activity of the Chinese representatives in international democratic organizations, their efforts to establish separate closed organisations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, from which they try to force out representatives of the Soviet Union and to isolate these organizations from the European Socialist countries and the revolutionary movement of the workers in the capitalist countries. The representatives of the Chinese People's Republic even opposed the participation of representatives of European Socialist countries, among them representatives of the Czechoslovak Committee of Solidarity with the peoples of Africa and Asia, though they were only to attend the Third Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity in Moshi in February as observers, and threatened to walk out of the conference if our representatives were admitted as official observers.

The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party paid systematic attention to these disturbing phenomena in the years past. On January 20, 1962 it addressed itself to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with a letter in which it analysed in detail the extremely harmful activity of the Chinese representatives in international democratic organizations and the incorrect views of the leadership of the Communist Party of China on basic political questions of our time. It showed that the leadership of the Communist Party of China upholds and elaborates a number of theses which sharply diverge from the policy of the international Communist movement contained in the documents of the Moscow Conferences of Communist and Workers' parties of 1957 and 1960 and which change many basic conclusions of these documents. The facts and arguments contained in that letter were not answered directly by the leadership of the Communist Party of China which declined to deal with them.

To this arrogant position the Central Committee of our Party replied with another letter on July 9, 1962 which notes among other things: "We are forced to express our regret and surprise at such conduct which is unusual in an exchange of views between fraternal Communist parties and which does not correspond to the principle of equality in their mutual relations."

Even after this there was a deliberate deterioration of the mutual relations on the part of China not only with regard to party affairs but in general.

The Prague office of the New China News Agency and later the Embassy of the Chinese People's Republic in Prague disseminated material here running counter to the position of our Party. The Chinese representatives did not respect our protests against such conduct.

The letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China of July 14 was distributed in considerable numbers by Chinese representatives in all parts of the country. They even handed them to all passengers at Prague Airport. The considerable cost involved and the promptness with which the letter was distributed by the Chinese Embassy here on the same day on which it was published in the Peking daily *Jenminjhpao* shows that it was a well-prepared act directed against our Party.

This act showed utter disregard for the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia and was a violation of fundamental norms governing relations between fraternal parties. Justified measures taken by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia against such actions of the Chinese representatives, however, were described by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic with truly strange logic as a violation of Czechoslovak-Chinese relations.

It is really regrettable that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has carried the ideological disagreement with the Central Committee of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties over to relations between the states. With its attitude concerning economic relations, for instance, the Chinese People's Republic has caused grave damage to the economies of the socialist countries, among them Czechoslovakia. After 1961, there occurred, because of the fault of the Chinese representatives, a radical decline in mutual trade relations. Despite our efforts to maintain and increase the goods exchange by offering advantageous conditions to the Chinese side, the total volume of the goods exchange in 1963 dropped to less than 16 per cent of that of 1959 and Czechoslovak exports to China to less than 10 per cent. Similarly the Chinese comrades under various pretexts reduced our mutual political and cultural relations to a bare minimum.

The sudden and sharp turn in our mutual relations which came about in consequence of the unilateral actions of the Chinese comrades was all the more incomprehensible to our people because they always respected the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party of China

and the heroic Chinese people in the liberation struggle and in building a socialist society.

The Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia reiterated recognition of the struggle of the Chinese Communists but could not pass in silence the uncomradely conduct and incorrect views of the delegation of the Communist Party of China. It then addressed the following urgent appeal to the Chinese Communists: "Because of our respect for the Communist Party of China we again beg you to reconsider your position on important international questions which are closely connected with the unity of the international Communist movement, consistently following the conclusions of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties of 1960."

In settling all questions of the further development of our socialist society, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is constantly aware of the connection with the international struggle of the working class of the whole world and the struggle of all democratic and peace-loving forces. Our Party applies the militant line of creative Marxism-Leninism as it was expressed in the conclusions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses and in the Programme of the CPSU, which are of tremendous importance for the powerful upsurge of the international communist movement, for the building of socialism and communism, for the movement for peace and socialism. It implements the principles of the Declaration and the Statement in which these Leninist ideas are embodied and adopted by the international communist movement with equal consistency. In this our Party sees its main internationalist contribution to consolidating the solidarity of the world socialist community, the revolutionary unity of the international union of Communist parties and all peace, democratic, national liberation and progressive forces of the world in the struggle for peace and communism. In the fulfilment of these tasks our Party will continue to make a maximum effort in conformity with its revolutionary traditions and the international maturity of the Czechoslovak Communists.

From the Statement of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

On behalf of all Bulgarian Communists, the statement says, we express our complete solidarity with the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and support without any reservation the views and ideas set forth therein. The C.P.S.U. letter harmonizes completely with the spirit and substance of the programme documents of the international Communist movement — the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 — and is of the greatest significance for the further development of the movement, for rallying the fraternal parties on the sound principles of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The Bulgarian Communists, the statement goes on, are greatly concerned over the differences that have arisen in the past few years between the C.P.S.U. and the international Communist movement, on the one hand, and the leadership of the Communist Party of China, on the other, differences caused by the departure of the latter from the jointly accepted line of the Moscow meetings. We hoped that these differences would be overcome by way of a comradely exchange of views, but the actions of the Chinese comrades create the grave danger of aggravating the differences.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, the statement stresses, indignantly rejects the monstrous slanders and the attacks on the C.P.S.U. and the other fraternal parties, and resolutely protests against the undignified charge that Communist parties are dependent on the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, against the attempt to represent their unity and militant solidarity with the C.P.S.U. as the parroting of "foreign words".

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the U.S.S.R., the statement points out, enjoy the affection and profound respect of the world Communist movement and of all progressive mankind. Anyone who tries to slander and smear them can but be scorned as renegades and traitors to proletarian internationalism. To slander this Party and this country means to commit a crime in regard to the international working class and the cause of revolution.

The Bulgarian Communist Party recalls that the 1960 Statement which was signed also by the representatives of the Chinese Party

declared that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement".

Why have the Chinese comrades rejected this thesis, why have they launched baseless and slanderous attacks against the C.P.S.U.? Is it that they want to appropriate the exclusive right of interpreting and "developing" Marxism-Leninism in the guise of defending its revolutionary ideas?

The Bulgarian Communist Party, the statement says, emphatically rejects these claims. It upholds, and will continue to uphold, the idea that it is the C.P.S.U. which is the universally recognized vanguard of the international Communist movement, that it is the duty of each Communist to defend it against the attacks of the enemies and factionalists of all kinds, to regard it with affection and respect. To deny the role of the C.P.S.U. as the centre and vanguard of the international Communist movement is tantamount to denying the objective law and indisputable truths.

In view of the attempts made by the leaders of the Communist Party of China to substitute their erroneous views for the general line laid down by the Moscow meetings, the statement points out that what the Chinese leaders propose is not to draw up a general line because the line already exists but to revise the present general line of the Communist and working-class movement jointly elaborated and unanimously adopted by the 81 Communist and Workers' parties.

The Bulgarian Party, the statement continues, fully agrees with the view of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union expressed in its Open Letter that no new facts in international life call for changing the general line of the world Communist movement.

We categorically reject the charges made against the Communist and Workers' parties, and primarily against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that they one-sidedly reduce the general line of the international Communist movement to "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition" to socialism. None of the parties adhering to positions of creative Marxism-Leninism has ever held such views.

We stand four-square on the positions of the Moscow meetings, maintaining that the basic contradiction of our time is that between socialism and imperialism, the statement goes on. The idea advanced by the Chinese comrades that the basic contradiction is that between the national-liberation movement and imperialism and that the national-liberation movement is the main anti-imperialist force, is fundamentally wrong.

In regard to the charges made by the Chinese leaders against other parties to the effect that they reject the international significance of the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that they justify imperialist domination, that they look with scorn

on the national-liberation movement and even adopt a negative attitude towards it, the statement says:

The Bulgarian Party rejects these figments which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, with the policy of the international Communist movement in regard to the peoples fighting for independence. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Party and the other fraternal parties are carrying out the line of all-round aid for the national-liberation movement and the newly independent peoples, of support for this movement and these peoples.

What is the purpose of the Chinese comrades' attempts to deny the decisive role and the correct policy pursued by the socialist camp, primarily by the Soviet Union, in support of the national-liberation movement? Is not this attitude dictated by the desire of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to take upon themselves the role of sole champions of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and is it not an attempt to counterpose this movement to its bulwark — the socialist world system and the international Communist movement?

The statement points to the groundlessness of the charge that the Communist and Workers' parties extend the principle of peaceful coexistence also to the relations between the bourgeoisie and the working class, between the colonialists and the oppressed peoples, that they believe that imperialism will automatically collapse in the process of peaceful competition. The struggle for peace, for disarmament and for a peaceful solution of outstanding issues, according to the Chinese comrades, runs counter to the struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples. Only people who deliberately distort the truth can say this.

The statement stresses that in view of the differences between the world Communist movement and the leadership of the C.P.C. on problems of war and peace, the Bulgarian Party firmly believes that the nature of imperialism has not changed, nor has the danger of imperialist war passed. It stresses, moreover, that the Bulgarian Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria firmly adhere to the line laid down by the Moscow meetings on questions of war and peace. Should imperialism venture to engulf the peoples in a holocaust, the statement continues, we shall not shrink from whatever sacrifice in order to wipe it off the face of the earth for all time. But Communists must do all in their power to avert world war.

Our Party, the statement points out, abides by the Leninist principles guiding the relations between the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism. Bulgaria's foreign policy is based on the Leninist teaching of peaceful coexistence.

The charges against the C.P.S.U. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties that they make the peaceful way the sole form of socialist revolution, is an unscrupulous distortion of their point of view on this question.

The statement then emphasizes that together with the entire international Communist movement and progressive world public opinion the Bulgarian Party fully approved the struggle waged by the C.P.S.U. and its Central Committee against the Stalin personality cult and its harmful consequences, and that it does not agree with the Chinese comrades who maintain that in view of Stalin's merits his grave mistakes and crimes should be passed over in silence.

The statement rejects the Chinese criticism of the Programme of the C.P.S.U. where it speaks about the evolution of the Soviet state into a state of all the people and the transformation of the C.P.S.U. into a Party of all the people.

It stresses that the erroneous views of the Chinese leaders on the basic issues of the day are embodied in their practical activity aimed at disrupting the unity of the socialist camp. The statement points out that trade between Bulgaria and China has declined almost fivefold in the past two or three years through the fault of the Chinese comrades.

In connection with the theory of "self-reliance" now propagated by the Chinese leadership, the Bulgarian Party maintains that in building socialism it is sound policy to rely on one's own forces and to mobilize the forces of the people and the resources of the country, and the Party has undeviatingly followed this road. But it is not this that the Chinese leaders have in mind when they advance their theory: they are opposed to the international socialist division of labour, to coordination and specialization on the scale of the socialist world system, and, in effect, are advocating autarchy.

The statement describes the illegal distribution by the Chinese Embassy in Bulgaria of the June 14 letter of the C.P.C. and similar actions by Chinese representatives in Bulgaria as crude factional activities directed against the unity of the Bulgarian Party and as flagrant interference in the country's internal affairs.

The Chinese leaders, it continues, on the pretext of combating revisionism, are calling for a split in the Communist and Workers' parties, and only those who scorn the unity of the world Communist movement and who have taken the way of factionalism can act in such a way. The Bulgarian Party has resolutely denounced the views and the actions of the Albanian leaders as disruptive. It categorically rejected the slanders of the Chinese comrades against the C.P.S.U. on the Albanian question, and described their attitude in regard to Yugoslavia as both subjective and deliberately negative. The Chinese charges and attacks will not make the B.C.P. renounce its desire to achieve mutual understanding with Yugoslavia on the basis of common interests in the struggle for peace and socialism.

Together with the C.P.S.U. and the other fraternal parties, the statement continues, the Bulgarian Party will do its utmost to fortify the unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement and will work to overcome the differences with the C.P.C. But this does

not depend on us alone. It depends in the first place on the attitude and actions of the Chinese leaders. Unfortunately, they are persisting in their harmful activity, in their line of dividing the international Communist movement.

The statement concludes by calling on the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party to take the way of resolving the differences and reinforcing the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communists throughout the world in the name of common aims.

From an Editorial in *Scinteia*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party

Scinteia published a leading article entitled "A Step Towards Détente" which sets forth the position of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the government of the Rumanian People's Republic on the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The article reads:

The Rumanian press has published the statement of the government of the Rumanian People's Republic on the agreement reached between the representatives of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain on banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. In this statement the government of the R.P.R. welcomes the initialling of the treaty, regarding it as an expression of the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, as proof that disputed international problems can be settled by negotiation. The government of the Rumanian People's Republic has decided to sign the treaty which will consummate the agreement reached by the three Powers.

The world public welcomes this treaty, the first international agreement in the sphere of nuclear armaments, as a positive factor in international life, as a contribution to the lessening of international tension. The peoples voice the hope that it will create favourable conditions for the successful examination of other questions of international relations and the struggle to prevent war.

In conformity with the stipulations of the treaty, the signatories agree to prohibit, prevent and refrain from carrying out nuclear tests in three areas, the atmosphere, outer space and under water, and to discontinue nuclear tests wherever they may cause radioactive fall-out beyond the territorial frontiers of the state conducting such tests.

The peoples throughout the world have been deeply disturbed by the harmful consequences of nuclear explosions which, as world-renowned scientists have pointed out time and again, contaminate the atmosphere and water with radioactive fall-out, seriously endangering, even in peacetime, the health of the present and future generations. The agreement signed in Moscow on August 5 by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and Britain, as is stressed in the

statement of the Rumanian government, answers the insistent demand voiced by the world public for many years that a ban be imposed on nuclear tests, which represent a danger for the entire population of the world.

The Moscow treaty is supported by the Communist and Workers' parties, by democrats and progressives throughout the world, and is hailed by all men and women of good will. The recent meeting of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty approved it as a success for the policy of peace steadfastly carried out by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Numerous states on all continents have voiced their agreement with the content of the treaty and announced their readiness to join it, regarding the abolition of military blocs as a major step towards general disarmament. The socialist countries recommend as an intermediate step the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty states. The communique released together with the text of the treaty stated that this question had been discussed during the Moscow talks and that the discussion would continue with a view to reaching agreement.

As is pointed out in the statement of the government of the Rumanian People's Republic, the Moscow treaty, while being a step towards lessening international tension, does not solve the major problems of the struggle to prevent the danger of another world war. Mankind is threatened with grave danger arising from the armaments race and the stockpiling of huge quantities of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Realizing this danger, the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties maintain that there is nothing more urgent than to safeguard humanity from a nuclear catastrophe. To put an end to the arms drive, ban the production and use of nuclear weapons, abolish the existing stocks of these weapons, dismantle the military bases on foreign territory, win general and complete disarmament — such are the vital issues of the day, on the solution of which depends the preservation of peace. These aims were advanced as a programme of action in the Statement of the 1960 Moscow meeting and in the Appeal to the peoples of the world. They are reflected in the well-known proposals made by the Soviet government in the United Nations and actively supported by the governments of the other socialist countries, proposals calling for a step-by-step realization under strict international control of such important disarmament measures as the abolition of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons, the abolition of all military bases on foreign territory and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other countries, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, discontinuation of their production and destruction of existing stocks, and the reduction, and subsequently, the abolition of all armed forces and the scrapping of conventional armaments.

The idea of general and complete disarmament has a powerful appeal for the masses of peace-loving people throughout the world. It has captured the imagination of people everywhere and has won world-wide recognition.

At the same time the socialist states have proposed a number of partial measures which could serve to improve the international climate and pave the way to general and complete disarmament: the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, including the Balkans, the cutting of military budgets, measures to prevent sudden attack, etc.

Much surprise and profound regret has been occasioned by the fact that while the treaty has been met with satisfaction and approval everywhere, the government of the Chinese People's Republic in its recent declaration states that it "vigorously" opposes this treaty and regards it as a "betrayal of the interests of the peoples of the socialist camp", an expression of a "policy of uniting with the forces of war against the forces of peace, uniting with imperialism against socialism", as "a colossal hoax which deceives the peoples of the whole world".

How is it possible to give such an appraisal of a treaty which prohibits tests, the deadly consequences of which have evoked the alarm of the peoples? How can one ignore the justified alarm felt by men and women the world over at the terrible danger with which the tests are fraught? Is the fact that the treaty does not include a clause banning underground tests sufficient grounds for asserting that it is a hoax? We cherish feelings of respect and friendship for people's China, for the fraternal Chinese people. But we must say quite frankly that we consider such grave accusations and epithets to be impermissible in relations with any state and all the more so in relations between socialist countries.

The same statement notes that the Chinese government supports general and complete disarmament, that it proposes the prohibition and complete destruction of nuclear weapons and to this end to take a number of measures such as the liquidation of all military bases on foreign territories and the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from foreign bases, the creation of atom-free zones in various parts of the world, the cessation of all nuclear testing, and a meeting of the heads of governments of all countries to discuss these measures.

All these and other problems for the solution of which the socialist countries, the peace forces throughout the world, have been persistently fighting for many years now, are complex problems; their solution calls for a sense of realism, for painstaking work if we are to achieve results conducive to an international détente and the strengthening of peace among peoples. One such result is the Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear tests in three spheres.

As the government of the Rumanian People's Republic has pointed out in its statement, it has, together with the governments of the other

socialist countries, made and will continue to make its utmost contribution towards settling crucial issues of international relations.

The fight in defence of peace has in our day become the concern of the broadest sections of the people the world over. Given unslackening vigilance with regard to the enemies of détente — the aggressive imperialist circles who are battenning on the arms drive — it will be possible through the combined efforts of the countries of the socialist camp and of the other peace-loving countries, of all peace forces whose number is legion, to win new successes in the battle to avert war and for general disarmament, peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and for the triumph of the cause of peace.

The Chinese Communist Leaders and the Personality Cult

(Article by JEANNETTE VERMEERSCH, Member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party)

Proceeding from their political platform which they oppose to the international Communist and working-class movement, the Chinese Communist leaders question the reasons for denouncing the personality cult.

In point 20 of their "theses" they state: "certain persons... have raised the issue of 'combating the cult of the individual'; this is erroneous and harmful."

We may mention, in passing, that the Chinese leaders themselves once belonged to those "certain persons".

"To raise the question of 'combating the cult of the individual'", they declare, "is actually to counterpose the leaders to the masses, undermine the Party's unified leadership which is based on democratic centralism, dissipate its fighting strength and disintegrate its ranks."

They glorify Stalin while at the same time indulging in crude and unjustified attacks on Comrade Khrushchov, the Secretary of the C.P.S.U.

Communists have never denied Stalin's merits. On the contrary, they praised him to the skies, exaggerating his virtues to the point where they finally eclipsed the accomplishments of the Soviet peoples, of their glorious Communist Party and all its members, a fact which contributed in large measure to the cult.

It is not those who condemn the cult who counterpose the leaders to the masses; the cult itself counterposes leaders to the masses and their creative work.

The Communist Party has never counterposed the one to the other.

Lenin, in his "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder", scathingly criticized the German Left Communists for counterposing the leaders to the masses. These Lefts declared: "... There, the dictatorship of leaders; here, the dictatorship of the masses! That is our slogan."

"What old and familiar rubbish!" wrote Lenin. "What 'Left' childishness! Everyone knows that the masses are divided into classes; ... that usually, and in the majority of cases, at least in modern civilized countries, classes are led by political parties; that political par-

ties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members who are elected to the most responsible positions and called leaders.

"All this is elementary. All this is simple and clear. Why, then, do we need all this rigmarole, this new Volapük?"

The Chinese leaders, by extolling the personality cult, are departing from class politics.

Collective leadership, the opposite of personal leadership, calls for discussion in the various Party committees in order that decisions may be adopted jointly, it calls for both collective and personal responsibility.

As for democratic centralism, one of the basic principles of inner-Party life, the Chinese leaders, it should be said, are crudely violating it. They have ignored the decisions which were elaborated and adopted after three weeks of thorough discussion by the representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties at the Moscow Meeting in November 1960. Democratic centralism presupposes that when decisions have been adopted after a full and free discussion everyone works to carry the decisions into effect. The Chinese leaders, however, instead of fulfilling their obligations, began to engage in subversive activities.

The defence of the cult by the Chinese leaders is a reflection of their profound disagreement with the international Communist and working-class movement.

The revelations of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. concerning the Stalin cult and its tragic consequences came as a shock to all the Communist parties, to all Communists. Not because of the campaign unleashed by imperialist and reactionary press and radio, not because of their violence, but because our Communist ideals and our Communist morality were affected.

We, who are fighting against all injustice, against poverty, for the happiness of the working class and all the working people of our countries, spent sleepless nights asking ourselves how all this could have happened.

In its decision of June 30, 1956, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. analyzed the causes of the cult.

Pointing out that the internal and external conditions at the time demanded rigorous discipline and a certain temporary restriction of democracy, which Stalin, in crude violation of the Leninist principles of leadership, elevated to a standard of inner-Party and state life, the Central Committee stressed that the trouble lay in "Stalin's erroneous thesis that the closer the Soviet Union approaches to socialism the sharper the class struggle".

And indeed, when one rereads Stalin's writings in the light of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. one cannot but notice certain elements which were bound to lead to flagrant breaches of socialist democracy.

The Chinese leaders, however, extol this thesis. They hold it against

the C.P.S.U. that in the Programme adopted at the 22nd Congress of the Party, it stated:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, born of the socialist revolution, has played an epoch-making role by ensuring the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. In the course of socialist construction, however, it underwent changes. After the exploiting classes had been abolished, the state function of suppressing their resistance ceased to exist. The main functions of the socialist state — organization of the economy, culture and education — have developed in full measure. The socialist state has entered upon a new phase. The state is growing over into a nation-wide organization of the working people of socialist society. Proletarian democracy is becoming more and more a socialist democracy... The state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become the state of all the people, an organ expressing the interests and will of the people as a whole."

And indeed against what class should the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. be exercised 45 years after the socialist revolution, when antagonistic classes have disappeared?

The Soviet people welcomed the end of the personality cult with a feeling of immense relief. Ending the cult stimulated the growth of socialist democracy and popular initiative. This was received with jubilation, as was the Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress.

All the Communist parties, our own included, approved of the action of the C.P.S.U.

The Soviet Communists have remained true in this to Marxism-Leninism. In his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", Engels devoted a number of pages to the tasks of the proletariat after classes and class states had disappeared.

The Soviet Communists are acting in conformity with the Marxist theory according to which "an exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men, can only be obtained by the method of dialectics with its constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of life and death, of progressive and retrogressive changes".

The Chinese leaders ignore the fact that things have changed in the U.S.S.R., that Stalin was responsible for grave blunders, and that this led to actions unworthy of our noble ideal.

The Chinese leaders refuse to take account of the fact that the new balance of forces in the world in favour of socialism and world peace makes it possible to rule out wars and put an end to imperialism through peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism, and thereby to create a situation favourable for the struggle of each nation for its independence.

But he who loses his way goes more and more astray.

And so we find Mao Tse-tung accepting the idea of nuclear war, a war that would exterminate at least one half of mankind.

And so we find these leaders approving of sterilization "for the sake of the fatherland", telling young people that to remain permanently "in the service of the country" one must "be celibate and chaste".

And so we find them regarding a rise in the standard of living a sign of "embourgeoisement".

Such concepts, which have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, have no appeal to the peoples fighting for their happiness. According to Liu Shao-chi this signifies opposing the theory of survival to revolutionary policy; he forgets that it is life that lies at the heart of every revolutionary element, in other words, all that is coming into being and developing.

And yet so-called revolutionary phrases continue to find support here and there.

In practice the "revolutionary" phrasemongers find themselves in the company of the opportunists.

Both question the need for a broad peace movement, for complete ideological unity and unity of the Communist and working-class movement on a world scale.

Both distort the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is above all a question of power, of the change in production relations, of democracy for the masses.

Throughout its entire history the French Communist Party has fought against trends inimical to Marxism-Leninism.

Together with the C.P.S.U., which courageously denounced the cult of the individual and has been successfully overcoming its consequences, together with the entire international Communist movement, the French Communist Party will continue its just fight for peace, democracy and socialism, for the ideological unity of the international movement, for the unity of its ranks on a commonly elaborated foundation.

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Workers of all lands, unite!

*Documents of the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

Articles and Speeches

INFORMATION BULLETIN

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PEACE AND SOCIALISM
PUBLISHERS
PRAGUE 1963

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RESOLUTION

on the International Communist Movement

Adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain on September 14th, 1963.

In its statement of January 12th on Problems of the International Communist Movement, the Executive Committee expressed its extreme concern and advanced its proposals for the restoration of the unity of our movement.

We appealed for an end to the public polemic, for bilateral talks between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, and adequate preparation for a World Conference of Communist Parties to promote unity on the basis of the strict observance of the unanimously agreed principles of the November 1960 World Communist Conference.

At the same time, in a principled and moderate way we dealt with our differences with the Chinese Communist Party on the issues of war and peace, peaceful co-existence, nuclear war and the forms of transition to socialism.

Our Twenty-Eighth National Congress, attended by 461 delegates, endorsed this statement, with only four votes against and ten abstentions.

In the delegations to the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. respectively prior to the Congress, we presented our views on the method of solution to the problems.

II. A NEW AND DANGEROUS STAGE

For a short time there seemed to be some positive signs. There was wide-spread agreement with the aim of the cessation of public polemics. In March the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. agreed to meet on the initiative of the C.P.S.U. All Communist Parties hoped that progress be made.

But the publication by the C.P.C. on June 14th of a letter, "A proposal concerning the general line of the International Communist Movement" on the eve of the talks, restarted the public polemic in a still sharper form and extended it to a series of new issues at a time when the utmost restraint was needed. Despite this, the C.P.S.U. proceeded

with the talks which opened on July 5th, and did not publish its views on this document until July 14th.

On July 21st the talks were recessed at the request of the C.P.C.

On July 31st the Chinese People's Government in a statement denouncing the partial Test Ban Treaty, said that "the policy pursued by the Soviet Government is one of allying with the forces of war to oppose the forces of peace, allying with imperialism to oppose Socialism, allying with the United States to oppose China, and allying with the reactionaries of all countries to oppose the peoples of the world."

On August 15th the Chinese Government, through a spokesman, issued a further statement on Nuclear Weapons and the Test Ban Treaty, containing many further violent denunciations of the Soviet Union.

In the course of this statement the Chinese Government stated that in June 1959 the Soviet Union had refused to supply China with a sample of an atom bomb and technical data for its manufacture.

The statement laid down the principle that the spread of nuclear weapons among other Socialist countries would be desirable and accused the Soviet Government of lining up with U.S. imperialism against China.

On September 6th the Chinese journals *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* issued a further statement launching a full offensive against the line of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and all the subsequent policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and declaring that "the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has allied itself with U.S. imperialism... against all Marxist-Leninist Parties, in open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism."

With these developments the whole problem has reached a new and far more dangerous stage than at the time of our January statement and Congress resolution.

III. THE NEW FEATURES

The new features are:—

1. In place of veiled attacks, formally directed against Yugoslav revisionism, or against "certain comrades" un-named, or against particular statements of other non-Soviet Communist Parties, with no direct reference to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the attack is now openly directed against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and against the Soviet Government.

2. The previous controversy was presented on a Party level, but has now been brought to the governmental plane by the Chinese Government publicly denouncing the Soviet Government in the most violent terms.

3. The anti-Soviet denunciation is conducted in language hitherto

only found in some of the more extreme anti-Soviet organs, accusing the Soviet Government of "selling out", of "betrayal" of the Soviet people, of the countries in the Socialist camp, and of the peoples of the whole world, of "great power chauvinism", etc.

An article on "The New Holy Alliance" published in *Red Flag* on September 9th, compares the early 19th century "Holy Alliance" of feudal-monarchist reaction of Tsar Alexander and the Kings of Prussia and Austria against the bourgeois democratic revolution, with what the Chinese leaders are pleased to call "the new Holy Alliance" of counter-revolution of the Soviet Union, the United States and other reactionaries against socialism and communism and the national democratic revolution. This kind of scurrilous language has passed out of the range of intelligent controversy.

4. The previous generalised ideological form of controversy has now been still further developed into a direct offensive on the concrete issues of action in the international situation.

The first example of this handling of a concrete issue was over the action in connection with the American threat to Cuba last autumn. Here the action of the Soviet Union, which simultaneously saved the independence of Cuba against the American plans for invasion and saved world peace, was attacked with allusive references to "a Munich".

In contrast to this attack Fidel Castro gave his view when he said: "It will always be a great country, which for the sake of the defence of a small people living thousands of miles away, risked the well-being achieved in forty-five years of creative work, and at the price of tremendous sacrifices in a thermo-nuclear war!

"The Soviet Union, which lost more lives in the great Patriotic War against the fascists than the entire population of Cuba so as to defend its right to existence and to develop its tremendous resources, did not hesitate to take the risk of a big war in defence of a small country. History has never known such an example of solidarity. This is true internationalism! This is Communism!"

With the attack on the Test Ban Treaty this offensive on concrete issues of the international situation has been extended to cover directly all the immediate issues of action in the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence and nuclear disarmament, all Soviet foreign policy, and all the relations of the National Liberation Movement to the Socialist camp and the fight for peace.

In our January resolution, endorsed by the Twenty-Eighth Party Congress, we defined our position on the general ideological questions raised by the statements of the Chinese Party:

1. War and Peace;
2. Peaceful Coexistence;
3. Nuclear War;
4. Forms of transition to Socialism;
5. Revisionism and Dogmatism.

We reaffirm the viewpoint set out in this resolution on these questions, and do not propose here to repeat the ground covered in our previous statement.

It is necessary now to examine the new questions raised by the criticism of the Test Ban Treaty, as well as by the Chinese letter of June 14th and subsequent statements, and the consequent present stage of the problem of restoring the unity of the International Communist Movement.

IV. THE TEST BAN TREATY

In our Political Committee's statement of July 31st we made clear that we welcomed the partial Test Ban Treaty on the grounds that "(i) it means a halt to the poisoning of the atmosphere by the main nuclear Powers; (ii) it opens the way to further negotiations on nuclear disarmament; and (iii) it opens the way to further negotiations on all key issues with a view to making a break in the cold war and reaching agreement on specific questions."

For similar reasons the Labour and peace movement in Britain also welcomed the treaty.

We have made clear the limitations of the Test Ban Treaty: it does not in itself end the war danger, the arms race or the manufacture of nuclear weapons; nor would this be the case even if we won a ban on underground explosions.

For all these things an arduous struggle is needed. At the centre of the struggle in Britain at this moment is the need to win the fight for the removal of American nuclear bases, the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain, and the defeat of the NATO multilateral nuclear force.

The Chinese criticisms alleged that the Soviet approval of the partial Test Ban Treaty in July 1963 represented a change of line from the rejection of a partial test ban in the preceding year.

This fails to recognise that the technical and nuclear advance of the Soviet Union has now made it possible to make such an agreement on a basis which ensures the defence and security of the socialist camp and that further negotiations for a complete ban are envisaged by the treaty.

We rejoice that this advance has been possible, while recognising the necessity of carrying forward the most active fight for a total ban, for general nuclear disarmament and for ending the cold war.

We reject absolutely the presentation in the Chinese Government's statement which lumps the nuclear Powers together as upholders of a "nuclear monopoly." This is to equate socialism with imperialism, and to abandon a class analysis of the international situation.

We always have campaigned for, and continue to campaign for, a Summit Conference of all Heads of States, including People's China for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. But while struggling

for this, we will fight for and support every partial demand in that direction. To counterpose the two is false and can in no way hasten the winning of the meeting of the Heads of States.

The Communist Party of Great Britain always will support the great Chinese Revolution. We will do all in our power to defend China from imperialist slanders (as we did in the Indo-Chinese Border dispute last autumn) and imperialist attacks.

We must continue and extend our work for ensuring that the Chinese People's Republic takes its rightful place in the United Nations. This is vital, not only as a recognition of the elementary rights of the Chinese people, but for peace and peaceful co-existence.

But we cannot agree with the general line advanced in the recent Chinese statements. It is in contradiction to the 1960 Statement and is against the interests of the entire socialist camp and the world Communist movement.

V. NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The Chinese Government's statement of August 3rd lays down that "the greater the number of socialist countries possessing nuclear weapons the better."

But it is obvious that if the socialist countries were to adopt the principle of favouring the extension of nuclear weapons in their camp, this would facilitate the imperialist aim of extending nuclear weapons to other countries in the imperialist camp, to West Germany, Japan, Chiang Kai-Shek and others.

This would *increase* the danger of nuclear war. It would be a step not to peace but to war. Therefore it is necessary to fight against the extension of nuclear weapons, with a view to carrying forward this fight to the banning and destruction of all nuclear weapons.

The nuclear strength of the Soviet Union is already sufficient to fulfil the requirements of defence of the socialist camp and has consistently fulfilled this task and continues to fulfil it by protecting the security of the socialist camp against imperialist aggression.

The Chinese Government has a Pact of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, and it knows that the full nuclear strength of the Soviet Union and its rocket capacity would be used to defeat an American attack on China.

As Premier Khrushchov said in his speech to his electors on February 27th, 1963: "if an attack is made on the Chinese People's Republic... the Soviet Union will come to the rescue of its friends and deliver a crushing blow at the aggressors."

VI. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

While proclaiming support for the aim of peaceful coexistence set out in the 1960 Statement, and in words recognising the necessity of

negotiation with the imperialists for this aim, the Chinese Communist Party in practice attacks every negotiation conducted by the Soviet Union with imperialism and attacks every partial agreement reached as equivalent to capitulation.

But the aim of peaceful coexistence requires negotiation with the imperialists and successive partial agreements with the imperialists.

The basis for the possibility of such negotiations and partial agreements is not a change in the nature of imperialism but the change in the balance of the world situation analysed by the 1960 Statement, which compels the leaders of imperialism to take account of the new balance of the world situation and makes it possible for the socialist and peace camp to win these successive partial agreements.

The Chinese letter of June 14th states that peaceful coexistence "should never be extended to apply to relations between oppressed and oppressor countries or between oppressed and oppressor classes." The implication here is that some Communist Parties advocate this.

This is gross misrepresentation. It is not the policy of the C.P.G.B. and we know of no Communist Party which advocates this. Why do the Chinese leaders persist in such general accusations?

In practice such distorted statements have the effect of confusing and holding back the development of the peace forces and undermining their confidence in their own strength. Above all, such statements are used to attack and hold back the actual progress made by the socialist states and the mass movement in forcing negotiations to end the cold war and win progress on disarmament.

Once again we repeat that the 1960 Statement declared peaceful coexistence is the "firm foundation" of socialist foreign policy, and that:

"By upholding the principle of peaceful coexistence, Communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each others internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations."

This has been the principled basis of the policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist states, the Communist Parties and the mass peace movement. It has been the consistent policy of our Party reaffirmed unanimously at repeated Congresses and at the 28th National Congress.

VII. GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Similarly the Chinese letter of June 14th professes agreement with the aim of general and complete disarmament set out in the 1960 Statement. But it would appear from the further statements in this letter that the slogan of general disarmament is regarded as just a tactic.

"We have always maintained," says the letter, "that, in order to *expose and combat* the imperialists' arms expansion and war preparations, it is necessary to put forward the proposal for general disarmament" (our italics). While "some kind of agreement on disarmament" can be reached, general disarmament is an "illusion", and can only come when imperialism is abolished.

This is in flat contradiction to the 1960 Statement, which declared that disarmament "has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity", that "through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament" and "to realise this programme means to eliminate the very possibility of waging war between countries."

VIII. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

The strength of the new balance of forces in the world is based on the co-operation of the socialist camp, the newly-independent countries and national liberation movement, and the working class and peace movement in the imperialist countries.

All the strategy of imperialism is directed above all to endeavour to disrupt this unity. Any disruption of this co-operation plays the game of imperialism.

The Chinese comrades, while professing to accept this principle of anti-imperialist unity, in practice present the main contradiction in the world situation not as the contradiction between socialism and imperialism, but as the contradiction between the national liberation movements and imperialism.

In this way they present the role of the national liberation movement in isolation from the socialist camp and from the international working class and peace movement. Thus the letter of June 14th declares:

"The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism... In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas."

On the basis of this analysis is developed the harmful "three-continent theory". This has the effect of isolating the national liberation movement in these three continents from the socialist camp and international working class and peace movement.

Chinese representatives have even opposed the participation of representatives of the Soviet Union (whose Asian nationalities were the first nations to win freedom from imperialist oppression) at Afro-Asian anti-imperialist and solidarity conferences.

Thus this theory supports in practice the most reactionary and conservative trends of bourgeois nationalism in these countries, which also strive for the separation of the national movement from the socialist camp and Communism.

Such a line would disrupt and weaken the national liberation movement both within each country and internationally, and leave it at the mercy of imperialism.

This propaganda encourages the most reactionary trends of racialist separatism, and of the non-Marxist classless analysis of a line of division between "have" and "have not" nations in place of between the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism and national liberation.

Only the victory of the socialist revolution and the strength of the socialist camp, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, has made possible the victories of national liberation in the modern era.

Only the practical support of the socialist camp, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, and of the entire international working class together with the anti-imperialist unity of the socialist camp, the international working class and the national liberation struggle, are making possible the further victories of national liberation.

Only the victory of the socialist revolution and the strength of the socialist camp, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, has made possible the victories of national liberation in the modern era.

The Chinese letter of June 14th claims that the leaders of the C.P.S.U. "deny the great international significance of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles", and that on this question they "are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into Social Democrats."

We can only express our amazement that such a Party as the Chinese can make such accusations, which do not stand up to serious examination. The language is the traditional language of some of the worst vilifiers of the Communist movement over the years.

The record of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union on these issues is there for all to see. The Soviet Union has assisted the national liberation struggle everywhere, and in particular, the Arab and African struggle, Algeria, Cuba, Indonesia, in the most concrete and telling ways.

Our Communist Party has been engaged in the anti-imperialist struggle since its foundation, teaching that socialist victory in Britain was a common struggle with the cause of national liberation in the British Empire, and that the colonial masses and the British working class fought a common enemy. Whatever particular shortcomings, we have a proud record of over forty years of anti-imperialist struggle, including support of the great Chinese revolution.

The practical effect of the Chinese accusations is to play off the national liberation struggle and the socialist camp, the colonial struggle and the working class movement in the capitalist countries against one another. It is false and fraught with danger. It contradicts the line of the November 1960 Statement, which declared:—

“The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system.”

IX. FORMS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

In their letter the Chinese leaders once again show that they do not support the 1960 Statement that in a number of capitalist countries the possibility now exists “to win state power without civil war”.

The Statement argues that the Communists seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means; that there are two ways of achieving the revolution—peaceful and non-peaceful: the latter depending on the ruling class resorting to violence, and that “the actual possibility of the one or the other way to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions”.

Only the Communist Party of each country can decide its way to socialism. No other Communist Party has the right to dictate the programme and tactics of another.

Our Communist Party decided in 1951 that in the actual conditions of Britain in the present period a peaceful transition to socialism is possible. This position embodied in our programme, *THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM*, has been endorsed by every Congress since.

There is no basis for the assertion in the Chinese letter that the international Communist movement has “one-sidedly reduced” the teachings of the 1960 Statement to “peaceful transition”.

While a number of Communist Parties have said that a peaceful transition is possible, others have said their countries face the way of non-peaceful transition due to their conditions. No Communist Party has questioned their decision in this respect.

The Chinese comrades, while professing acceptance of the statement of the 1960 Declaration regarding the possibility of two ways of achieving Socialism, in all their actual arguments deny the possibility of the peaceful path.

They emphasise that there is no historical precedent for peaceful transition. They say: “To the best of our knowledge, there is still not a single country where this possibility (of peaceful transition) is of any practical significance.” (Appendix to *People's Daily and Red Flag* article of September 6th, 1963.)

By these arguments, despite professing acceptance of the two paths, the Chinese comrades are in practice one-sidedly trying to impose on other Communist Parties the road of non-peaceful transition.

As our January Executive Statement and THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM make clear, it is our duty to warn of the resistance a Socialist Government could expect, while at the same time stressing our confidence that with the full support of the working class such a government would have the power to defeat all resistance.

A peaceful transition to socialism calls for the mobilisation and unity of action on an unprecedented scale of the working class and all its allies in a broad alliance to gain power peacefully and resist successfully the possible acts of violence on the part of the ruling class.

Abstract left-phrase mongering in fact simply means the avoidance of the patient but genuine mass work in Britain to build unity, protect and extend democracy against the monopolists, the real fight for socialism in our conditions to isolate and defeat the Tory reactionaries. Such a line would result not in socialism but in our sectarian isolation and the triumph of reaction.

X. THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS

On a number of occasions the C.P.C. have attacked the significance of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. for the development of the whole world Communist movement. In the document of September 6th a full offensive has been launched against the Twentieth Congress, stating that "the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the first step along the road to revisionism," that "the criticism of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was wrong both in principle and in method" and that "the Twentieth Congress produced not 'wonderful' or 'majestic' results but a discrediting of the Soviet Union, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism and communism."

In sharp contrast the November 1960 Statement declared "The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. are not only of great importance for the C.P.S.U. and communist construction in the U.S.S.R. but have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

What is the significance here? The general decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the rectification of the errors associated with the cult of the individual, the full restoration of Party democracy, etc., not only greatly speeded up the construction of socialism and the prestige of socialism in the world.

They led to important new developments and initiatives in foreign affairs, overcame stagnation in Communist thought and unleashed new developments which helped every Communist Party.

These developments, whatever the temporary difficulties involved and the attempts of the class enemy and the revisionists to take advantage of the situation, were a vital historic necessity. All over the world the Communist movement has advanced organisationally and politically as a result.

In essence the whole Chinese letter is an attack on these developments and in particular in relation to the rectification of the cult of the individual (it is referred to as the "so-called" cult). Our Chinese comrades are attempting to repudiate some of the most important new and correct developments which have occurred in the last few years in the international Communist movement.

We cannot agree to this. To turn back would be a disaster. On the contrary, we should resolutely adhere to the line of these new developments, spelled out in the 1960 Statement, and forge ahead to new victories.

XI. RESTORE THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

All Communists will regard this new and dangerous turn in the international Communist movement with the greatest anxiety and concern. It demands from all of us the greatest discipline and effort to defend Communist principle and restore the unity of our world movement.

The essential basis both for restoring our world unity on the basis of Communist principle and ensuring the continued advance of the socialist camp, the working class movement and national liberation is strict support of and adherence to the 1960 Statement.

The objective basis for unity is there despite all the obstacles and difficulties. It consists of the common aims of all Communists to defeat imperialism and create socialism; in the common interests of the Soviet, Chinese and the peoples of all other socialist states; in the common interests of all working people against capitalism and in the common interests of the working class and the national liberation movement against imperialism. It consists in our common basis of proletarian internationalism.

We refuse to accept that a split in the international Communist movement is inevitable as there is no justification for a split in the objective conditions. A split will only help our enemies. Already it is only too clear how the imperialists are building on and exploiting every division in our movement and praying that the U.S.S.R. and People's China will increasingly find themselves at loggerheads.

We deeply regret that the vital bilateral talks between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. were suspended on the initiative of the C.P.C. We urge their resumption as soon as possible and that real negotiation on the problems take place.

In the meantime we ask all Communist Parties to consider the

necessity to start preparations for a world Conference some time next year. No Communist Party ever considered the bilateral talks between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. as an alternative to a world conference but as a very important step towards such a conference. It is in this sense we urge a resumption of these talks.

What are the conditions needed for the successful preparation of a World Conference? That the approach of each Party should be the restoration of our unity on the basis of the 1960 Statement; that no Communist Party should interfere in the internal affairs of any other; and that all factionalism should be rejected.

For the purpose of preparing for such a conference we believe that a renewed effort should be made to end the present violent and acrimonious public debate and replace this method by serious negotiations.

The Chinese Party has made its position clear and public with its June 14th letter and subsequent materials. So has the C.P.S.U. and other Parties. We have done so with this statement of our views on the letter of the Chinese comrades and their other statements.

Can not we now resume serious negotiation and suspend public debate in order to facilitate negotiation or, if this is not possible, at any rate in the interest of all Parties keep the debate on a serious political level and avoid wild and irresponsible accusations?

The whole international situation demands this. In carrying through this policy we call on the whole Party to press ahead boldly on the basis of the decisions of our Twenty-Eighth National Congress.

Already this line has ensured new growth in the Party, the most extensive electoral battle and a growth in our political influence. New possibilities of political advance are opening up.

We should not allow our advance to be hindered or suffer any setback by the state of the differences in the international Communist movement. We should reject any attempt from any quarter to factionalism or disruption.

The British political situation, the imminence of the General Election, the need for clarity in the Labour movement, not only to defeat the Tories but to ensure this defeat is not just a repetition of 1945, demand the utmost mass activity and unity of our Party.

We call on every Party branch to discuss the issues in the international Communist movement and reach clarity on the position of our Party, which is based on the decisions of the 1960 Statement, and expressed in the Statement of the January Executive meeting, our Twenty-Eighth National Congress Resolution and this statement. At the same time let us boldly step up our mass activity in every way.

The essence of the British political situation is that Britain needs a new policy. We need in international affairs a break with the policies of the cold war and NATO, and the fight for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

On the home front we need to step up the battle against the Tories

and the employers in every way, against all class collaboration and right wing Labour policies, for an end to wage restraint, for socialist nationalisation and attack on the monopolies.

This is the line of our National Congress, the basis of our challenge in the coming General Election.

Our Twenty-Eighth National Congress was a Congress of unity on our present political line. On this basis let us go forward to new successes.

Speech by Maurice Thorez at a Meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party

(October 1963)

The members of the Central Committee have unanimously approved the report of the Political Bureau, presented by Waldeck Rochet, on questions that have come up in the course of the discussion with the leaders of the Communist Party of China.

Our Party, which was built in an unyielding and incessant struggle of principles fought on two fronts — against Right opportunism and revisionism and against Left opportunism, sectarianism and dogmatism — unhesitatingly rejects the erroneous positions of the Chinese leaders. These positions are marked at once by dogmatism and sectarianism and (as Sève has noted) revisionism; I would add also nationalism, which is always a reflection of bourgeois ideology and always represents a patently opportunist deviation.

Our Party condemns the subversive and disruptive activity which the Chinese leaders have long been conducting. They have now overstepped all bounds and are openly using the rag, tag and bobtail of the opposition, every sort of opportunist and Trotskyite grouping, and the press organs echoing them. This activity has already caused much damage to some parties in Asia and America. It is also aimed against all international mass organizations.

The discussion here of Waldeck Rochet's report was very fruitful. The comrades made some good contributions and advanced many weighty arguments.

However, I should like to underscore some of the points on which there are differences with the Chinese leaders, and above all the impermissible methods they are using to win support for their erroneous concepts.

Early this year they seized upon Raymond Guyot's report to the Central Committee in December 1962, the resolution which the Central Committee unanimously adopted, and some of the things I said about them in order to loose against us a vicious diatribe which was zealously circulated by all our enemies. The Chinese leaders feel they have been vilified. What, then, did I say? With your permission I shall repeat those statements:

"It should be said that in effect the Chinese as well as the Albanian

L'Humanite, October 10, 1963.

comrades have not fully endorsed the theses put forward by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"They have not endorsed the thesis that war can be prevented. They have not endorsed the thesis concerning the possibility of winning power by peaceful means. They have not endorsed the thesis that it is possible to strengthen unity with the socialists. Similarly, they have not endorsed the condemnation of the personality cult. And little by little, in defiance of the resolution of the last international conference, they have begun to conduct subversive, disruptive activity in the international working-class movement."

All these statements were absolutely correct and, I would say, restrained. Above all, they contained nothing that we had not told the Chinese leaders in the course of three years in our letters and resolutions of our Central Committee — some of these were sent already in 1960 — as well as in our speeches and statements at the 81-party meeting which these leaders' aggressive stand compelled us to make public.

In the introductory part of my speech at the 81-party meeting, after some preliminary remarks concerning the documents permeated with the spirit of dogmatism which the Chinese leaders circulated all over the world and also their factionalist activity at the conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Peking, I found it necessary to say on behalf of our delegation:

"We have been acquainted with the contents of the letter sent by the Chinese comrades to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and, what is more, we have heard Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping speak here. It is now perfectly clear to us that the question is not of differences limited to two or three points in the Statement submitted to this conference, but of a very definite line running counter to the overall line of the international Communist movement.

"At the same time this confirms that what is in question is not differences between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but profound disagreement on the part of the Chinese comrades with the entire international Communist movement."

Consequently, the Chinese leaders had no reason to be surprised when after the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. our Central Committee found itself compelled, because of the repeated attacks made by the Albanian comrades, to criticize also their backers, i. e., the Chinese leaders.

The most important thing is to ascertain whether we really made a mistake in November 1960 in Moscow and a month earlier at the conference on educational work in Cholsy* when we felt that we had

* The speech in Cholsy was published under the title "Peace and Democracy Can Be Won Only Through Unremitting Popular Struggle."

to defend the correct theses of the Twentieth Congress, the policy of the international Communist movement and the policy of our Party against the attacks contained in a pamphlet circulated in France by the Chinese leaders. In the interests of unity we did not once mention in the Choisy statement either the pamphlet or its authors.

In this insulting sally against us the Chinese leaders at last admitted that they did not agree with the theses of the Twentieth Congress. On the one hand they accuse us of slandering them when we say that they disagree with these theses. But on the other hand their document says: "As regards the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it has, besides positive aspects, also negative ones."

In exactly the same way they disagreed with the Declaration of the 1957 conference, even though they signed it. And ever since then, in all their letters and statements, they have continued to pursue their adventuristic opposition line.

Already at the 1960 meeting we protested against the attempt made to counterpose the movement of the colonial peoples to the working class of the capitalist countries. At that time the Chinese leaders clearly set forth their anti-Leninist viewpoint, according to which the decisive role now belongs to the former colonial peoples and peoples on the way to liberation. They counterpose this viewpoint to the Leninist thesis that ours is a time when history is made by socialism, i. e., the working class, for socialism in power is the most important result of the struggle of the working class.

The viewpoint of the Chinese leaders runs counter to Lenin's teaching that the revolution of the colonial masses is part of the proletarian revolution.

Had there been no October Socialist Revolution, no such upsurge of the national-liberation movement as has taken place would have been possible. Had there been no October Revolution, the liberation of China could not have taken place, at least not so soon. Without the October Revolution and the victories for which the Soviet peoples paid with their blood in the struggle against Hitlerism and Japanese militarism, the Chinese comrades could not have won power so quickly. Similarly — though on another plane — without the support of the proletariat of the metropolis the struggle waged by our Vietnamese comrades and the people of Algeria would have been considerably more difficult.

Had there been no October Revolution and no Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which the Peking leaders are now slandering, the Chinese revolution could not have achieved what it has. I shall take the liberty to recall what Mao Tse-tung said:

"If the Soviet Union did not exist, if it had not been victorious in the anti-fascist world war, if — and this is particularly important for us — Japanese imperialism had not been defeated, if the new democracies had not emerged in Europe, if the struggle of the oppressed

peoples of the East and of the popular masses in the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries against the reactionary clique in power were not mounting, if all of these factors did not exist, the international reactionary forces would naturally exert greater pressure than at present. Could we have won in those circumstances? Of course not. And it would have been equally impossible to consolidate victory after it was won."

So spoke Mao Tse-tung only a short time ago. And this really corresponds to the truth.

The Chinese comrades also forget that at the present time, when socialism plays the decisive role in the world, the economic victories of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole not only stimulate the revolutionary struggle of the working people in all the capitalist countries, but also are the decisive factor consolidating the young states which recently threw off the colonial yoke; these victories help countries to win genuine independence which is unthinkable without economic independence.

As you see, the Chinese leaders are assailing the basic thesis of the international Communist movement concerning the character of our epoch and the basic forces fighting to transform the world.

Now after what has already been said, I should like to return to the serious difference between the Chinese leaders and us on problems of war and peace. Their incomprehensible attitude towards the Moscow treaty is common knowledge. It should be said that this stand runs counter to the letter and spirit of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. It runs counter to the Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957, i. e., counter to a document which Mao Tse-tung signed and which contains the following slogans: "Demand the banning of the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and, as a first step, the immediate ending of tests of these weapons."

The stand of the Chinese leaders runs counter to the 1960 Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties which they also signed and which declares:

"It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results — the banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons..." etc.

The U.S.S.R. and its government, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and personally Comrade Khrushchov have, then, worked for the realization of a point set forth in the joint statements.

The Chinese leaders have now fallen back on the argument that no disarmament has been achieved and that underground tests have not been ended. This a reversion to reasoning that has always been characteristic of sectarians: all or nothing. If I can't have all, I want nothing. How often have we had to fight against this kind of fallacious thinking! How many times have we had to explain that even if

workers who have gone on strike for higher wages may be forced to return to work without having won full satisfaction of their demands, this does not mean that they have given up all their demands and will not continue to fight for them.

The present position of the Chinese leaders on the Moscow treaty and questions of war and peace in general runs counter to the Leninist line, counter to the statement of the international conference, but it fully conforms to the spirit of Mao's statements of which Jeanette Vermeersch spoke here. In Choisy in 1960 and at the 81-party meeting we recalled Lenin's well-known speech criticizing Trotsky and Bukharin, who wanted to stimulate revolution by means of war.

Add to this what Comrade L  toquart said about the questions that were put to him recently in China concerning the maquis in France. Yes, the Chinese leaders think we should organize the maquis. But is this the way to pose the problems in our country? To do so would be contrary to the entire teaching of Lenin. Already some 30 years ago, when we had freed ourselves from the influence of the sectarian group which for a time had the decisive hold on the leadership of the Party, we quoted what Lenin wrote on December 14, 1917: "If socialism will not triumph, peace between the capitalist states will be only a truce, an interval between wars, a period of preparation for another slaughter of the peoples. Peace and bread remain the main demands of the workers, of the exploited" (V. I. Lenin, *For Bread and Peace*).

Should we really pay less attention to the fight for peace now, when the balance of forces has decisively changed in favour of socialism? If we say (contrary to the allegations of the Chinese leaders) that what has changed is not imperialism but the correlation of forces, does this mean that we should be less on our guard against the intrigues and actions of the imperialists? Should we pay less attention to the danger of war now, when it can be sparked off through a technical fault?

The struggle for peace is a fight which the Communist movement has always waged. It constitutes the very history of our Party.

It is perhaps not irrelevant to recall the conflict between People's China and India over a few kilometres of mountainous terrain in the Himalayas. We frankly told our Chinese comrades at the 81-party meeting: we do not understand your war, we do not understand these hostilities. We said to them: India is a country belonging to the peace zone mentioned in the 1957 Declaration. India is a country that has thrown off the colonial yoke, a state together with which People's China subscribed to the five principles of Bandung.

Let us note in passing a contradiction in which the Chinese leaders have become entangled. On the one hand they say that the liberation movement in the former colonies is the decisive factor, the hurricane source. And after this they begin a frontier fight with India, regarding

India as more imperialist than some really imperialist countries. A crying contradiction indeed!

Is this attitude due to the fact that India finally liberated the Goa enclave from Portugal whereas the Chinese are leaving the Portuguese in peace in Macao, the very same Portuguese against whom the Negroes of Angola are fighting? Is this effective support by People's China of the Angolan people's liberation struggle? We know that the Chinese were renowned through the centuries for their patience. They no doubt have weighty reasons for not touching Macao.

Neither do they touch Hongkong; there too the usurper has been left alone. Why, then, was it impossible to display patience and settle the frontier question with India through negotiation? Why lecture others? Why tell others that it is essential to accelerate the march of events, to wage war, to cause conflicts and to use only violent methods to solve all problems?

I should like to return also to the question of the Stalin personality cult with all its grave consequences — the violation of the Leninist standards of Party life, violation of the principles of democratic centralism, violation of the laws of the socialist state, arbitrary methods, repressions against Party leaders as well as the rank and file, at times even crimes, in a word, all those attributes that could only distort the visage of communism, repel and alienate people, not to speak of the dogmatic imprint this laid on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

This was an evil that made itself felt not only in the Soviet Union but also in other socialist countries and the entire international Communist movement.

As far as our Party is concerned, I shall mention only one example: the effect of the so-called doctors' case, which involved medical men most of whom I knew personally, for they had been at my bedside day and night for weeks on end. Arrested, thrown in prison, beaten, they barely escaped death. They were released the day we left Moscow. Comrade Suslov, who came to see us off, said to us: You can set your mind at ease; the doctors have been freed, they were innocent; the whole thing was a frame-up.

The point I want to make is that when the doctors were arrested pressure was brought to bear on Communists in the medical profession in France to get them to sign a statement approving of the arbitrary action taken against their Soviet colleagues for reasons completely unknown to them. But their professional ethics ruled out the credibility of a doctor endangering the life of his patients; they doubted that there were any grounds for such a charge. Should we not regard this as the cause, or at least one of the causes, of the doubts and vacillation displayed by some of our comrades, the overwhelming majority of whom had firmly adhered to the positions of the Party and who were misled in connection with this case?

If we were to believe the Chinese leaders, such questions should

never be raised so as not to cause damage to the Communist movement. Let me ask you: should the innocent doctors really have been left in jail or the fact that they were released concealed, and, what is most important, should the circumstances of their unjustified arrest not have been revealed in order not to "embarrass" the Communists? Should we not have undeceived those who signed the document? Should the use of these criminal methods have been allowed to continue or was it not better to act as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov acted, i.e., to lance the ulcer and tell the truth about the mistakes that had been made, to expose the crimes and all the consequences of the Stalin personality cult, to reveal all this primarily in order to ensure that such things should never happen again in the Soviet Union and that the other socialist countries too should draw the necessary conclusions?

Was it not essential also to warn the international Communist movement against such monstrous distortions of the correct Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

Lenin's thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat implies the broadest democracy for the working masses. It by no means implies the use of violence against the working class, against, for instance, half of the delegates to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., which was called the congress of victors. Moreover, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is wholly directed against the former exploiters and their agents, by no means signifies solely the use of force by the working class. It signifies above all effort to educate the petty-bourgeois masses and certain sections of the working class in order to raise the political consciousness of the masses and to teach them how to build socialism.

You have read the speech delivered on behalf of our Party at the 1960 meeting. When we spoke on this question we could not of course anticipate the conclusions of the Twenty-Second Congress concerning the state of the entire people which is bound to follow the dictatorship of the proletariat, is bound to emerge after socialism has been built. The moment comes when government of men is replaced by the management of things; the coming of this moment is strikingly demonstrated by what is happening in the Soviet Union with the steady advance of democracy.

Everybody who has visited the Soviet Union in recent years has felt these changes. It is not only a question of statements, documents and resolutions; a fresh wind of democracy has swept the country. Things have become freer. People have become more frank, they speak out freely and discuss things. They feel secure in the material respect, and they are calm and confident in the moral and political respects.

The Chinese comrades now say that this is not the way things should have been done. The point has been made here that the crux of the matter may lie in their continuing, in effect, to practice the personality cult, but I shall not dwell on that.

In the meantime, let us recall what Comrade Liu Shao-chi said at the Eighth Congress of his Party — that the C.P.S.U. rendered a great service to the international working-class movement and the entire socialist camp when it exposed and condemned the personality cult and all the evil it caused. Why should views be so changeable?

I shall not dwell on such questions as utter lack of understanding of what work among the masses, in the mass organizations, means. Souquière already spoke of this, and we have been discussing this question for roughly three years now. We began discussing it precisely because of the stand taken by the Chinese Communists in the peace movement and the world trade union movement. The Chinese leaders indeed display an utter lack of understanding of the conditions in our country. They also take a somewhat contemptuous attitude towards the working class which, despite the difficult conditions in which it is carrying on its fight in our country, they nevertheless place on a par with its exploiters.

The Chinese leaders scorn our parties and want to put them in the dock; using pressure and factional activities they seek to compel them to adopt a sectarian line which can only lead to disaster. The fact is that the Chinese leaders put out their 25-point document in order to dictate their policy to everybody. The socialist countries, they say, must do this, the parties in the newly free countries or countries fighting for their liberation must do that, and the Communist parties of the capitalist countries must act in a particular way.

How different all this is from what Lenin taught us, from Leninist practice!

Lenin, who fought for the liberation of a great people whose working class constituted the minority of the population and still had to assimilate the experience accumulated by the international working-class movement, understood that Marxism had to be applied in practice in conformity with the conditions of his country, the conditions of Russia. Precisely because of this he fought for an uncompromising principled line against all the concepts advanced by the Legal Marxists, the Mensheviks and the Trotskyites, but throughout he was on guard against any russification of the Marxist doctrine. While weighing every event that took place in what then was tsarist Russia, Lenin continued to study the capitalist countries. He studied France too; he sought to understand the life of the French working class.

He also lived in Germany and in Switzerland. In Germany he made a serious, profound study of the experience of the German party which was then the biggest in the Second International.

Lenin stands for the practical application of Marxism, enrichment of Marxism, development of Marxism, but by no means its russification — quite the contrary. In later years he criticized some of the documents prepared by various bodies of the Third International as being too Russian, if not in spirit then at least as regards formulations. Today — and we frankly said this to the Chinese comrades at the

1960 meeting — there can be no question of Sinoizing Marxism, of ignoring the experience of the international working-class movement.

Some comrades ask why and how all this happened; their concern is quite understandable. These are serious questions which one must try to answer. One can point to the specific composition of the Communist Party of China, whose primary organizations consist mostly of peasants and leading bodies exclusively of intellectuals. For a long time the Chinese Communists were remote from cities and industrial centres. Their experience in proletarian struggle proper is relatively limited.

We in no way underestimate the enormous sacrifices they have made. But they underestimate the day-to-day struggle of our working class which, though not always equally glorious, equally spectacular, is no less difficult for all that. This is a struggle waged from day to day against the capitalist exploiters in the big capitalist countries.

Other explanations too may be given. We ourselves, as you will remember, tried to understand the position of the Chinese comrades when we took this matter up in our Central Committee in 1960. We took cognizance of the position of their country, which is denied a place in the United Nations, of the occupation of Formosa by General Chiang Kai-shek and the American Seventh Fleet cruising up and down the Chinese coast. The Chinese comrades, we said, may at times be tempted to take a stand which a major Communist Party should hardly take.

We voiced our doubts when the experiments began with the "big leap" and the "People's communes". The Chinese leaders said at the time: "We shall overtake Britain in two or three years. We shall produce 20 million tons of pig iron".

But what actually happened? A quantity of pig iron was turned out, but in conditions which made a considerable part of this output useless. In order to do this, large numbers of peasants were resettled, and since agricultural labour in China is mainly manual labour — China still does not have enough farm machines in spite of the aid rendered by all the socialist countries — there were not enough hands to till the land and as a result the harvests were poor.

And what can be said of the people's communes? The idea was to achieve communism at once. Recall the experience of the Soviet Union, where decades were needed in order to complete the building of socialism. But the Chinese comrades thought they had already achieved communism. Yet the fact remained that the material conditions for this had not been provided and all they could achieve was communism in conditions of privation.

This led to new economic difficulties, to greater poverty. In this situation, instead of doing what Lenin did, what the Bolsheviks taught us to do, instead of admitting that they had erred, that the methods had to be changed and the people told that a mistake had been made.

— instead of doing this they have stubbornly continued to praise the superlative merits of the "big leap", the "people's communes", etc.

Needless to say, the whys and wherefores are not the main problem. The main thing is that the leaders of the Communist Party of China began an open struggle against the international Communist movement and that they are stopping at nothing, not even at disruptive activities, in order to gain their ends.

Not only is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union being slandered, not only are unjustified attacks made against our Party; the same lot has fallen to the Communist Party of India, which is in a difficult position as it is owing to the frontier conflict, and the Communist Party of the United States, many of whose leaders are in prison, as well as other parties.

Splitting activities are being encouraged in the Communist parties of Belgium and Brazil, where the Chinese leaders openly support splinter groups. Is such activity in the spirit of Leninism?

I should like to mention four points which remained in dispute at the 1960 meeting after weeks of discussion in the preparatory committee in which Raymond Guyot and Léo Figuères took part. When a text was finally drawn up, it turned out that the Chinese delegates disagreed on these four points and carried on the fight at the meeting.

What were these points?

1. The formulations concerning war and peace, although they were a logical continuation of the line laid down in 1957.

2. Condemnation of national communism — and this in a context which pointed to Yugoslav revisionism. The Chinese comrades, who now come out as critics of this revisionism, refused to agree to the term "national communism". They said (and with reason, although we were not aware of it then) that the concept of national communism might be extended to include themselves.

3. The Chinese comrades no longer agreed to references to the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of the C.P.S.U.. And yet they had praised the Twentieth Congress and its principal decisions at their own Eighth Congress, and had agreed in very definite terms to mention of the theses of the Twentieth Congress in the 1957 Declaration.

4. The Chinese comrades rejected the passage in the Statement which condemned factional and group activity. We can now see why they did so.

We did our best to reach agreement on these four points. In the end, with other formulations, the Statement remained politically clear, and the Chinese comrades voted for it after repeated adjurations.

Today the task is to take a resolute stand against the unprincipled attacks made by the leaders of the Communist Party of China against the international working-class movement, attacks launched in defiance of the joint statements.

If their sectarian and dogmatic line were to gain the upper hand, we would undoubtedly be overtaken by disaster. This line has already

caused too much harm to the working-class movement. The political positions of the Chinese leaders cannot be reconciled with the theses permeated by the spirit of Marx and Lenin which the meetings of 1957 and 1960 adopted and which remain the Communist line of action throughout the world.

Some deplore that the Chinese have adopted this position but are not willing to denounce it. This was the stand of Kapo, the representative of the Albanian Party of Labour at the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries in Bucharest which was held in preparation for the 81-Party meeting. This spokesman, like all the Albanian leaders, was essentially in agreement with the Chinese but was not yet prepared openly to say so. He limited himself to declaring that a great Party could not be condemned. But why not, if that Party does not follow the jointly elaborated line?

A contrary argument was also advanced: when the Albanians came out with their extreme position, when Enver Hoxha made his speech which shocked the meeting of representatives of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, with the exception of the Chinese of course, when Dolores Ibarruri expressed the consensus of opinion saying that never had such words been heard at an international meeting — at that time there were some who said: "But Albania is a small country. We must understand small countries." Thus it turns out that neither a small nor a big country should be censured, that the essence of the political issues at stake is no longer discussed while sentimental and even numerical considerations are allowed to gain the upper hand.

We are duty bound to fight for Marxism-Leninism, all the more so since the problems involved affect us directly. These questions are our concern. If we were to allow ourselves to think for even a moment that these issues are not important, the erroneous theses of the Chinese comrades might confuse some people.

We must carry on the fight and uphold the opinion we expressed at the 1960 meeting: that this is not merely a controversy between the Soviet and Chinese leaders but a matter of opposition to the principles underlying the line of the international Communist movement.

As for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the honour of being in the forefront of the fight in defence of the principles of Marx and Lenin, the principles of the international Communist movement, and also the main responsibility for this fight have again fallen to its lot.

In conclusion I should like to say that we fully support the convocation of an international meeting which will once again confirm the political principles of the Communist movement. We want the Chinese comrades to come to their senses, to return to the correct positions, to once again contribute their share to the common effort to ensure the unity of our international movement and the effectiveness of our struggle.

We worked towards this already in 1960 and we shall persistently continue our efforts. We shall ignore the insults hurled at us. We shall

continue to work for agreement, but never at the price of yielding when it comes to principle.

The fact remains that we are facing a serious test which creates difficulties but which, essentially, does not affect the march of events, the progress of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp from success to success, the advance of the working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle throughout the world, the achievement of détente, or the development of the common struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

As regards our country, all this has been duly taken into account, as can be seen from the resolution adopted on the first item on our agenda: united struggle for peace and democracy. We shall continue to advance, fulfilling, as always, our duty as Communists, carrying on the fight on two fronts, working for unity, organizing mass actions. We shall fight to win genuine democracy in France and in this way forge head along the path to socialism.

We and the Chinese Comrades

In the past ten years, *Unita* notes, the role of the Communist movement as the inspirer and leader of the great revolutionary processes of our time has grown as never before. In order to play this role, the Communists must stand united in their work to achieve the common aims of the movement, irrespective of the diversity of the conditions in which the various parties function. Needless to say, this great political movement united by common ideology and identity of the ultimate aims of all its participants does not rule out the voicing of different judgements and opinions or a diversity of lines of action. Free and frank exchange of views between the various sectors of the Communist movement is useful and necessary.

Nevertheless, *Unita* stresses, we consider it extremely harmful to turn comradely discussion into a quarrel with other parties, as has been done by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who are resorting to impermissible methods, invective and insults.

Tracing the history of the differences between the leadership of the C.P.C. and the international Communist movement, *Unita* points out that these differences came to a head at the time of the Caribbean events in October last year when the world stood at the brink of a new war. The Chinese leaders levelled at the Soviet comrades, who were involved in this crisis in the most direct way, unwarranted accusations which have been totally disproved by the facts.

The abuse and "exposures" spilled over from the pages of the Chinese press into official documents of the C.P.C. They were the accompaniment also of the so-called "25 points" of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. All this predetermined the failure of the Moscow meeting of representatives of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C.

The Chinese leaders accused the majority of the Communist parties of "capitulating" to imperialism and the bourgeoisie. These accusations became still more crass after the signing of the Moscow partial test-ban treaty.

Unita analyzes point by point the basic differences between the Communist Party of China and the international Communist movement and

Abridged translation of supplement to *Unita*, September 29, 1963.

gives the Italian Communists' reply to the theses advanced by the leadership of the C.P.C.

Concerning the statements of the Chinese leaders about the consequences of thermonuclear war, the newspaper points out that "these statements of the Chinese comrades reveal two extremely serious mistakes: a monstrous underestimation of the consequences of modern war and the tragic illusion that even in the event of war humanity will be able to build a 'better' society. If half of the human race were doomed to perish in a nuclear holocaust how can the remaining half be expected simply to resume its onward movement? Were such a catastrophe to take place, the whole world, civilization and the development of the productive forces and human relationships would be hurled back for centuries. Socialism would be completely out of the question. As has already been said, the world would be reduced to a state when the survivors could only envy the dead.

"We know, of course," the newspaper continues, "that some of the top men of imperialism do not rule out the appalling prospect of nuclear war. But the experience of recent years has shown that people like these can be isolated and defeated. Therefore, we cannot accept as an alternative the possibility of the 'war maniacs' unleashing a nuclear conflict. Were this to happen, it would clearly be a success of the most horrible and brutal order for the most reactionary forces in the world. No two parallel 'possibilities' of reaching socialism can be envisaged; there is only one possibility. Hence the primary task of all progressives in the world is to make nuclear war impossible. It would be disastrous if the Communists did not see that history has imposed this responsibility on them.

"The Chinese Communists declare that the peoples should not be 'intimidated' since this leads to surrender to the imperialist atomic blackmailers.

"It is impossible to visualize how the peoples could be inspired to rise to the struggle by the prospect of a future in which no one knows to which half of humanity he will belong—the half that will survive or the half that will perish. We do not believe that the peoples can best be inspired to wage the liberation struggle by concealing certain aspects of reality from them, by declaring, for instance, that the nuclear bomb is a 'paper tiger'.

"On the contrary, only knowledge imparts strength to the peoples fighting against imperialism. They should know how destructive the latest weapons are precisely in order to appreciate the necessity and the possibility of compelling imperialism to renounce their use.

"The peoples cannot hope to win a better future through destruction of the cultural and economic values that have already been accumulated; they can win this future only by using these values in the interests of humanity. Moreover, these values can be effectively utilized only under socialism."

The newspaper dwells on the question of peaceful coexistence and

notes that the Chinese leaders are artificially counterposing the policy of peaceful coexistence to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, thereby suggesting that peaceful coexistence is nothing but a diplomatic manoeuvre and denying the revolutionary role played by the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

The Chinese comrades, *Unita* writes, completely distort the views of other parties on this issue. These views have nothing in common with the contorted picture presented by the Chinese side which underlies their attacks on peaceful coexistence both as the "line" of the Communist movement and as the socialist countries' prime criterion of foreign policy.

Yet peaceful coexistence, i.e., competition between differing social systems, is the great and only effective alternative to thermonuclear war. It is the socialist countries that offered this alternative to humanity. But peaceful coexistence implies not only the absence of world war; it also implies struggle—political, ideological, economic, social and diplomatic struggle replete with concrete revolutionary content. Its aim is to deprive imperialism of the weapon of war, which hitherto has been its most effective instrument for suppressing the peoples, to impose on imperialism first the reduction and then the destruction of armaments, to compel it to renounce the export of counter-revolution.

All these are revolutionary steps which imperialism has always unequivocally rejected but which it will be compelled to accept (and this is already partially happening) because of its comparatively weak positions on the world arena. Why should all this be an obstacle to the liberation struggle? If this struggle has acquired the sweeping scale it has in the past ten years when there "have been no world wars", why should it not develop on a still wider scale when the prospect is peaceful coexistence? As a matter of fact, the development of this struggle makes peaceful coexistence increasingly possible.

We regard coexistence as a new and effective strategy in the struggle against imperialism. It is peaceful coexistence, and not the attempt made by the Chinese leaders to distort its meaning, that is revolutionary.

The theses of the Chinese leaders are empty words, revolutionary phrasemongering. Thanks to peaceful coexistence, socialism is finding support and allies also among the intermediary sections (the neutralist groups and governments persistently ignored by the Chinese Communists) which everywhere help to strengthen the front of the forces opposed to the policy of imperialism and fighting against it.

As regards the methods used by the Chinese Communists in their "25 points" to examine the question of disarmament, *Unita* writes, the following can be said: if the statements of the leadership of the C.P.C. mean anything, it is that disarmament is worth fighting for though under no circumstances can it be achieved. To think otherwise, the Chinese leaders claim, is to foster illusions. They hold that our demand

for disarmament is mere propaganda and a pretext for agitation. But who, in the long run, would take us seriously if we really acted in this manner?

The practical result of such theorizing, *Unita* observes, is that the Chinese comrades oppose both definite agreements on disarmament (the Moscow treaty) and the demand for general and complete disarmament put forward by international organizations (congresses of the peace movement, the women's movement, etc.).

The newspaper qualifies as "utterly absurd" the argument that disarmament might serve as a pretext for "abolishing" the revolutionary struggle of the peoples; on the contrary, it says, the oppressed peoples can gain from the reduction of armaments.

Further *Unita* condemns "the rash accusations" made by the Chinese Communists in connection with the test-ban treaty, which the newspaper calls a "victory for all peace forces".

Concerning the complaints of the Chinese leaders that the Soviet Union did not give them nuclear weapons, the newspaper states: "On this question our stand is perfectly clear: we are against all nuclear weapons, but we recognize the need for the socialist camp to possess them inasmuch as the leading imperialist powers have not renounced the use of theirs. It is a fact of history that the creation of these weapons and also the burden, sacrifices and responsibility this involves fell to the lot of the only socialist country able to shoulder the task—the Soviet Union. We do not consider it absolutely essential for the other socialist countries to do the same (moreover, they lack the practical possibilities). Were they to do so, the capitalist countries would have another pretext for stepping up the arms drive.

"The desire of the Chinese leaders to possess nuclear weapons would be justified if the Soviet weapons were designed only for the defence of the U.S.S.R. This, however, is not the case. The U.S.S.R. has solemnly committed itself, through treaties and guarantees known to all, to shield the entire socialist world with its nuclear weaponry. When this world was threatened, the U.S.S.R. unhesitatingly threw its own fate into the scale. Since there is now no real need for China to possess nuclear bombs to ensure its own defence, the demands of the leadership of the Chinese People's Republic can be explained only by nationalistic considerations of prestige and great-power aspirations which are only too similar to those of de Gaulle. And because of this they are unworthy of a socialist country."

Unita refutes as "arbitrary" and "unfounded" the charge that the role of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process is being underestimated.

The fact that the Chinese comrades artificially counterpose the front of colonial struggle to the front of struggle in the capitalist countries, the newspaper says, not only does not facilitate the struggle against neo-colonialism, but, on the contrary, hinders it. Their striving to

isolate the first of these fronts from the overall revolutionary process and to subordinate the struggle in the capitalist countries to it is a dangerous line which by no means promotes the cause of the world revolution.

Unita criticizes the argument contained in the "25 points" of the C.P.C. that "every socialist country must rely mainly on itself for its construction".

"Reliance on one's own forces alone," the paper says, "is a principle which a socialist country may be compelled to observe in certain specific circumstances, but it cannot be made the absolute rule for all socialist countries. The Soviet Union had no choice but to follow this principle 40 years ago when it was the only country to take the path of building socialism. It is certainly not reasonable to propose using such methods today when socialism has embraced a number of countries able to cooperate with one another. To advocate this is in a way a manifestation of nationalism (regrettably, there are many other manifestations of nationalism in the stand taken by the Chinese comrades) leading to autarchy.

"Every country building socialism should harness its own resources since it cannot seek to live at the expense of others. But this should be combined with cooperation in order to utilize the sum-total of available resources in a way that is rational and beneficial for all and not for one country alone. It would be irrational to reject international division of labour and not to strive towards joint planning. The fact that the vast opportunities revealed in this area were ignored in the past has already caused damage to the socialist camp in its competition with capitalism. Moreover, it would be a mistake to understand equality as something making it incumbent on the socialist camp as a whole to halt its development until its economically less developed sectors have overcome their lag (this thesis makes itself felt in some of the Chinese propositions)."

Unita strongly condemns the attempts of the Chinese leaders to justify the Stalin cult and its consequences. It is unquestionably to the credit of Khrushchov and the group of leaders now at the head of the C.P.S.U. that they had the courage to expose the Stalin personality cult before the entire Communist movement.

The paper warns that the political course steered by the leadership of the C.P.C. threatens to turn our entire movement back to those contradictions, mistakes and sectarian insularity of which we have been working to free ourselves in recent years. We therefore reject this line, the paper says. We wish to move forward along the path opened by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and not to retrogress.

Unita sees a close connection between the "yearning for the Stalin past" and the Chinese comrades' criticism of the formulations "state of the whole people" and "Party of the whole people". These formulations, the paper points out, reflect a desire and the need to ensure the further development of socialist democracy during the transition

from the lower phase of socialism to the next, higher phase—a development proceeding in the overall context of sweeping economic growth and advance of human relations in the direction of communism and in a situation marked by the bold challenge issued to the capitalist world to measure swords in this sphere.

We are convinced that economic and social progress in the countries where the working class is in power should be combined with the steady development of democracy and methods of leadership affording the masses an opportunity to take a bigger part in economic management and state administration. These convictions of ours are confirmed by what was said at the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the C.P.S.U.

Examining the accusations made by the Chinese leaders against the Italian Communist Party to the effect that it is seeking "to arrive at socialism peacefully, by means of diverse reforms", *Unita* says that such statements show that the Chinese comrades are insufficiently acquainted not only with the political positions of the I.C.P. but above all with its activities and its struggle. We have never believed, the paper says, that socialism can be achieved by means of reforms alone. But we have rejected the idea that our struggle for socialism should boil down to merely advocating and waiting for a "better future". We have, of course, also set ourselves intermediate aims not only put forward by the masses themselves but involving changes in the economic structure and political set-up in our country and causing the balance of forces steadily to shift in favour of the working class and its allies. In working towards these aims we are out to build up an ever broader bloc of forces which will be able to effect the socialist reconstruction of our society.

The concluding part of the supplement is devoted to criticism of factionalism in the working-class and Communist movement. The theses of the C.P.C. leadership on struggle against "opportunists" and "revisionists", *Unita* says, are framed in a spirit which makes all their talk about the necessity of unity in our movement meaningless. The Chinese leaders have arrogated to themselves the "right" to make factionalist sallies against other parties and to use certain elements found both within and without these parties to further their own interests.

The Chinese leaders, *Unita* says, have long conducted factionalist activities both on an international scale and in the various countries, and in recent months they have stepped up these activities. In all international mass organizations and associations, wherever the Communists are working side by side with non-Communists, the Chinese Communists are recruiting supporters for their struggle against the majority.

The leadership of the C.P.C. has sought to win over entire parties, going so far as to urge the Asian parties to display some "special solidarity". For a long time the C.P.C. made use of the leaders of the

Albanian Party of Labour in this activity. At present Peking is trying to set up factionalist groupings everywhere.

After all this, who can believe in the sincerity of the Chinese leaders when they speak of the need for unity in the Communist movement.

The Italian Communist Party, *Unita* says in conclusion, is firmly resolved to devote all its energies to combating this factionalist activity of the C.P.C. which testifies to the Chinese leaders' ambition to be the ideological and political leaders of the entire Communist movement.

On the Ideological and Political Struggle against the Sectarian, Dogmatic and Disruptive Theses of the Chinese Communist Party

*Resolution adopted by the Central Committee,
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica*

At its recent third Central Committee meeting the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica adopted a resolution on the ideological and political struggle against the sectarian, dogmatic and disruptive theses of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The resolution, published in the bulletin *Correo Semanal*, states in part:

The People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica has always acted in accordance with the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, has always been true to proletarian internationalism.

Proceeding from this stand, our Party sees it as its duty to uphold the unity of the international Communist movement and the unity of the socialist camp; to strengthen by all possible means solidarity with the working-class struggle throughout the world, and with the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national independence.

Our Party has always maintained that the imperialists and the class enemies inside the country have always aimed their main blows against the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement, and against the Soviet Union, its government, people and Communist Party. And this is only to be expected for the Soviet state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are the bulwark of the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

Consequently, all Communist parties and all true revolutionaries have ever since the victory of the October Revolution, considered as a criterion of proletarian internationalism their attitude to the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, the most experienced contingent of the international Communist movement.

We therefore consider it necessary, in the light of the aforesaid, to express our absolute disagreement with the attitude taken by the Communist Party of China towards the Soviet Union. Common sense tells us that any attack, whatever the pretext, on the bulwark of the socialist world system, on the vanguard of the world Communist move-

ment can only wreck the unity of the socialist camp, the unity of the big family of Communists all over the world, and only aid the imperialists and all enemies of revolution.

Immediately after the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. our Party published a statement supporting the Congress' denouncement of the personality cult as an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist practice that runs counter to the interests of the international Communist movement as a whole, and of each individual country. Later, at Central Committee meetings of our Party and at its Ninth Congress last April, we reaffirmed our principled stand to uphold collective leadership in the Communist and Workers' parties and reject the replacement of collective leadership by individual, which, in practice, inevitably leads to an individual leadership cult.

The resolution stresses that no one can fail to see the obvious contradiction between what the C.P.C. leaders said about the Twentieth Congress and the personality cult in 1956, and what they are saying now.

It should be noted that since its Eighth Congress in 1956, the Chinese Party has not convened a single congress and that its Central Committee meetings are held in secret, as is the practice with illegal Communist parties.

Although in words the Chinese leaders admit that war can be averted in our time, in deed they are persisting in their thesis on the inevitability of war. In order to defend their thesis, they make no mention in their propaganda of the effects a nuclear war would have on humanity. During visits to China by our Party delegations, the Chinese leaders in political discussions with them tried to impress upon them that the atom bomb is not as terrible as people claim, and that it is not true that most of mankind would be destroyed in the event of a thermonuclear holocaust.

On the other hand, during discussions of international policy, the Chinese leaders told our comrades that the "cold war is a good thing", and that a "situation of tension is a good situation" for developing the revolutionary struggle.

It looks very much as though the Chinese leaders are not venturing, for purely tactical reasons, to come out openly in favour of the thesis that the way to revolution is through war or, what amounts to the same thing, that thermonuclear war with all its horrors is an inevitable tragedy preceding the victory of socialism on a world scale.

The June 14 letter to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. contains the grave and unjust accusation that the C.P.S.U. "under the pretext of peaceful coexistence wants to force the oppressed nations to give up the revolutionary struggle". The international Communist movement knows of the decisive part played by the Soviet Union in the defence of Cuba and in its economic growth. It was not the high-sounding phrases of the Chinese leaders, but the fraternal, disinterested aid of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist

countries, including that of China, which made it possible for Cuba to hold out against the threat of aggression and the economic blockade of the United States. Everyone also knows of the extensive assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the liberation struggle of the Algerian people, and to Indonesia's struggle to free West Irian.

No fair-minded person is likely to ignore the fact that the success of the liberation struggle of the Asian and African peoples, and of Cuba was largely due to the solidarity and assistance of the Soviet Union.

In their letter the Chinese comrades attempt to counterpose the Communist parties and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Communist parties of the European countries.

Our Central Committee declares that in the opinion of the Costa Rican Communists it is the existence of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, and our solidarity with it that is the guarantee of the success of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in Latin America.

We, Costa Rican Communists, relying on our own forces and taking into consideration the conditions in our country, are fighting to carry the revolution further. And we are confident that when our people will eventually take power into their own hands and carry out revolutionary transformations, it is the socialist countries that will come to their aid should imperialism attempt to encroach on our sovereignty and start a counter-revolution.

The sectarianism and dogmatism of the Chinese leaders have dealt a serious blow to the international Communist movement, and, as pointed out in the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, have become the "main danger", not only in building socialism in China, which, as everyone knows, has suffered big setbacks as a result, but also for the international Communist movement as a whole.

Our Central Committee condemns this splitting activity, nourished not only by the dogmatic and sectarian trends prevailing in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, but also by openly nationalist tendencies, which are incompatible with Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese leaders attempt to conceal from the people their responsibility for the difficulties in economic construction caused not only by their mistakes in domestic policy, but also by their incorrect foreign policy, which has resulted in the economic isolation of China from the entire socialist camp.

Our Central Committee is aware that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, is showing the greatest forbearance towards the Chinese leaders. All the parties, including our Party, note the great patience displayed by the C.P.S.U. in striving to help the Chinese leaders to see and rectify their mistakes. But the latter have failed to appreciate this fraternal

approach on the part of all the parties and have instead stepped up their splitting activities.

In view of the existing situation the Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica considers it its duty to clearly state that it calls on the Party and its membership to close its ranks, together with all the other Communist and Workers' parties, around the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

As true internationalists we are opposed to attempts to cause a split, to the nationalistic, sectarian and dogmatic trends prevailing in the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and uphold peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence, proclaimed by Lenin and consistently pursued by the Soviet Union.

We declare that we resolutely support the U.S.S.R.'s policy on disarmament, the programme of general and complete disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, and welcome the recent treaty concluded between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water as an important step towards disarmament and the relaxation of international tensions.

We fully agree with the way the U.S.S.R. resolved the Caribbean crisis, and saved the peace and Cuba.

We consider that the reactionary attack of the leaders of the Chinese Party and the government on the test-ban treaty should be censured.

We hope that the Chinese people and the fraternal Party of China will soon be able to bring their misguided leaders back to their senses, and return to the great international family of Communists from which they are now separated.

The Views of the Paraguayan Communist Party on the Ideological and Practical Position of the Chinese Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party has published in booklet form a statement entitled "The Views of the Paraguayan Communist Party on the Ideological Precepts and Practices of the Communist Party of China." The following is an abridgement of this statement.



The Central Committee, P.C.P., is deeply disturbed by the emergence in the world Communist movement of a politico-ideological trend which, contrary to the joint Statement of 1960, counterposes peaceful coexistence to revolution and concentrates on a bitter struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties which are upholding this programme Statement, accusing them without the slightest justification of "substituting peaceful coexistence for revolutionary struggle," of fearing the revolution...

In view of the fact that the leadership of the Communist Party of China has aggravated this situation in connection with the recently concluded partial test-ban treaty, the C.C., P.C.P., having examined the differences, feels it is incumbent on it to state its views on some of the ideological, political and practical propositions of the leaders of the fraternal party of China.

The Treaty signed by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain in Moscow is a partial concession on the part of imperialism to the Soviet Union and the other peoples who have long fought for termination of nuclear tests. It shows that the imperialist states can be compelled to enter into certain compromises in the matter of peaceful coexistence with the socialist states. A new blow has been struck at the more aggressive imperialist quarters, specifically the Pentagon. The fact that the treaty was signed in Moscow makes it clear to all in whose favour the scales have been tipped in the nuclear competition. The Moscow treaty creates better conditions for the struggle for disarmament and lasting peace; it strengthens the people's faith in the possibility of tangible gains in the struggle against imperialism. And thereby it contributes to the popular revolutionary struggle in the

capitalist and oppressed countries. Today the Paraguayan people place greater confidence than ever in the forces of the socialist camp and the world anti-imperialist movement.

The signing of the Moscow treaty confirms the basic thesis of the 1960 Statement that in our time the socialist system is becoming a force which determines the trend of world history.

The opposition offered by the leaders of the C.P.C. to the Moscow treaty and the active struggle of the C.P.R. government against the banning of atmospheric nuclear tests are tangible proof that Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his disciples, their pronouncements in support of the 1960 Statement notwithstanding, are against consistent and practical struggle for peaceful coexistence and disarmament.

The C.C., P.C.P. cannot agree to the leadership of one of the parties signatory to the 1960 Statement distorting a collectively elaborated line and trying to impose its own line upon all fraternal parties under the pretext of a "different understanding" of this Statement.

The C.P.C. leaders are opposed to the Moscow treaty mainly because they want to possess the atom bomb themselves, and, should the opportunity arise, to test it in the atmosphere. The chief reason behind China's striving to possess the atom bomb is its desire to assert its hegemony on a world scale and especially in Asia.

The theories of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his disciples concerning the "prevalence of the wind from the East", the global mission of the Asians, and the need to shift the centre of the world working-class movement from the U.S.S.R. to China are other manifestations of the same striving for supremacy.

The negative attitude of the C.P.C. leadership towards the Moscow treaty also has an ideological basis.

The unfounded thesis that this treaty will give the United States the advantage in the nuclear race and weaken the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, is a new vivid manifestation of the pessimistic view Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his disciples have always taken of the changing world situation.

In its letter of June 14, as in its previous declarations, the C.P.C. leadership insists on the thesis that U.S. imperialism is carrying on a full-scale offensive, that it has already brought all capitalist countries under its control and is on the way to creating a vast world-wide empire such as has never been known before, enslaving the peoples of all countries and destroying the socialist countries.

Clearly, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his disciples are greatly over-estimating the forces and possibilities of U.S. imperialism. This is a dogmatic view which is opportunist and capitulatory in essence.

The joint Statement of 1960 rests on a fundamentally different concept in the collective elaboration of which the new, bold estimates given by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. were drawn upon. Today, for the first time in history, the working class and the oppressed peoples, relying on the growing military superiority of the Soviet

Union and the socialist camp, are really in a position to tie the hands of the imperialist warmongers, to impose a lasting peace on them, and to use this ever more favourable situation to deliver blow after blow at imperialist rule and thereby steadily weaken it, with the ultimate aim of destroying it everywhere and for all time.

Such is a genuinely revolutionary concept, a line capable of mobilizing the masses and rallying all enslaved nations against the imperialist yoke.

In its struggle against the test-ban treaty the C.P.R. government has sided, in fact, with the most aggressive imperialist forces, the so-called "madmen" of the United States and the militarists and revenge-seekers of France and Western Germany.

The new Chinese formula, "the nuclear monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union", is a slogan spearheaded against both powers without any regard for the fact that one of them is the centre of the enemy camp and the other, the centre of the socialist camp and its shield. It is a bellicose slogan calling for the proliferation of nuclear weapons among an ever greater number of states and the continuation of nuclear testing in the atmosphere.

That the positions of the C.P.R. government and of the most reactionary and colonialist imperialist quarters coincide cannot be regarded as accidental. The Chinese leaders and these quarters hold two notions in common: one is that war is ultimately inevitable, and the other is the bourgeois-nationalist striving to play the role of the hegemonic power.

Furthermore, it strikes us as noteworthy that in their letter of June 14 and other voluminous publications the C.P.C. leaders fail to mention and expose the plans of the Bonn—Paris axis for rearmament and aggression. On the contrary, they deliberately embellish the role of these aggressive colonial powers. Indeed, they depict them as forces forming part of the anti-imperialist front which embraces the socialist countries and the Latin American, Asian and African nations. In order to pull through this muddle, Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his disciples invented the concept of an intermediate zone lying between the United States and the socialist camp, a zone embracing both the oppressed countries and the Bonn—Paris axis, Britain, and Japan.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, whom his disciples consider the chief authority on contradictions, erroneously puts the contradictions between the European and Japanese imperialists, on the one hand, and the U.S. imperialists, on the other, on the same plane with the contradictions between the socialist countries and imperialism, between the oppressed countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa and the imperialist powers. In Point 4 of the June 14 letter of the C.C., C.P.C. these contradictions are called "basic", in order to belittle the really decisive contradiction between socialism and imperialism, the main contradiction of the present-day world, and also the important contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialist powers.

This really is "prettifying" certain imperialist powers (the European ones, as well as Japan) and belittling the role of the working class, which is the leading force of the socialist camp, and also the role of the national-liberation revolution of the oppressed countries.

Especially alarming is the fact that under the cover of anti-Marxist theorizing the leadership of the Communist Party of China has been deliberately curtailing economic cooperation with the socialist countries while gradually broadening its relations with Britain, Western Germany, Japan and other capitalist countries. As a result of this policy already now half of the export and import trade of the C.P.R. is with the capitalist camp. The Chinese leaders prefer deals with the capitalists to fraternal cooperation with the socialist system.

In point of fact, the C.P.R.' leaders have intensified their struggle against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, relying more and more on capitalism in their economic relations.

The theoretical, political and practical line of the C.P.C. leadership is manifestly departing more and more from Marxism-Leninism. Its theory that the "centre" of world contradictions in the present epoch lies not in the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, but in the contradiction between imperialism and the national revolutions of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, inevitably leads to the conclusion that ours is chiefly an epoch of national-bourgeois revolutions, with the socialist revolution occupying a secondary place.

This theory means an open revision of everything Marx and Engels wrote beginning with *The Communist Manifesto*, and of everything that Lenin wrote concerning the role of the socialist state, the Soviet Union, in connection with the national revolutions of the oppressed countries.

There is an obvious connection between this theory of the Chinese leaders, which belittles the international importance of the socialist system and of the working class, and their new proposition to the effect that in all countries of this system, the U.S.S.R. included, classes having a bourgeois nature continue to exist and are still so strong that the question of who will win has not been settled yet.

These errors are too glaring to require detailed criticism here. In all this enormous theoretical jumble constituting what Comrade Mao Tse-tung's disciples call "sinification of Marxism-Leninism," nothing remains that could be said to have the slightest connection with the scientific ideas of Marxism-Leninism. What is in question is a revision of fundamental principles, including Lenin's thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is becoming ever more evident that the C.P.C. leadership headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has turned into a representative of the "Left" dogmatic deviation resting on an opportunist basis, with a strong admixture of petty-bourgeois nationalism and of what Lenin called "Left revisionism".

To the united struggle of the socialist world system against imperial-

ism the Chinese comrades counterpose the bourgeois-nationalist theory that every socialist country must build a self-contained economy. This is added proof that Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his disciples, contrary to what they take every opportunity to proclaim, do not seek to bring nearer the victory of the world socialist revolution, but, quite the opposite, subordinate this ultimate goal of the international working class to their own national egoistic ends.

Experience has shown—and is showing now—that the demand for “independence” from the socialist world system is a smokescreen designed to help preserve freedom of action in relations with the capitalist system.

As the ideological degradation of the C.P.C. leaders deepens, their splitting activities assume an ever more vicious and hostile nature. Petty-bourgeois elements alien to communism as well as the imperialist news agencies are all used to this end. The Chinese leaders are known to be taking particularly great pains to influence the leaders and rank and file of the nationalist movements of the Latin American, Asian and African countries so as to confuse them, to undermine their hopes and their faith in the Soviet Union, to set them against the socialist camp, and to draw them into the sphere of influence of the C.P.R. Objectively, these splitting activities are aimed at isolating these movements from their international mainstay.

It appears noteworthy to us that, although enough time has passed, the C.C., C.P.C., has not rejected the support rendered it by Trotskyism, an international counter-revolutionary organization. While continuing to defend the Stalin personality cult, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has, in effect, given his consent to active public cooperation with the Trotskyists in all countries where Trotskyist groups exist.

In view of the line adopted by the C.P.C. leaders, the C.C. of the Paraguayan Communist Party is of the opinion that the “Left” opportunism manifested in Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s dogmatic deviation has become the main danger in the international Communist movement.

In this particular respect the 1960 Statement no longer reflects the situation today. Hence this point should be amended, possibly through the adoption of a supplementary declaration. It is precisely the persistent violation of the 1960 Statement on the part of the C.P.C. leadership that makes such an amendment essential.

This proposal does not mean that the C.C., P.C.P. feels that the dogmatic, adventurist and sectarian deviation alone should be criticized. On the contrary, it believes that Right opportunism (and not only in its complete, revisionist form) is continuing to exert a very serious, harmful influence, and that it is necessary to step up the struggle against all opportunist views.

The C.C. of the Paraguayan Communist Party holds that there can be no justification of any vacillation or wavering in this principled struggle, of any “neutralist” attitude or position of a passive on-looker.

Some sincere comrades contend that since they do not wish to assume

the prerogatives of a "judge" they cannot "take a stand i favour of either group". But to refuse to adopt a definite stand in this struggle of principles means to place oneself above the international Communist movement. We are not judges — we are all soldiers of this great movement. And a soldier is duty bound to take a definite stand. In view of this, to speak of "two groups" is to add grist to the mill of those who are trying to split up our movement. The ideological struggle under way is a struggle waged by the Communist movement as a whole against the erroneous and factionalist position of the C.P.C. leadership.

A position such as that of "maintaining good relations with all", even if it is prompted by a sound desire for unity and fraternity, does not help to safeguard the unity of the Communist movement. On the contrary, it can weaken the collective defence of unity.

The C.C. of the Paraguayan Communist Party, like all Communists everywhere, is anxious to ensure that the differences between the international movement and the C.P.C. shall be resolved as soon as possible through sincere, lasting and friendly mutual understanding on the basis of the Statement of 1960.

The good intentions of all those who have sought to mediate in this struggle of principles have been frustrated by the dissentients' intransigence. In view of this objective situation the only way to preserve unity is to isolate the splitters politically. A resolute rebuff must be given everywhere to their attempts to sow confusion and to bring about a split. Only in the struggle of opinions, through clear demarcation of positions on all basic issues, as Lenin demanded, is it possible to check the aggressive activities of the Chinese leaders and force them to weigh all the circumstances.

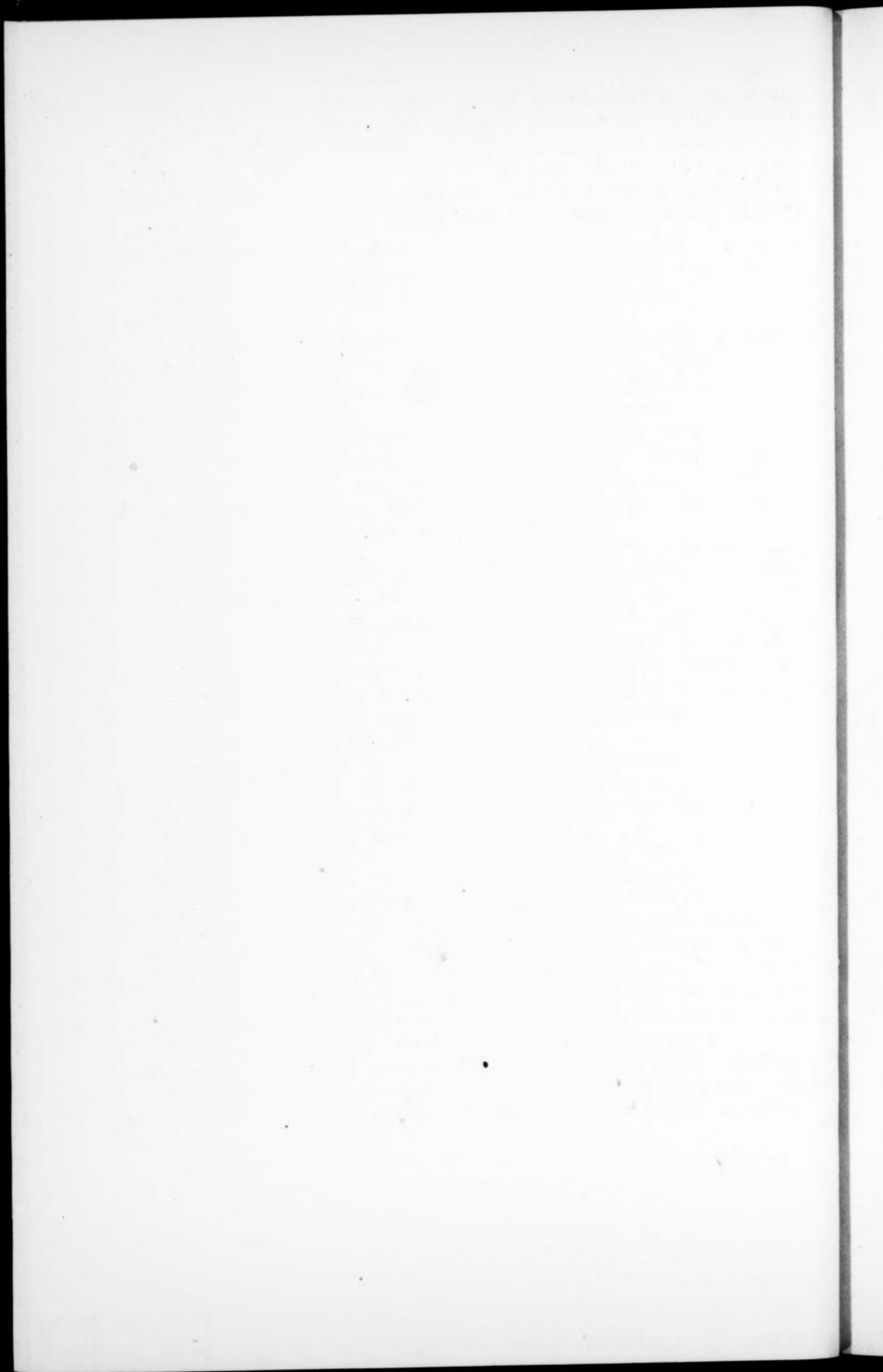
Experience confirms that it is impossible to adhere to an eclectic "fence-sitting" position on issues of principle. It is an unprincipled position, and therefore alien to Marxist-Leninist. That is why Lenin scorned it, calling it the "marsh".

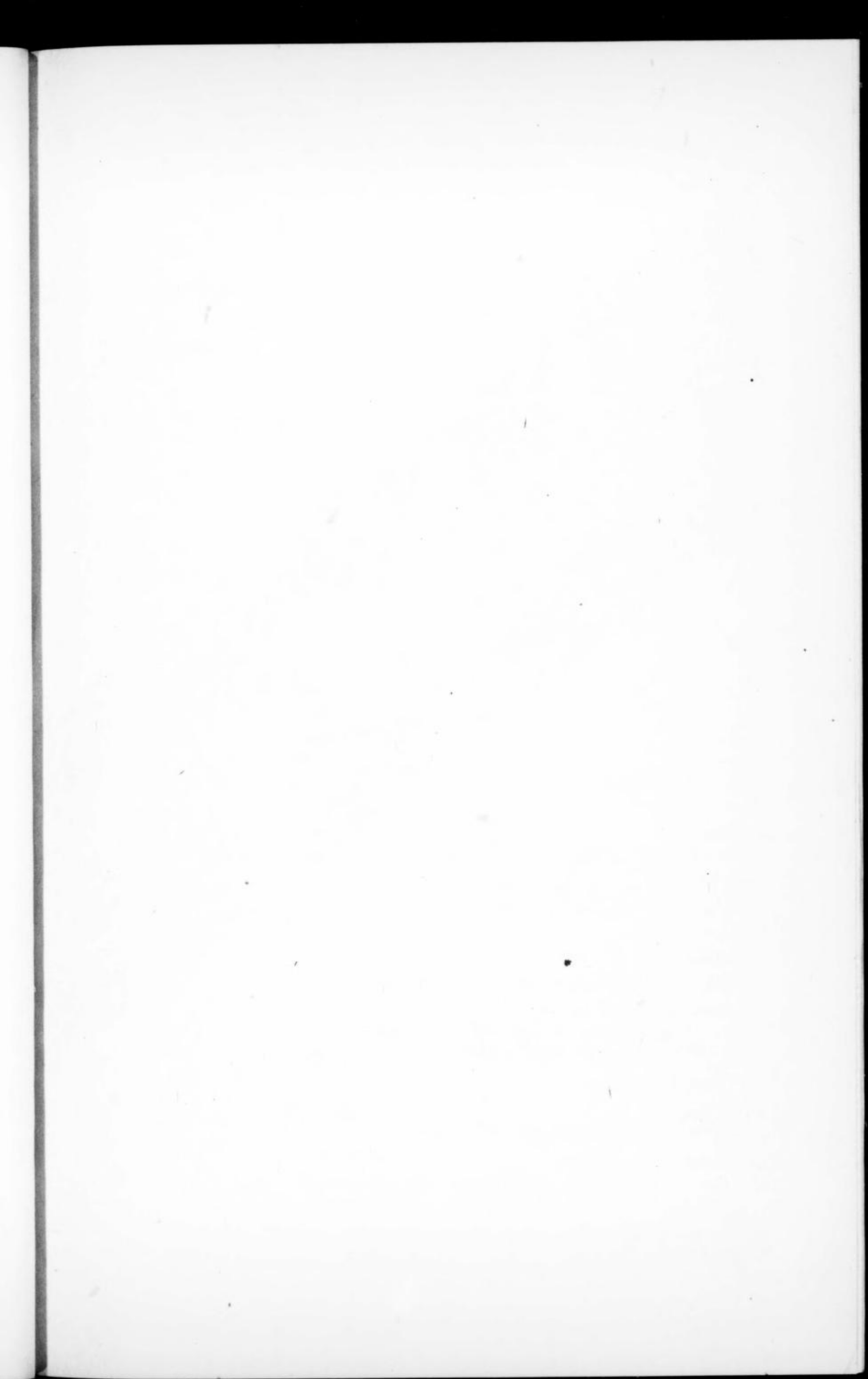
It is now more possible and necessary than ever before to strengthen unity of action and cooperation among all Marxist-Leninist forces by taking collective measures as envisaged in the 1960 Statement.

The favourable trend of world events, such as the consolidation of the first socialist revolution in the Americas and the recently concluded Moscow treaty, have confirmed for all mankind to see the correctness of the line set forth in the joint Statement of 1960. In the course of the ideological struggle which the C.C., C.P.S.U. has been waging with great power of conviction, the international Communist movement has been winning victory after victory in the sphere of ideology and adherence to principle. As experience offers more and more proof of the correctness of this line, the positions of "Left" opportunism are steadily weakened.

In the crucible of this battle of ideas, the greatest battle Marxism-Leninism has waged since the struggle against Social Democracy and

against modern Right opportunism, a deeper and stronger international unity is being forged. A study of this rich experience helps us raise the ideological level of our Party. It strengthens our cadres and our rank and file. It helps them gain a better understanding of the great revolutionary prospects of our time. And therefore it helps to equip them to lead the masses in the great battles ahead.





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Workers of all lands, unite!

*Documents of the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

Articles and Speeches

INFORMATION BULLETIN

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WORLD
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Resolution of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Ceylon

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon thoroughly examined the situation in the international communist movement and adopted a detailed resolution in which it emphatically denounced the present political line and the splitting activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China.

Reaffirming its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon stresses in the resolution the need for all fraternal parties strictly to adhere to the jointly adopted general line of the international communist movement.

The general line of the international communist movement in the present epoch, says the resolution, was laid down in the Statement and Declaration of the meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960. The conclusions set out in these historic documents were accepted enthusiastically by all Marxist-Leninist parties, including our own. The validity of these conclusions has been proved by experience.

While the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties have steadfastly and loyally sought to implement this general line, a situation has unfortunately arisen where the leaders of the Communist Party of China have recently begun to come out openly against fundamental agreed conclusions which they themselves accepted in 1957 and 1960. Their differences with the international Communist movement are not concerned solely with separate or secondary questions but with the general line of our movement.

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party cannot agree with the positions and deeds of the Chinese comrades, which depart from the agreed general line, spread confusion within fraternal parties, endanger the international positions and prestige of Communism, and expose the international Communist, working-class and democratic movements to the danger of splits and disruption.

During the course of 1962, the Chinese comrades started what they called a "great debate" with several fraternal parties and principally with the C.P.S.U. The characterisation and central assumptions of this "great debate" could not but evoke alarm and indignation from the mass of the fraternal parties.

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party rejects as an unfounded and unworthy slander the central assumptions on which the Chinese comrades have proceeded in this "great debate" — namely, that the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and most of the other fraternal parties have radically departed from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, degenerated to the position of "modern revisionism", abandoned the revolutionary cause, and seek only to "prettify" and collaborate with imperialism.

It is an equally unworthy slander for our Chinese comrades to suggest, as they do in their letter of 14 June 1963 and other documents, that fraternal parties who do not agree with their positions are mere marionettes who dance to "Moscow's baton".

Our Party welcomed the cessation of open polemics brought about at the beginning of 1963 on the initiative of the C.P.S.U. But the June 14 letter of the C.C. of the C.P.C. came as a rude shock, dashing the hopes of healing the differences of the Chinese leaders with the international communist movement.

The C.P.C. letter of June 14 and the refusal of the Chinese leaders to continue mutual abstention from public polemics for a further period after the talks between the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. were adjourned at the sudden request of the Chinese delegation testify that the Chinese comrades hold views that differ radically on many vital questions from the general line of the international communist movement, its strategy and tactics.

In the 1960 Statement, all the fraternal parties declared that "the problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time." They called on all Communist Parties to regard the fight for peace, to prevent the outbreak of a new, thermonuclear world war, as their "prime task".

The Chinese comrades, who once shared these views, now seem to qualify or depart from them. In various ways, they underestimate and even belittle the role that the fight for peace, for peaceful coexistence and disarmament, for averting a third world war, plays in the world revolutionary process. They tend to reduce this vital question for the fate of mankind to a subordinate position, to counterpose the national liberation struggle to the fight for peace.

The fraternal parties proceed on the basis that world war can be and must be prevented. But the Chinese comrades continue to speak of war and peace as though the outbreak of a new world war and the maintenance of world peace are equally probable. Such an approach can only diminish the determination of the peace forces to avert war and encourage defeatism. It also overestimates the power of imperialism and underestimates the power of the people. The divergence of our Chinese comrades from the common line of our movement on vital questions of war and peace is seen most clearly in their attitude towards disarmament. They carry their opposition to general and complete disarmament to absurd lengths when they argue that this will

impede the success of the national liberation movement by depriving the oppressed peoples of the arms they need for their liberation struggles.

The concrete and detailed proposals that the Soviet Union has advanced for general disarmament in stages do not in any way deprive the national liberation movements that have taken this path of the arms they use to defeat their oppressors. But they would certainly deprive the imperialists of the major weapons and armed forces that they now use to threaten world war and oppress national liberation movements.

What is more, our Chinese comrades assume that armed struggle is the only and inevitable means by which an oppressed people can achieve its national liberation from imperialism, ignoring the fact that, thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp and the changed balance of class forces after the second world war, many oppressed peoples, including the people of Ceylon, were able to win their political freedom by forms of struggle other than armed struggle.

The countries of socialism and the international communist movement bear the main responsibility today for the destinies of millions upon millions of human beings and spearhead mankind's fight for a bright socialist future. It would be grave irresponsibility if the international communist movement sought to ignore reality by dismissing thermonuclear weapons as "paper tigers" or consoling themselves with calculations that, even if half of mankind perished in a thermonuclear war, imperialism too would be destroyed.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war — this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. It is a matter of profound regret and shame that our Chinese comrades should accuse the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal parties, who are firmly upholding the policy of peaceful coexistence, of "cowardice" and "begging peace from the imperialists."

All fraternal parties have declared, time and again, that Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence applies only to the relations between states with different social systems during the period of transition from world capitalism to world socialism. It does not apply to the relations between oppressor and oppressed classes within a single state nor to the relations between oppressor and oppressed nations. This is shown in the immense moral, political and material aid, including aid in arms, which the C.P.S.U. and other fraternal parties have rendered to national liberation struggles and their many acts of solidarity with the class struggles of the workers of the capitalist countries. It is baseless slander to suggest that fraternal parties — and the C.P.S.U. in particular — seek to damp down and discourage the class and national liberation struggles of other peoples.

Far from damping down class and national liberation struggles, the policy of peaceful coexistence is itself a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is linked organically with the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The demand for peace is charged with immense revolutionary potential. We have witnessed on more than one occasion how the very threat of war by an imperialist aggressor has produced revolutionary outbursts. Neither the class struggle of the workers nor the national liberation struggles of oppressed peoples need world war for success.

For all these reasons, the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party considers that the positions that our Chinese comrades have adopted on vital questions of war and peace are both erroneous and dangerous. They damage the identification of communism with the fight for peace in the minds of the masses and impede the mobilisation of the broadest forces to prevent a third world war.

Wholeheartedly approving the wise and statesmanlike handling by the Soviet Union of the situation that arose at the time of the Caribbean crisis in 1962, the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party sharply condemns the attempts of the Chinese leaders to denounce the role played by the Soviet Union in saving peace and safeguarding the Cuban revolution as well as their attitude to the Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Treaty.

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party, the resolution goes on, rejects these views of our Chinese comrades. We firmly uphold the correct positions of the 1957 and 1960 Declaration and Statement on the questions of war and peace which the C.P.S.U. and the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties are loyally seeking to put into effect.

Recent statements of the Chinese comrades show that they have also sharp divergences with the common understanding and general line of the communist movement on fundamental questions affecting strategy and tactics.

The Chinese comrades have departed from the common conclusions of the fraternal parties that the main contradiction of our epoch is the contradiction between socialism and imperialism; that the decisive role in the resolution of this contradiction is played by the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system; and that the struggle between the two social systems is the central point, the main battlefield of contemporary world history.

The Chinese comrades see the main contradiction of our epoch as the contradiction between the national liberation movement and imperialism. They give the national liberation movement the decisive role in the world revolutionary process that the 1960 Statement gives to the international working class and the world socialist system.

The fraternal parties of the socialist countries and of the developed capitalist countries have always evaluated highly the tremendous significance of the national liberation movement. They have supported and assisted the struggles of the peoples and the fraternal parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The fraternal parties of the three

continents, while taking active part in the liberation struggle, have always solidarised with their class brothers elsewhere in the common struggle for world socialism.

But it is incorrect and dangerous to consider, as our Chinese comrades do, that "the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these areas".

The national liberation movements were able to triumph in vast sections of the world only in the new historical epoch, when the world system of socialist countries began to turn into the decisive factor of international development. The existence of the world socialist system, the tremendous assistance that the socialist countries have rendered to national liberation struggles, and the support of the international working class have played a decisive part in the success of the national liberation movement in the post-war period.

In all this, the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. have played an outstanding role, for which the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have expressed their gratitude on more than one occasion.

The national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America fulfil general democratic rather than class tasks. They are delivering heavy blows at imperialism and breaking down the system of colonial enslavement. But, for all that, the national liberation movement cannot, by itself, defeat the socio-economic system from which imperialism springs — namely, monopoly capitalism in the metropolitan countries. The loss of their colonies considerably weakens, but does not automatically bring about the downfall of the monopoly capitalists and the imperialists. This task must be fulfilled by the working class.

As a fraternal party of an Asian country, the Ceylon Communist Party expresses its profound disagreement with the views of the Chinese comrades on this matter and upholds the correct position of the 1960 Statement. The erroneous views of the Chinese comrades can do great damage to the success of both the national liberation movement and the socialist revolution of the proletariat. They isolate the national liberation movement from the international working class and the world socialist camp and disrupt the essential unity of the main streams of the world revolutionary process today.

The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party also protests emphatically against the attempts made by the Chinese comrades to isolate and segregate the democratic and working class organisations of Asia and Africa from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for such attempts can only weaken the effectiveness of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement as a weapon of struggle against imperialism.

The national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America have now entered a new stage. The majority of these peoples have won their political independence and are concentrating on consolidating their political gains, resisting attempts at neo-colonialist penetration and winning economic independence as well. The success-

ful completion of these tasks requires close co-operation with and assistance from the socialist countries, just as do the struggles of peoples who have yet to win their political independence.

The resolution then examines in detail, from Marxist-Leninist positions, the ways and forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism in specific historical conditions.

In dealing with the ways of transition from capitalism to socialism, Marxists-Leninists have always proceeded on the basis that they vary in different countries and can take both peaceful and non-peaceful forms.

The Chinese comrades now question the unanimous conclusion of the 1957 and 1960 meetings (to which they also subscribed) that "in a number of capitalist countries" the working class has the opportunity, given certain concrete conditions, to win state power and accomplish the tasks of the socialist revolution without civil war.

The question of whether the transition to socialism in any particular country can be accomplished by peaceful or non-peaceful means should be decided by the fraternal party of that country on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the actual situation prevailing in that country. Insistence on armed struggle as the universal law governing the transition to socialism can do great disservice to fraternal parties.

Lenin insisted that one should never play with revolution. He taught that revolutions do not depend on whether anyone "wants" them or not, but on a correct combination of objective and subjective factors.

Lenin always stressed that the socialist countries exercise their main influence in the world revolution by their economic construction and the force of their example. It is precisely these tasks that the C.P.S.U. and other ruling fraternal parties are performing.

The concluding part of the resolution deals with the unity of the international communist movement and the need for vigorous defence of its general line as the most important task of all fraternal parties.

While revisionism still remains the main danger from the long-term point of view, the immediate danger to the unity and the general line of the international communist movement comes from dogmatism and nationalism. It is necessary at this moment to concentrate the greatest attention on defending the international communist movement against dogmatism and nationalism.

Our Central Committee expresses its satisfaction at the almost unanimous unity of views shown by the fraternal parties on all the questions of principle which lie at the heart of their activity. We hope most sincerely that the fraternal Communist Party of China will heed this fact, return to the positions which they endorsed in the past and march towards the triumph of the fight for peace, national liberation, democracy, socialism and communism.

The main Forces of Progress

*Article in the newspaper Al-Moukafih, organ of the Central
Committee of the Communist Party of Morocco,
September 1963*

After World War II some 50 newly independent states arose on the ruins of the old colonial empires. The political liberation of the former colonies was the result of the anti-imperialist struggle of their peoples. But the victories won in this struggle, and especially their consolidation, became possible only thanks to the change in the balance of world forces.

Imperialism which, at the turn of the century, dominated vast territories in Asia, Africa and Latin America, lost its privileges with the emergence of the socialist world system which has inscribed on its banner the slogan of liberating man from all forms of oppression. Imperialism, of course, concentrated its main forces against the socialist world system. The collapse of the colonial system is therefore the result of the united efforts of world socialism — which paralyzed imperialism's main force — and of the national-liberation movement.

Unless we realize that the balance of world forces has changed in favour of socialism and to the detriment of imperialism, we shall not be able to explain, for example, why India and Indonesia after winning independence were able to escape the fate that befell China before the revolution; why it was possible to nationalize the Suez canal, the property of foreign monopolies in Indonesia, the oil refineries in Burma and Ceylon and, finally, why the United States was unable to crush the small heroic people of Cuba. The imperialist powers have clearly realized that any military attempt to crush freedom will henceforth not go unpunished, that the powerful socialist system guards the gains of the peoples.

The feature of our epoch is that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in social development, that the forces working for the socialist reshaping of society are becoming the main-spring of human progress. In other words, the contradictions between imperialism and the forces of world socialism are the basic contradictions in world history today. "To be or not to be" is how the question now stands with regard to imperialism.

How is this basic contradiction of our epoch going to be resolved? "Communists," says N. S. Khrushchov, "are working for the complete abolition of capitalism and the triumph of the socialist revolution. We

are confident that sooner or later all peoples will finish with this rotten regime. But the question of the victory of socialism in each country is decided by the people, the working class and the Marxist-Leninist Party of that country, and not by peoples and parties in other countries. And certainly not through a nuclear holocaust."

Soviet people are confident that the socialist system will prove its advantages over capitalism in peaceful competition, that it will continue to show these advantages in practice. The principle of peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation between states with different social systems, advanced by Lenin, has become the underlying principle of Soviet foreign policy.

In the revolutionary struggle for man's transition from capitalism to socialism, a struggle in which the international working class and its offspring — the socialist world system — play the main role, the national-liberation movement of the peoples is, of course, of signal importance. Marxists-Leninists tirelessly stress the historical significance of the national-liberation struggle. But at the same time they hold that a firm alliance with the countries of the socialist world system, with the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, is essential if it is to be victorious. Isolation of the national-liberation struggle from the revolutionary working-class movement, underestimation of the experience of social and national regeneration accumulated by the socialist countries, can seriously injure this struggle. Marxists-Leninists think it incorrect not to bear all this in mind when assessing the role and place of the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process.

The U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries regard the national-liberation struggle as an integral part of the world revolutionary process in the course of which capitalism will disappear. They are giving this struggle the support required by the situation. The U.S.S.R. has shown in practice that it does not stand aloof when peoples take action against armed imperialism. The whole world knows of the aid which Soviet people are rendering the peoples of Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, and Cuba in their fight for independence.

Now that most of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have won political independence and on the order of the day is economic independence, the socialist countries are giving them increasing economic, technical and cultural assistance. The Soviet Union is helping Egypt to build the huge Aswan dam, is building power stations, institutes and hospitals in many countries of Africa, is prospecting oil in India, building roads in the jungles of Indonesia. The peoples of the newly emergent countries can always rely on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement are united in the common anti-imperialist struggle which is bringing nearer the day when the most progressive system, socialism, will triumph on our planet.

Resolution of the C. C., Communist Party of Colombia, on the Differences in the World Communist and Working Class Movement

After thoroughly discussing a report by Comrade Filiberto Barrero on the differences in the Communist movement the 29th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The 29th plenary meeting, having reviewed the grave situation resulting from the violation and distortion of the fundamental propositions of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, *unanimously resolves*:

1. To reject the erroneous deviationist policy pursued of late by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who are distorting the essence of the principal theses of the world Communist and working-class movement unanimously approved by all, including the Chinese leaders themselves.

The policy of the Chinese leaders, who arrogate to themselves the right to give a new interpretation of these theses, minimizes the fundamental importance of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems and at the same time envisages, as the perspective, the fatal inevitability of another world war after which a "bright future for mankind" would be built on the ruins.

These postulates of the Chinese leaders run counter to the policy pursued by the world Communist and working-class movement on such vital issue as the prevention of nuclear war with a view to ensuring the triumph of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

2. To condemn the activity of the Chinese leaders who, openly violating the principles of proletarian internationalism and the agreements they themselves signed together with all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, have launched a disruptive campaign directly aimed at abolishing the Leninist standards and causing a split in the world Communist and working-class movement.

The Chinese leaders, pretending to adhere to Marxism-Leninism, while actually distorting it and trampling on its essence, are engaged

in ideological, political and practical activities which have led them to establishing direct contact with diverse groups of Trotskyites, renegades and expellees from the Communist and Workers' parties. This activity, at variance with Marxism-Leninism, is aimed at splitting the world Communist and working-class movement; instead of championing and propagating the great slogan of Marx and Engels, "Workers of all Lands, Unite!", it is undermining this slogan.

3. To protest against the activity conducted on a world scale by the leaders of the Communist Party of China who have put forward their own policy and are denigrating and slandering the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is recognized by all — including even the Chinese leaders themselves — as the vanguard of the world Communist and working-class movement. An example of such calumny is the charge levelled against the Soviet Union — a charge refuted by the facts — that it betrayed Cuba during the Caribbean crisis in 1962.

Such arrogant statements testify to self-conceit which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism but, on the contrary, undermines its principles and the prestige of the first socialist state in the world.

It should be said that the Chinese leaders never displayed such zeal in conducting propaganda campaigns against imperialism, colonialism and reactionaries generally as they do now in spreading slander all over the world against the Soviet Union and the Communist and Workers' parties which reject their disruptive activity.

4. Expressing the determination of the Communist Party of Colombia to fight for the *unity of the world Communist movement*, the plenary meeting believes the convocation of a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to be essential to discuss the differences once again. All parties agree that this is the most expedient method, and it is this method which is being violated today by the leadership of the C.P.C.

The meeting also maintains that open polemics should be discontinued and the ways for bringing together the two biggest parties, the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C., explored in order to ensure the success of the future conference. In any case we hold that in view of the arbitrary methods employed by the Chinese leaders there is need for an international conference which should be well prepared and held as early as possible.

5. The Communist Party of Colombia must thoroughly study, assimilate and popularize the general theses of the world Communist movement and apply them consistently in order ideologically to reinforce its ranks and repel the extremist tendencies of the Chinese leaders who seek to sow confusion and cause a split in the ranks of our Party and the other Left forces.

6. The propaganda work of our Party must correspond to the political line laid down by the Ninth Congress and the subsequent meetings

of the Central Committee. It is therefore wrong to publish and distribute, at our own expense, materials which, like the materials of the Chinese leaders, contradict our political line.

7. It is essential to heighten the revolutionary vigilance of our Party in order to prevent the existing differences from providing a pretext for the growth of factionalism, which is completely at variance with the Leninist norms of organization.

Bogota, October 22, 1963.

The Marxist-Leninist Position with regard to the Trotskyite Dogmatists from the Communist Party of China

Report by Comrade Victorio Codovilla on the nature and extent of the differences of the leaders of the Communist Party of China with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Marxist-Leninist Communist parties, delivered at a meeting of the members and alternate members of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of Argentina, functionaries of the Central Committee and the leaders of the Federal Capital, Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, Cordova, Mendoza, Tucuman and other provincial committees.



The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Party organizations and all Communists of the Soviet Union as well as the Statement of the Soviet government on the Chinese position with regard to the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water have demonstrated with utmost clarity the character of the disagreement of the leaders of the Communist Party of China (C.P.C.) with the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties and exposed their intention to adopt an aggressive, disruptive and anti-Leninist position incompatible with jointly adopted documents.

My report accordingly is aimed primarily at demonstrating the correctness of the position of the C.P.S.U., which position our Party fully supports, and the rashness of the position adopted by the Chinese leaders.

What are the problems in dispute? Differences have arisen, among others, on the following questions:

regarding the appraisal of the main content of the present epoch and the new balance of forces between the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism favouring the latter;

regarding the possibility of avoiding war and ensuring peace with capitalism still in existence in a number of countries;

regarding the necessity and the possibility of peaceful coexistence between states with differing political and social systems and peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism;

regarding the basic contradiction of our time, or, in other words, is the basic contradiction that between capitalism and socialism or that between imperialist capitalism and the national-liberation movement;

regarding different ways of transition from capitalism to socialism, or, in other words, whether or not it is possible in certain countries and in certain conditions to go over from capitalism to socialism by peaceful means;

regarding problems associated with the building of the material and technological base of the Communist society in the Soviet Union and the new content of the state and the Party, which are developing into the state of the whole people and the Party of the whole people;

regarding the road followed by Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav League of Communists, or, in other words, is Yugoslavia returning to capitalism or is it developing along socialist lines;

regarding the negative consequences for the world Communist movement of the Stalin cult and personality cults in general.

These are the main questions on which the C.P.C. disagrees with the C.P.S.U. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

It will be seen that these are not matters of second-rate importance, not differences with regard to the tactics to be employed to ensure the correct solution of one or another problem, but problems affecting the general line, tactics and ideology of the world Communist movement.

These problems should have and could have been thrashed out and settled among ourselves, through bilateral or multilateral talks between the parties, with a view to strengthening the unity of the Communist and working-class movement. But, in addition to posing these problems unilaterally and dragging them out for public discussion, the leaders of the C.P.C. have adopted an aggressive tone which is impermissible in debates between Communists.

The question naturally arises: what is their object in behaving in this way? It is now clear to all that their aim is to impose their anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist line of policy on the world Communist movement, and should this not succeed, to attempt to split that movement. This is the aspect of the question which we propose to examine here.

The Chinese Leaders Violate Agreements

As we know, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the whole world who met in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 laid down the general programme principles of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the proletariat for the present stage of the development of society. These principles, the fruit of intensive joint work, were adopted unanimously.

But despite the fact that they signed the joint documents, the leaders of the C.P.C. have violated them. In words they pledged and continue to pledge their loyalty to the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, in deeds they ignore or distort their meaning, replacing it with their own line, as is clearly evident from the letter of the C.P.C. of June 14, 1963, pompously entitled "On the question of the general line of the international Communist movement." The said letter was circulated by them in all countries and in all languages of the world, which in itself was a breach of elementary rules of behaviour observed in the relations between fraternal parties.

As we see, in their letter of June 14 the Chinese leaders interpret the line of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement from a dogmatic-nationalistic standpoint with the aim of imposing an anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist course on the world Communist and working-class movement.

For this reason the Marxist-Leninist parties of the whole world, including our own Party, reject the contents of this letter. On the other hand, praise and applause for the letter comes from the sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism such as the Trotskyites from the so-called Fourth International and all renegades and nationalists of the chauvinist type.

At the conference held in Brussels last July the Bureau of the Fourth International adopted a decision to "give unconditional support to the 25 programme points of the C.P.C." (contained in the above-mentioned letter of June 14), adding that "the plenum approved an epoch-making line aimed at uniting with the Chinese and at struggle for the establishment of a united front between the Fourth International and the Chinese comrades." (United Press, August 20, 1963.)

The letter of the C.P.C. is the continuation of a process the first open manifestations of which appeared already in 1959—60. Prior to that time the C.P.C. formally declared its agreement with the line of the world Communist movement on such vital issues as the significance of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., on questions of war, peace and the struggle for peaceful coexistence, on the question of the Stalin personality cult, etc.

In the beginning of 1960, however, the C.P.C. issued a collection of articles entitled *Long Live Leninism!* in which it questioned the theses of the 1957 Declaration on such basic problems as the content of our time, the position of the world Communist movement on the issues of war and peace, the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, etc.

Ever since then the leaders of the C.P.C. have been propagating their dissenting views in the international mass organizations (World Federation of Trade Unions, Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Democratic Youth Federation, the World Peace Movement, etc.) and engaging in factional activity which has damaged inter-party relations, not only between the C.P.C. and the C.P.S.U. but

between the C.P.C. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. And what is still more serious, they have carried the differences over to the sphere of state relations between the socialist countries.

Impermissible Methods of Conducting Polemics

We Communists all over the world were naturally astounded and indignant when we saw the Chinese leaders, contrary to their pledge to observe the basic principles of the 1960 Statement and the methods agreed upon for ironing out differences between parties without endangering the unity of the world Communist movement, going over, step by step, from concealed sallies to open attacks and frankly encouraging the Albanian leaders in their provocative actions.

This indignation grew with the continued publication by the Chinese leaders of articles and statements levelling, on the pretext of combating opportunism and revisionism, vicious attacks against the political and tactical line of the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union, United States, France, Italy and other countries, and against their leaders — Khrushchov, Thorez, Togliatti, and others. As you know, the attacks against the Soviet Union and Comrade Khrushchov were stepped up towards the end of October last in connection with the Caribbean crisis.

The Communists all over the world were particularly outraged by the fact that the Chinese leaders, instead of engaging in a comradely discussion of the questions of principle involved, resorted to invective, hurling, in both disguised and direct form, false accusations right and left. Reading the Chinese materials one has an unhappy feeling that they have resorted to the crudest slander and unwarranted accusations in order to create among the Chinese people an atmosphere of hostility towards the Soviet Union and the Communist and Workers' parties of other countries.

Incredible though it may seem, in their letter of June 14 and other documents the Chinese leaders, finding similarities between the arguments advanced by the Communist and Workers' parties of the various countries, go so far as to accuse the leaders of these parties of "dancing to the tune" of Moscow. In a schismatic frenzy, they have not hesitated to make use of the traditional slanderous allegations of the imperialists and their agents that the world Communist movement is run by "orders from Moscow". This is an old smear; the Trotskyites in their time levelled the same charge against the leaders of Communist parties who refused to climb on their counter-revolutionary bandwagon. One can only say that the method of debate chosen by the Chinese leaders shows that they have fallen low indeed. Perhaps they harbour the delusion that invective and slander compensate for the absence of serious and valid arguments.

Another characteristic method employed by the Chinese leaders is attributing to the Soviet comrades and the leaders of other Communist

parties views they never held so as to have something to refute. In this way they hope to sow confusion and to step up their splitting activities.

Here is a typical instance of how they misrepresent the true state of affairs. Although it is common knowledge that the peaceful coexistence discussed in the Declaration of 1957, the Statement of 1960, the Programme of the C.P.S.U. and official documents of the Soviet government implies peaceful coexistence of states with differing socio-economic systems, the Chinese leaders claim that the Soviet comrades are advocating peaceful coexistence of the exploiters and the exploited, that they are persuading the peoples oppressed by imperialism to co-exist with their oppressors.

As a matter of fact, in one of the replies to Comrade Thorez published in *Jenminjhpao* we read:

"... They [the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and other Communist parties] have gone so far as to try to extend peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems to the relations between the classes of oppressors and oppressed."

And in the June 14 letter the following is said about the Soviet comrades:

"They think that it is the destiny of the peoples, the destiny of humanity, to cooperate with North American imperialism."

In other words, the unfounded accusation is levelled at the Soviet comrades that by their positive efforts towards peaceful coexistence they are persuading the peoples to renounce the class struggle and that they are pinning their hopes on the "good sense" of the heads of the Great Powers.

Yet neither the views voiced by the Soviet leaders nor the foreign policy of the Soviet Union give any grounds for such absurd claims. Moreover, the facts speak for themselves. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are rendering aid to all peoples that have won or are still fighting for liberation from imperialism. All peoples seeking to pursue an independent policy know that they can rely on the generous help of the Soviet Union.

What do the Chinese leaders hope to achieve by pouring such foul slander on Lenin's Party? By their irresponsible statements they are objectively undermining the peoples' faith in the U.S.S.R. and the socialist camp, and this means helping imperialism and not the national-liberation movement.

Moreover, how can the accusation that the Soviet leaders have put their trust in the "good sense" of the imperialist chieftains be reconciled with the vast and selfless effort which the Soviet Party, government and people are investing to ensure that their armed forces are superior to the armed forces of imperialism in order to be able to defend not only the achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union but the entire socialist camp, including China, in order to defend the national-liberation movement and peace the world over? If they be-

lieved, as the Chinese leaders say, in the good intentions of the imperialist spokesmen, they would weaken their defence capability. The facts, however, testify to the contrary. The imperialists themselves have had to recognize — true, very reluctantly — the military might of the Soviet Union. Had the U.S. imperialists been in a position during the Caribbean crisis to deal a nuclear blow at the Soviet Union without running the risk of a smashing retaliatory strike at the territory of the United States, the outcome of the crisis would have been quite different from what it was. Kennedy himself explained what it was that impelled the U.S. government to refrain from invading Cuba. Military action against Cuba would have been fraught with great danger and risk, he said, and could have involved the whole world instead of remaining a limited conflict between the United States and a "Soviet satellite" in the Western Hemisphere.*

Or take another example. The Chinese leaders are constantly repeating that the nature of imperialism has not changed and will not change. But this is an elementary truth. The present debate is not about this but about the changes in the balance of forces between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp in favour of the former, changes which make it possible in our time to prevent the unleashing of a thermo-nuclear third world war.

As we can see, the Chinese leaders have made the distortion of concepts and theses their permanent method of conducting the debate.

Typical in this respect is the way they have "refuted" Comrade Togliatti. They accuse him of "fostering illusions as regards imperialism", "advocating class collaboration on the international arena", "being prepared to sacrifice revolutionary ideas for the sake of saving the peace", "regarding the state as a supra-national organ", etc. Needless to say, the materials and decisions of the recent congress of the Italian Communist Party and Comrade Togliatti's writings give no grounds whatever for such accusations.

By using tricks of this kind the Chinese leaders find it easy to refute everything under the sun. But what will they accomplish by using this method? Unquestionably, nothing. For, as the proverb goes, lies have short legs; the dogmatic contraband which the Chinese leaders are trying to cover up by endless repetition of erroneous concepts shows through every camouflage.

The Moscow Treaty and the Incredible Position of the Chinese Leaders

The Communist Party of China revealed its plans for bringing about an open split — plans obviously worked out well in advance — in its letter of June 14 and in the astounding and incredible statement in

* See United Press dispatch of September 12, 1963.

which the Chinese government refused to sign the tripartite Moscow treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water and declared that the Soviet government had "betrayed the interests of the Soviet people; betrayed the interests of the peoples of the socialist camp, including the people of China; betrayed the interests of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world".

As is known, for years the governments of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement have been working for peaceful coexistence, fully aware that there is no other alternative to peaceful coexistence than thermonuclear war. Until some time ago the Chinese leaders too were in agreement with this policy. But now, when limited agreement has been reached through the signing of the tripartite Moscow treaty, which has been welcomed with a deep feeling of relief throughout the world as evidence that progress can be made towards peaceful coexistence, the leaders of the C.P.C. come out in opposition to it, thereby opposing also the general line of the world Communist and working-class movement.

It should be noted that the position of the Chinese leaders coincides with the position of the "wildmen" in the United States and of de Gaulle, who said that "the Moscow treaty does not mean disarmament but merely preserves the United States and Soviet monopoly of this horror weapon".

The Chinese Leaders Want to Split the World Communist Movement

Hence, at least two conclusions can be drawn from the materials circulated by the Chinese leaders and their actions:

first, that their position is incompatible not only with the tactics and strategy of the world Communist movement but also with the very essence of Marxist-Leninist ideology;

second, that they are trying to impose on the world Communist movement a line which runs counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and failing in this, as indeed has happened, to set up groups supporting their policy in all countries.

As a matter of fact, in their letter of June 14 they no longer conceal their intentions but openly declare:

"If the leadership of a party adheres to a non-revolutionary line and turns its party into a reformist party (meaning if it does not accept the line the C.P.C. is pressing on it), its place in the revolution must be taken by the *Marxists-Leninists in the party or outside its ranks*."

But can there be Marxists-Leninists, people who are guided by the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, outside the Party? Clearly, there cannot.

Who, then, do the Chinese leaders have in mind if not people expelled from the various parties for their anti-party activities, bourgeois-

nationalist intellectuals and, above all, Trotskyites? We shall return to this question later.

Is it not criminal for people who call themselves "true" Marxists-Leninists to engage in disruptive activity tending to weaken the world socialist camp at a time when this camp is exerting an increasingly decisive influence on the march of events? Is it not a crime to conduct disruptive activities aimed at weakening the Communist and Workers' parties at a time of an upswing in the world revolutionary movement for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism? Who but the reactionaries and imperialists can gain by this splitting activity? It is because of this that the reactionary forces in all countries, and first and foremost the U.S. imperialists, are working through their agents to deepen the differences in the socialist camp and in the Communist and Workers' parties. And precisely because of this the Communists, the genuine Marxists-Leninists, are closing their ranks around the leadership of their parties in order to uphold the unity of these parties and the entire international Communist movement.

At the present time defence of the unity of each Communist Party in particular and of the world Communist movement in general requires irreconcilable, principled struggle against the dangerous dogmatic-nationalistic variant of revisionism which the Chinese leaders seek to spread throughout the world.

I shall now go over to a detailed examination of the problems on which there are differences.

Assessment of the Main Content of Our Time

Correct assessment of the main content of our time is of vital political importance to the world Communist and working-class movement.

The fact is that correctly to chart our political and practical line at the given moment and to determine where the Communist parties and all other progressive forces should concentrate their efforts in order to press on resolutely towards the socialist reconstruction of the world, we Marxists-Leninists must make a thorough analysis of the specific historical situation, its characteristic features, the general trend of development and the balance of forces between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp.

How does the 1960 Statement define the main content of our time?

"Today it is the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society," the Statement says.

This definition underlies the approach to all other problems: the question of war and peace, the ways of transition to socialism and the national and social emancipation of the peoples oppressed by imperialism, etc.

The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., which the Chinese leaders are now out to denigrate, was of the greatest historic significance because it posed the basic problems of the contemporary revolutionary movement in the light of this assessment of the epoch.

The documents of the C.P.C., on the contrary, do not contain even a hint of an attempt to analyze the international situation as a whole or the changes which have taken place in this situation since the Second World War.

In the collection *Long Live Leninism!* the Chinese leaders adhere to precepts which were correct at the time, which Lenin characterized as the epoch of imperialist wars and proletarian revolution. At that time this formulation played an important part in arming the Communist parties ideologically and in defining the practical tasks of the world revolutionary movement. The Chinese leaders, however, apply this formula in appraising the present time, ignoring the new situation and the new world balance of forces.

Such an approach is characteristic of dogmatists who close their eyes to the changing situation. They continue to juggle with formulas elaborated at a time when imperialism was both economically and militarily far stronger than socialism, when socialism was represented by only one country, when the U.S.S.R. was not in a position to prevent the imperialist export of counter-revolution to suppress the revolutionary movement of the colonial and dependent countries, and when imperialism could decide questions of war and peace at will and with impunity.

But today, with the formation of the socialist world camp; with the development of national-liberation revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries; with the rise of anti-monopoly movements in the developed capitalist countries; with the growth of world-wide democratic movements, such as the peace movement; with the organizational and ideological consolidation of the Communist parties in all countries and the beginning of the building of communist society in the U.S.S.R., the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, has become the decisive factor of human development. Imperialism is less and less able to impose its solutions, to export counter-revolution, or to have the last word in matters pertaining to war and peace. The balance of forces today favours the socialist camp and is bound to become even more favourable as time goes on; it has become unfavourable for the imperialist camp and is bound to turn against it even more in the future.

"Today," Comrade Khrushchov has said, "the problems of the time cannot be regarded solely from the standpoint of the operation of the laws of capitalism."

Hence we can speak today of the possibility of averting war and ensuring peace by organizing and mobilizing the peace-loving forces of the world to fight for this aim.

Concerning the Possibility of Averting War and Preserving Peace and the Possibility of Peaceful Coexistence of States with Different Political and Social Systems

The world Communist movement has defined its line of action as regards the vital question of war and peace proceeding from the premise that the balance of forces in the international arena between the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism has changed in favour of the former.

"The time has come," the 1960 Statement declares, "when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces."

Accordingly, the Statement points out that "the Communist parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task" and that it is essential to build "the broadest possible united front of peace supporters."

This line of action was agreed upon by all, including the representatives of the C.P.C. Yet today they declare in Point 14 of their letter:

"To regard general and complete disarmament as the basic way to fight for world peace, to spread the illusion that the imperialists may voluntarily lay down arms, and to try, under the banner of disarmament, to do away with the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations means deliberately to deceive the peoples of the world and to help imperialism to carry out its policy of aggression and war."

But who poses the question in this way? Certainly not the Marxists-Leninists.

As I have already said, the leaders of the C.P.C. invent and develop concepts no one has propounded merely in order to be able to refute these concepts and to accuse their imaginary authors of "capitulation".

Clearly, imperialism and the "wildmen" operating in the various capitalist countries will not voluntarily lay down arms and yield to the forces of peace. All Marxists-Leninists know this full well. Because of this the 1960 Statement speaks of determined and active struggle on the part of the forces of peace against imperialism and war. And this fight is waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries.

Why then, are the leaders of the C.P.C. raising non-existent questions? Because they want to discredit the idea that the supporters of peace can prevent war.

An attempt is made in the documents of the C.P.C. to create the impression that the C.P.S.U. and other Communist and Workers' parties, by rejecting the dogmatic position of the Chinese leaders and condemning their criminal disruptive and anti-Soviet stand, have renounced the struggle against imperialism in order to save the peace. But such an interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist positions of the C.P.S.U. and of the foreign policy of the Soviet government is nothing

but a crude distortion of the truth with nothing in common either with serious analysis of these positions or with the actual state of affairs.

The fact is that the 1957 Declaration, the 1960 Statement and the Programme of the C.P.S.U., the basic theses of which were repeated in the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to all Party organizations and Communists of the Soviet Union, declare that the fight for peace is closely connected with the struggle to abolish the colonial system of imperialism and the imperialist system generally, with the struggle for the final victory of democracy and the cause of national liberation and socialism. And this conclusion is based not on vague generalizations and quotations taken out of context, but on a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation.

Furthermore, the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a basic component of the struggle for peace waged by the peoples of the world.

This is clear to all but the Chinese leaders, who counterpose their own line to the line of the world Communist movement.

Why do they do this? Because the Chinese leaders ignore the fact that the present balance of forces favours the camp of socialism and peace, rejecting, in effect, the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of differing politico-social systems.

This is why they write in their June 14 letter that "it is a mistake to consider peaceful coexistence to be the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist states". They hold that peace can be won only through open struggle to abolish capitalism.

Actually, underlying their Leftist phraseology — one of the literary metaphors used is Mao Tse-tung's well-known description of the imperialists and the nuclear bomb as "paper tigers" — is the concept that whether there will be war or peace continues to depend on the all-powerful will of the imperialist countries, and in particular of the United States, and that therefore war is inevitable. Hence their opposition to a policy of peaceful coexistence, which they regard as a subtle tactical manouvre designed to lull the peoples combating the imperialist warmongers.

The Open Letter of the C.C., C.P.S.U., declares:

"We realistically assess the world balance of forces and draw from it the conclusion that although the nature of imperialism has not changed and the danger of war has not been eliminated, the forces of peace, the mainstay of which is the community of socialist states, can in the present conditions prevent a new world war by their joint efforts."

Clearly, if the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries did not pursue the active policy of peaceful coexistence which the leaders of the C.P.C. are questioning and if the Communist parties and the other progressive forces did not stand on guard of peace, war might become inevitable.

Not believing that war can be prevented by organized mass action, the leaders of the C.P.C. hold that nothing can stop the imperialists from diverting international relations away from peaceful lines and therefore adopt an adventurist, provocative position, as could be clearly seen during the Caribbean crisis.

As is known, during this crisis the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and government egged Cuba on to adventurist actions, which, had they been taken, might have led to the outbreak of a world thermonuclear war.

After the crisis was overcome and, thanks to the staunchness of the Cuban people and the resolute yet flexible policy of the Soviet government, Cuba's independence ensured and the danger of world war warded off, the leaders of the C.P.C. declared in their statement of November 30 that the Soviet government had "begged" for peace. To say this is nothing short of outrageous, all the more so since the Chinese leaders' much-lauded solidarity with the Cuban government was limited in the given case merely to the organization of ineffectual demonstrations in the streets of Peking.

Subsequent events showed that besides the preventing of criminal armed aggression against revolutionary Cuba and of a world thermonuclear war, the prospects improved for the solution of other issues in dispute between the camp of socialism and peace and the camp of imperialism and war through negotiation and mutual concessions, as could be seen from the signing of the tripartite Moscow treaty, the historic significance of which is becoming more and more obvious as time goes on.

As regards Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro, speaking in Havana after his return from a visit to the Soviet Union, confidently declared that his country had never been "as secure as now".

Earlier he had said in a speech at a meeting in Moscow: "With the passage of time things have become clearer: the imperialist plans for an invasion of Cuba failed and war was prevented. The danger remained that the imperialists might draw the wrong conclusions from these events, but the timely and vigorous warning issued by the Soviet Union in March this year cooled down the most hotheaded warmongers.

"The visit of our delegation to the Soviet Union has shown the imperialists how firm is the solidarity of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government and people with the Cuban revolution. In all its majesty will shine the country which, to protect a small people many thousands of miles distant from it, placed on the scales of thermonuclear war the wellbeing forged of 45 years of creative labour and at the price of immense sacrifices! The Soviet land, which lost more human lives in the Great Patriotic War against the fascists than there are people in all of Cuba in order to defend its right to exist and to develop its tremendous wealth, did not hesitate to take the risk of a grim war in defence of

our small country! History knows of no example of solidarity to match it. This is internationalism! This is communism!"

Such is the truth which no distortions by the Chinese leaders can conceal.

The fact remains that heroic Cuba is successfully building socialism in the conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Obviously, the threat of aggression against Cuba has not been removed since the United States government continues to encourage and even to arm the counter-revolutionaries. But nevertheless the United States was compelled publicly to pledge itself not to attack Cuba. And this commitment will have to be honoured for, as the "wildmen" in the U.S.A. have seen for themselves, in the event of an attack on Cuba the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will render it all the aid necessary to defend it and to defeat the aggressor.



The Chinese leaders commit a dogmatic and anti-dialectical error when they counterpose the struggle for peace to the national-liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. Their representatives did precisely this, for instance, at the Stockholm meeting of the World Peace Council in December 1961 and at the World Congress of Women in Moscow last June.

They hold that the fight for peace weakens the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. They do not see, or do not wish to see, that the fight for peace cannot be separated from the peoples' fight for national and social emancipation, that, as the 1960 Statement says and the facts bear out, "in the conditions of peaceful coexistence favourable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful coexistence."

The Chinese leaders' line aimed at divorcing the struggle for peace from the struggle for national liberation is linked with another postulate which leads to adventurism in foreign policy. We have in mind the assumption underlying all their documents that imperialism can be abolished only through world war.

"The victorious peoples," we read in the collection *Long Live Leninism!*, "will create at an exceedingly rapid pace on the ruins of imperialism (after a thermonuclear world war) a civilization a thousand times higher than that under capitalism and build a truly radiant future."

On their part the Troskyites, who, logically enough, support the Chinese position, argue that there is no reason to fear war since "nuclear war will be followed by revolution".

The leaders of the C.P.C. call themselves "true" Marxists-Leninists.

But how can this be if they ignore the fact that Marxism-Leninism never held that the road to the social revolution necessarily lies through war between states.

Hence the Marxists-Leninists and all others who are dedicated to progress and peace ask themselves: "What right have the Chinese leaders to gamble so irresponsibly with the fate of their own people and the fate of all humanity? Are they ignorant of what thermonuclear war would spell for mankind when the energy released by a single hydrogen bomb of a few dozen megatons exceeds, according to physicists, the total destructive power of all the bombs exploded by all the countries in all the wars in human history, including the First and Second World Wars? How could anything splendid and radiant be built on the ruins left by thermonuclear war which would destroy entire nations and blot out the lives of no less than one-third of humanity, not to speak of the deadly effect of the radioactivity to which the human race would be exposed for many generations? How can anyone not understand that at the present level of science and technology there is no other choice but that of which Comrade Khrushchov has repeatedly spoken: either we work for the victory of the policy of peaceful coexistence or there will be a thermonuclear war with all its frightful consequences.

Precisely because of their realistic approach to the problem, the C.P.S.U. and other Marxist-Leninist parties are charged by the leaders of the C.P.C. with "supporting" the idea that the laws of social development cease to operate with the advent of nuclear weapons and occupying a "fetishist position in regard to nuclear weapons", as the *Jenminjhpao* puts it in its reply to Comrade Thorez. It hardly redounds to the C.P.C. leaders' credit that on this issue too their views coincide with those of the Trotskyites, who claim that "fear of nuclear war is impelling Khrushchov to renounce revolutionary policy".

The question, then, is this: should the Marxists-Leninists take cognizance of the progress made in science and technology in defining their political and tactical line, or should they not? It goes without saying that they should. And should the Marxists-Leninists, in examining the questions of war and peace, take into account the destructive power of nuclear weapons? The leaders of the C.P.C., proceeding from their concept that the nuclear bomb is a "paper tiger", think that all this is of secondary importance. We Marxists-Leninists, however, hold that it is most important, inasmuch as it is the future of humanity that is at stake.

Needless to say, so long as a considerable part of the world is under imperialist rule, the laws of social development applicable to capitalism remain unchanged; nor will the social essence of war depend on whether nuclear weapons are used or not. If the most diehard imperialists succeeded in unleashing war, it would be an unjust war on the part of the imperialist aggressor and a just war on the part of the socialist countries and other nations subjected to aggression. But for

all that the traditional concepts concerning war and its consequences are changing.

The leaders of the C.P.C. argue that telling the people the truth about the destructive power of nuclear weapons means instilling fear in them and paralyzing their revolutionary resolve. Actually, however, the very opposite takes place. For the prospect of being able to win peace and peaceful coexistence through struggle gives them added strength to work to prevent nuclear war.

As the people's movement for peace gains strength, the most reactionary, chauvinistic and bellicose imperialist circles will be isolated, and this will compel the capitalist governments to take the way of peaceful coexistence. And this in turn will give greater impetus to the revolutionary national-liberation movements and the anti-monopoly struggle waged by the peoples of the developed capitalist countries.

By its dogmatic diehard stand the C.P.C. is setting itself outside the struggle waged by the peoples for world peace. This was revealed with the utmost clarity by the Sino-Indian conflict, which could have been settled through negotiation in the spirit of the five Bandung principles, and especially by the Chinese government's unprecedented statement on the tripartite Moscow treaty describing it as nothing more nor less than an instance of the Soviet government capitulating to imperialism.

The leaders of the C.P.C. are particularly infuriated by the fact that they still are not in possession of nuclear weapons, and they hold the Soviet Union responsible for this. But why this itch to lay hands on the H-bomb when everybody knows, and the Soviet comrades have said so time and again, that the thermonuclear weapons possessed by the U.S.S.R. are designed not only for its own defence but for the defence of all countries which may be attacked by the imperialists, including, naturally, China?

Otherwise, as the Soviet statement points out, "it would be necessary to pursue one policy in the West and another in the East; to fight, on the one hand, against the nuclear armament of West Germany and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and, on the other hand, to supply these weapons to the Chinese People's Republic".

Clearly, the leaders of the C.P.C., by advancing the "all or nothing" slogan, which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, have deserted the fight to end the nuclear armament drive and to achieve universal disarmament by stages. The "all or nothing" slogan implies either complete and general disarmament at once or nothing at all.

The banning of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water proves the correctness of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are consistently pursuing. The Moscow treaty inspires the peoples to fight with still greater energy to uphold peace inasmuch as it opens the way to further agreements facilitating both partial and general disarmament. And all this is happening not because the nature of impe-

rialism has changed, but because the preponderance of strength enjoyed by the camp of socialism and peace over the camp of imperialism and war is growing from day to day.

On the other hand, the Soviet comrades know full well that the signing of this treaty has not removed the danger of a third world war.

But at the same time the Soviet comrades as well as the Communist leaders in the various countries and the peace-loving peoples generally believe — and quite correctly — that an important step has been taken towards international detente, a step which has already benefited the peoples by raising a barrier to the spread of radioactive contamination in the atmosphere, under water and outer space and creating a more favourable climate for the growth of democratic movements for peace and national and social emancipation. They are confident that if the socialist states consistently pursue a firm but flexible foreign policy and if the peoples, guided and organized by Marxist-Leninist parties, intensify their efforts for peace, for a ban on nuclear weapons and for disarmament, the most reckless warmongers will be increasingly isolated and the governments of the imperialist countries can be compelled to take further positive steps towards peace and peaceful coexistence.

Concerning the Main Contradiction of Our Time

Ever since the emergence of the first socialist country in the world — the Soviet Union — all Marxists-Leninists have regarded the contradiction between socialism and capitalism as the main contradiction.

Proceeding from this Leninist thesis, we Argentine Communists have considered, from the very inception of our Party, the attitude first towards the Soviet Union and then to the entire socialist camp to be the touchstone for the Communist parties and for the revolutionary forces in general.

Lenin warned us that failure to bear in mind that the main contradiction is the contradiction between capitalism and socialism will make it impossible correctly to pose either the national or the colonial question.

As we know, Marxism holds that the main contradiction of modern society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. With the victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 this contradiction basically assumed the form of the contradiction between the socialist world camp and the capitalist world camp, in view of the fact that world socialism, as the 1960 Statement declares, is the chief creation of the international working class. This Leninist thesis was never questioned in the Communist and Workers' parties.

Today, however, it has been challenged by the leaders of the C.P.C., whose documents claim that the decisive role in the world revolutionary movement is played by the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to the leaders of the C.P.C., the main

contradiction of our time is between imperialism on the one hand and the colonial and dependent countries on the other, and not between the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism.

As a matter of fact, the Central Committee of the C.P.C. in its June 14 letter practically reduces the significance of the socialist world camp to nil, holding instead that "the contradictions of the contemporary world converge in the vast expanses of Asia, Africa and Latin America". Earlier *Jeminhpa* wrote in its polemics with Comrade Togliatti:

"In the final analysis, owing to the present-day interests of the imperialist powers, these contradictions (the contradictions in Asia, Africa and Latin America) are more pressing and more direct in character than their contradiction with the socialist countries."

The contradictions between the less developed, colonial and dependent countries and imperialism are unquestionably extremely sharp and steadily growing sharper. The Declaration of 1957, the Statement of 1960 and the Programme of the C.P.S.U., as well as the documents of the Marxist-Leninist parties of other countries, pay particular attention to this problem and offer a solution to it through creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

The above-mentioned documents throw full clarity on the role of the October Socialist Revolution in awakening the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries and bringing them into the world revolutionary process;

the decisive role of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War in ensuring the triumph of the European People's Democracies and of the Chinese revolution and in the formation of the world socialist camp;

the role of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union in the development of revolutionary national-liberation movements and its importance as a reliable shield protecting the peoples which have freed themselves from imperialist rule;

the role of the solidarity of the international working-class movement with the Chinese revolution and the other socialist revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and also with the struggle of the colonial and dependent countries which have won their freedom or are still fighting for national and social emancipation.

But the C.P.C. leaders, who boastfully seek to replace the 1960 Statement with their own "general line of the world revolutionary movement", make no effort in their letter to analyze the problem of national liberation, to examine it in the overall context of the international situation or clearly to define the tasks and prospects arising from this situation.

Assigning the national-liberation movements the leading role in the struggle against imperialism in order to counterpose them to the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat, the Chinese leaders do not attach the slightest importance to the

achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in economic upbuilding, in the production of material values, ignoring the vast influence exerted by these achievements on the march of events as a whole and the national-liberation movement in particular.

Without these successes, the socialist camp could not have become a realiable shield protecting the independent national development of the liberated peoples. Were it not for these achievements, the Cuban revolution, for instance, could not have consolidated its position and could not have entered the stage of building socialism in view of the proximity of Cuba's imperialist neighbour. The Chinese leaders, however, ignore this basic matter, and not only because of their incorrect concept as regards the main contradiction of our time, but also because of their fallacious views on the ways in which socialism can be built.

As regards the countries which have just embarked on independence, the Chinese leaders claim in their letter that these countries can solve their problems only by harnessing all their internal resources. The principle as such cannot be disputed, but the Chinese leaders forget to say that these countries cannot ensure their political and economic independence without aid from the socialist camp and primarily from the Soviet Union — aid which pursues no selfish ends. It is common knowledge that the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries extend technical and economic as well as diplomatic and, when necessary, military aid to all peoples fighting in one or another way for independence as well as to peoples who have already won independence but who would fall under neo-colonialist domination unless supported by such aid.

Thus it is becoming clear to all that the practical activities of the C.P.C. in the international arena are aimed at undermining the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that it is aimed at isolating the national-liberation movements from the socialist countries and the revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries.

What is the purpose of all this? Obviously the Chinese leaders are out to set up a bloc of Asian, African and Latin American countries under their leadership in order to counterpose it to the revolutionary movement in the rest of the world. This explains why they are resorting to the most illicit devices to enlist on their side the Communist and Workers' parties of the various countries or, failing in this, to split them with the aid of elements they call "Marxists-Leninists outside the parties", i. e., renegades, bourgeois-nationalist intellectuals and Trotskyites. At the same time they use every opportunity to sow disunity in the mass movements, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the Peace Movement and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, in the hope of being able to set up parallel organizations serving their insidious aims.

Pursuing their criminal disruptive aims, the leaders of the C.P.C.

less and less often refer to China as part of the socialist camp and more and more often as an Asian country generally, thereby in effect substituting the geographic and race concept for the political and class concept.

True to their method, the Chinese leaders are trying to cover up their revision of Marxism-Leninism (the most striking features of this revision are dogmatism and nationalism) by slanderous misrepresentation of the positions of the C.P.S.U. and other Communist and Workers' parties.

The Chinese leaders' letter actually accuses the Soviet Union of advising the oppressed peoples to give up the fight against imperialism and to sit back with folded arms to wait for their liberation which will come with the defeat of imperialism in its competition with socialism. They also charge the Soviet Union with having taken a "negative, arrogant and passive position in regard to the struggle of the oppressed nations for their liberation", etc.

I do not think it necessary to adduce proof of the groundlessness of this slander since it so obviously runs counter to the facts.

Another deviation from Marxism-Leninism of which the dogmatic-nationalistic Chinese leaders are guilty is the substitution of the race and colour concept for the class concept. During the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, the Chinese spokesmen actually declared that the "Whites have nothing to do here" since, from their point of view, the conference was a gathering of people the colour of whose skin was other than white. In this way they are replacing the class concept with the race concept.

Speculating on the fact that the Asian and African peoples are exploited by the European imperialist powers and the United States, they are whipping up hatred among these peoples for the white race in general. There are, of course, white imperialists who exploit coloured peoples. But there are also people belonging to the black and yellow races who exploit their own peoples. And there are whites who are exploited by the capitalists of their own or other countries.

Where can this race policy lead? Part of the answer was given in the editorial of the July 1963 issue of the *Kommunist*, the theoretical journal of the C.P.S.U., which cited Kenzo Matsumura, a leader of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, who, commenting on his conversations with Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders, said:

"The East will always be the East; the Asians must rectify world history. We must march together, cementing the ties between our peoples who have the same colour of skin and the same system of ideology."

Coming from a Japanese bourgeois political leader, this is not at all surprising. Statements of this kind are an expression of nationalistic bourgeois ideology. But what is noteworthy is that this was published, and without comment, in *Jenminjihpao*. Could it have been a simple oversight? One might think so if the given instance were the only one

of its kind. But when manifestations of nationalism and racism are repeated, it suggests that this is a definite line of policy, pointing to the danger of a nationalist deviation.

As we know, nationalism is alien and inimical to Marxism-Leninism. The Statement of 1960 especially warned against this danger.

The Statement points out that the interests of the cause of socialism in the countries of the socialist camp "demand the proper combination of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism". It warns against two dangers — "disregarding national peculiarities" and "undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities". In particular it warns against manifestations of nationalism "which do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist regime", and accordingly emphasizes that the Communist and Workers' parties in power should "tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism".

In the light of the above facts it is obvious that the Chinese leaders have laid undue emphasis on the role of the specific features of the revolution in their country. Consequently, instead of educating their people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, they have begun to educate them in a spirit of nationalism and great power chauvinism, which has led them to their present anti-Soviet sallies, sallies against precisely the country that has set the loftiest example of proletarian internationalism.

The Question of Different Ways of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism

This question was thoroughly examined at the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., in the 1957 Declaration, in the 1960 Statement and in the Programme of the C.P.S.U. adopted at the historic Twenty-Second Congress.

The Communist and Worker's parties seek to master all forms of struggle and always closely follow the rapidly changing situation in order to be prepared to go over from one form of struggle to another when the circumstances demand it.

The leaders of the C.P.C., who formerly agreed with this thesis, concede in words that all forms of struggle are admissible but actually they stake everything on armed struggle alone. They hold that the liberation of countries dominated by imperialism can be achieved only through partisan warfare and therefore they try to impel the Communist and Workers' parties towards the use of force always and in all countries, irrespective of the conditions existing in them. In practice this would lead to isolation from the masses instead of striking deep roots in them.

No one doubts that in certain conditions partisan action as a component of the mass movement is a form of the popular struggle, and

that, as experience has shown, it is a justified and necessary form. But it goes without saying that if the objective conditions are not favourable for waging an armed struggle, partisan action will end in failure and in the long run will damage the revolutionary movement.

The Chinese leaders, having rejected the thesis of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. concerning the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, do not bother to analyze in their documents the concrete conditions giving rise to revolutionary situations. From the correct view held by all the Marxist-Leninist parties that a revolutionary situation is maturing in the colonial and dependent countries still under imperialist rule, they conclude that such a situation is developing evenly in all parts of the world. Proceeding from this concept, which is part of the Trotskyite stock-in-trade and has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, they hold that insurrections can be staged on the basis of partisan action at any time and in all circumstances, without taking into account the degree of militancy and political consciousness of the masses.

Mechanically applying Chinese experience to other countries and ignoring the level of economic and social development in these countries, they assume that the armed struggle in the colonial and dependent countries must necessarily start in the countryside.

It is common knowledge that the Brazilian comrades had to combat the dangerous delusion propounded in that country by the pro-Chinese elements that it is the revolutionary peasants who are destined to bring the revolution to the big cities where the proletariat is not yet prepared for it.

This fallacy is attended by another: the thesis that revolution should be "stimulated" from without if the need for it is "not understood" within the country.

The Marxist-Leninist view is that revolutionary situations mature in all countries as a result of the operation of the objective laws of socio-economic development when the internal contradictions are aggravated to a point when they can be solved only by a radical revolution (the objective conditions) and when the majority of the working class and the people generally have a deep understanding of the necessity of revolution and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for it (the subjective conditions).*

Comrade Khrushchov correctly noted in his speech at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany that "for the victory of revolution certain preconditions are essential. If a revolutionary situation has come into being, the working class, headed by its vanguard, should utilize it to win power; if the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the people have the right to employ more

* See V. I. Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*.

energetic methods, including armed struggle, to ensure the victory of socialism".

As regards the position of our Party on the question of the peaceful and non-peaceful ways, it has been clearly set forth at meetings of our Central Committee, in the resolution of the Twelfth Congress and in the Party Programme. The resolution of the Twelfth Congress points out that although a revolutionary situation can be said to be maturing in our country, the subjective conditions for the victory of the revolution are still lacking. Further, it declares that "under all circumstances the important thing is that our Party should master all forms of struggle, legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful, and be prepared to go over from one form of struggle to another in the event of a sharp change in the situation in the country".

The position adopted at the Twelfth Congress coincides with the 1957 Declaration, the 1960 Statement and the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. and has been unanimously approved by branch meetings as well as district, city and provincial conferences.

Our Party is thus steadfastly working to carry out its programme of national emancipation with the aim of achieving socialism either by peaceful means, which presupposes, as the Twelfth Congress noted, "unremitting work to organize the mass struggle against the offensive of reaction and fascism and for the immediate social, economic and political demands of the masses, linking these demands with the overall struggle to establish a governmental power of a new type", or by non-peaceful means, if all other avenues of struggle for power will be closed.

But in either case, whether the path followed is peaceful or non-peaceful, the policy of our Party as outlined by the Twelfth Congress is epitomized in the slogan "Through mass action to the winning of power".

The leaders of the C.P.C. allege that the C.P.S.U. and the other Marxist-Leninist parties claim that the revolution, always and everywhere, today and in the future, will be carried out by peaceful means. Yet no such conclusion can be drawn from the 1957 Declaration, the 1960 Statement, the decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. or the documents of our Party or any other fraternal Party.

In their June 14 letter the leaders of the C.P.C. also accuse the C.P.S.U. of allegedly propagating the erroneous thesis that imperialism and the reactionaries are prepared to accept peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism of their own free will. This accusation is a crude falsification. No Marxist-Leninist Party holds that the imperialists and the capitalists generally will voluntarily agree to go over to socialism. The parties know full well that they will do everything in their power to prevent this from happening. When the capitalists feel that their regime is tottering, they try to cling to power, in some cases by means of certain concessions and in others by resorting to violence of every kind. We Marxists-Leninists know this perfectly well.

However, in the present international situation, as the 1960 Statement notes, in some countries and in certain conditions the working class, led by its vanguard and supported by a broad working-class and people's democratic and anti-imperialist front embracing the majority of the nation, can paralyze the counter-revolutionary activities of the ruling classes and win state power without civil war; but even then it will have to have recourse to certain coercive actions in order to consolidate its power, neutralize the class enemies and build a new life. All this is possible thanks to the existence of the socialist world camp capable of preventing the imperialist export of counter-revolution.

It follows from this, as the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union states, that the sacred duty of the Communists of all the countries where Marxist-Leninist parties are in power is to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement as the apple of their eye.

But the Chinese leaders have chosen a different course: they are engaged in unbridled disruptive activity. Who but imperialism, the exporters of counter-revolution, can benefit from this?

Concerning Problems Connected with the Establishment of the Material and Technological Base of the Communist Society in the Soviet Union

In their letter of June 14 the leaders of the C.P.C. extended the area of their differences with the C.P.S.U. by introducing into the discussion questions pertaining to the building of the material base of the Communist society in the Soviet Union, the character of the state and the Party in the period of transition from socialism to communism.

As you have no doubt observed, the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. analyzed the views of the Chinese leaders on this score and demonstrated their groundlessness. It exposed the insidious attempt of the Chinese leaders to apply to the period of transition from socialism to communism the law discovered by Marx and Engels governing the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Wrongly interpreting that section of the Programme of the C.P.S.U. which speaks of the Soviet state and the C.P.S.U. becoming a state and a party of the whole people, the Chinese leaders have the temerity to assert that by declaring that the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission the C.P.S.U. has taken a step back and the Soviet country is returning to a bourgeois structure of society.

Why do the Chinese leaders indulge in such a crude distortion of the correct position of the C.P.S.U.? In order to "prove" that the transition to the building of communism has not yet been effected in the Soviet Union, and also to "justify" the failure of their own internal policy, the policy of the "Big Leap" and the "people's communes".

By establishing the people's communes they wanted to show the world working-class and Communist movement that they were able to skip stages and pass over directly to the communist society, omitting the stage of building socialism. Everyone knows that in order to pass over to communism it is necessary to build up a powerful material and technological base, as is being done in the Soviet Union, and in this way to move forward, ensuring an abundance of material benefits to society. In other words, exactly the reverse of what took place in China, where as a result of the "leaps" economic difficulties retarding the transition to communism were created.

It is symptomatic, however, that the greater these internal economic difficulties became in China, the more marked became the dogmatist and nationalist position of its leaders and the more "leftist" their foreign policy. One might ask: do the Chinese leaders, having failed to take the correct path to the building of socialism, the path already followed by the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries in close cooperation with fraternal countries and parties and by pursuing a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, believe that they will find the way out of their difficulties by "prodding" revolutions in all parts of the world or by choosing the course of global conflicts?

The accentuation of their dogmatic line, which is aggravated by internal and external difficulties, seems to suggest that the leaders of the C.P.C. have lost faith in the ability of their own country to build a socialist society and have executed a sharp sectarian-adventurist turn in their home and foreign policy.

And it is here that their position coincides with that of Trotskyism.

In the first years of Soviet power when the young Soviet state faced severe internal difficulties, the Trotskyites maintained that the revolution could not be victorious in only one country, that the fate of the Russian revolution depended on the immediate victory of the world revolution, that Soviet foreign policy must "stimulate" the development of the revolutionary movement in other countries, and so on.

Indeed, as experience has shown, Trotskyism did not believe in the ability of the Russian proletariat, and still less of its main ally, the peasantry, to consummate the revolution in the conditions of imperialist encirclement and at a time when Russia was the only country where the revolution had won. This lack of faith in the power and ability of the working class and the Russian people, this scepticism with regard to the perspectives of Russian revolutionary development the Trotskyites covered up with pompous "ultra-revolutionary" phrases. They were the most vociferous of all revolutionaries who excel in phrasemongering and posturing.

The Chinese leaders are annoyed when they are reminded that in some respects their position coincides with that of the Trotskyites. Nevertheless this is a reality which should give pause to those who have been deluded by that policy and induce them to return to the correct path in good time.

Concerning the Policy Pursued by the C.P.S.U. with Regard to Yugoslavia

One of the charges levelled by the Chinese leaders at the C.P.S.U. in support of their claim that the latter has departed from Marxism-Leninism is that the policy of the Yugoslav League of Communists (YLC) is leading to the building of capitalism in Yugoslavia instead of socialism.

In their letter of June 14 the Chinese leaders refer to the Statement of 1960 in justification of their present position. And they accuse the C.P.S.U. of having violated the principles laid down in that statement.

We all know that the 1960 meeting severely criticized the revisionist concepts elaborated in the programme of the Y.L.C. The meeting pledged to intensify the struggle against revisionism, against Right-wing opportunism which "distorts Marxism-Leninism, mirrors bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, and paralyzes the revolutionary will of the working class".

What the Chinese leaders forget — and advisedly — is that it was not they but the Soviet comrades who led the struggle against Yugoslav revisionist positions. They also forget that in criticizing the Yugoslav revisionist positions, the 1960 meeting proceeded from the fact that Yugoslavia is a socialist country and that therefore it should not be antagonized by extending the ideological discussion to the sphere of relations between states.

The Statement says that revisionist mistakes "have exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle".

But have there been no changes in Yugoslavia since then? There have, and very big changes.

It is true, then, that the ideological differences between the C.P.S.U. and the Communist parties of the whole world, on the one hand, and the Y.L.C. on the other, have not altogether disappeared. However there exist facts which the countries of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement cannot ignore. And these facts show that Yugoslavia has been developing not in the direction of capitalism, as the Chinese leaders irresponsibly assert, but in the direction of socialism. Can a country in which the landlords and big capitalists have been eliminated, whose industry and trade is predominantly state-owned, whose industrial production has increased nearly fivefold as compared with prewar, whose economy is planned and where parochialism, which was a hangover of the former decentralization, is being overcome, where cooperative farming is steadily growing in the countryside, where the leading role of the Party in the economic, political and social life of the country is unquestionable, and where trade and political ties with the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries are being expanded — can such a country be called capitalist? Certainly not.

As regards the foreign policy of the Yugoslav government it coincides basically with that of the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries. Taking all this into account, what course should the socialist camp take? Should they isolate Yugoslavia, as the dogmatic leaders of the C.P.C. are demanding, or facilitate its consistent adherence to the socialist camp — without, of course, making any concessions in matters of principle?

The C.P.S.U. and the other parties of the socialist countries chose the latter alternative, namely, that of including Yugoslavia in the socialist camp. And, as we know, the Marxist-Leninist parties the world over endorse this policy.

The Stalin Cult

As regards the arguments which the Chinese are now advancing in defence of Stalin, these have been dealt with in detail in the Open Letter of the C.P.S.U., and I do not think there is any need to dwell on them.

I shall, however, dwell once more on the change in the position of the Chinese leaders on this question.

In the first place it should be said that the C.P.C., in common with the rest of the Communist parties of the world, recognized the international significance of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and its courageous exposure of the negative consequences of the Stalin cult. Today the C.P.C. leaders, blinded by their animosity toward the C.P.S.U., are exalting the man whose mistakes they but yesterday condemned.

What has caused them to change their minds so radically? The fact is that some of the leaders of the C.P.C. are following in Stalin's footsteps. Comrade Khrushchov was quite right when at a recent Hungarian-Soviet friendship meeting he said:

"We denounced Stalin for his abuses although he is dead and it might seem useless to speak of these things now. Yet this condemnation has a profound significance. Stalin is dead, but the Party lives, the people are living, struggling and labouring. Hence we must condemn methods which were possible during the period of the cult of the individual in order to alert the Party and the people, to put them on their guard lest anyone else adopt methods that have been condemned by the Party as criminal.

"Therein lies the potency and significance of the decisions adopted by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. concerning the cult of the individual and the eradication of its consequences. Anyone who would place Stalin on a pedestal is acting against the wishes of our Party and our people. Only those who approve of Stalin's methods could do this. But we consider such methods reprehensible. Respect for the Party and its leadership must be inculcated not through fear but by earning that respect, by earning the love of the people, by winning

their support, by close kinship with the people, by sharing their labours and struggles. This is the surest and most effective way of winning respect."

This, I believe, is clear.

Whither the Chinese Dogmatist Splitters?

As you have no doubt concluded from reading the documents of the C.P.S.U. and from what I have said here, we are faced with a dogmatist-disruptive deviation which should not be under-estimated. It should not be underestimated because the party guilty of this deviation is one whose revolutionary past has earned it universal prestige, and one moreover which wields the power in one of the biggest countries on earth.

Many questions are being asked our Party leaders concerning the nature and seriousness of the differences with the Chinese leaders. Some of the commonest questions are: What do the leaders of the C.P.C. want? What do they expect to achieve by their adventurist policy of stimulating actions such as the incidents with India and Cuba that are liable to spark off a thermonuclear world war? Perhaps they want to cause a clash between the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the naïve hope that they themselves would emerge unscathed from the conflict in order to lead the world to communism, the sort of communism they envisage, a communism which of course has nothing in common with the communism which is being built in the U.S.S.R. and which will be built in the other socialist countries? All these are more than legitimate questions.

No one denies that the C.P.C. has outstanding revolutionary achievements to its credit. But this does not entitle its leaders to claim the right to "sinoize" Marxism, for such is the conclusion one can draw from the works of Mao Tse-tung which his eulogists describe as "a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism", although in some of these writings is expressed the dogmatist-nationalist line which the Chinese leaders would like to impose on the world Communist movement.

The only line which we Argentine Communists recognize is the line elaborated jointly with the other Marxist-Leninist parties at the international meetings of 1957 and 1960 at which it was declared that the "C.P.S.U. was and remains the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement".

As we know, the Leninist Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. is headed by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov against whom the Chinese are now aiming their poisoned darts.

What is the reason for the aggressive and outrageous attitude the Chinese leaders have adopted to Comrade Khrushchov? The explanation is obvious if it is remembered that Comrade Khrushchov has

become the standardbearer of world peace, while the Chinese leaders are upholding the idea of war.

There is no doubt that it is on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist positions, to which the C.P.S.U. and all the Communist parties unwaveringly adhere, that we shall preserve the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement, frustrate the imperialists' hopes of taking advantage of the split in the Communist camp to further their own ends, and shall move on to ever greater successes both on a national and an international plane.



The principal deviation in the world Communist movement at the present time is the sectarian-dogmatist line adopted by the leaders of the C.P.C. and all those who follow them, whereas yesterday, for example, the main deviation was revisionism, although the latter has not yet been altogether eradicated. Both these deviations, however, derive from bourgeois-nationalist ideas which their proponents are endeavouring to introduce into the ranks of the Communist movement.

These deviations have their roots in the influence exerted by the ideology of the class enemy on the proletariat. Hence the ideological struggle against these deviations is an integral part of the class struggle. It is a matter of choosing between two lines of policy: the proletarian line or the line adopted by those sections who are the proponents of ideas alien to Marxism-Leninism, ideas which in the final analysis play into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In this ideological struggle, which we know will be bitter and perhaps long, we Argentine Communists will be guided by the interests of the world Communist and working-class movement, and these interests demand above all the preservation of unity in the name of peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism. We shall do everything possible, all that is within our powers, to bring the debate with the Chinese leaders and their supporters back within the bounds established by the 1960 meeting, without, however, making any concessions on matters of principle.

In order to put into effect their dogmatic and autocratic nationalist policy, the Chinese leaders, as I have said before, are trying to split the Communist and working-class parties which have rejected their anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist course.

Experience shows, however, that the world Communist movement is too mature ideologically and politically to be easily drawn into disruptive manoeuvres. The Chinese leaders may be able to do some harm here and there. They may succeed in weaning away from the Party some unstable elements, principally those of petty-bourgeois origin; they may band them together with some renegades expelled from the parties some time ago, or with some enemies of Marxism-Leninism such as certain nationalist-minded bourgeois intellectuals and Trotskyites.

There is no doubt, however, that the Chinese leaders will find themselves unable to pierce the solid front presented by all the Marxist-Leninist parties against those who assail Marxism and Leninism. As for the misguided elements who may follow the Chinese, there is no doubt that the policy of patient explanation will help to dispel their doubts, to rid them of their delusions and hence win them back for the Marxist-Leninist line.

On Whom Do the Chinese Leaders Rely for Support in Our Country

What sort of allies the Chinese leaders are gaining can be seen from the case of our own country. Apart from the various small Trotskyite groups, they have won over certain elements who were expelled from the Party, and in particular from the youth organization some time ago, and a few petty-bourgeois nationalists. These are the "Marxists-Leninists" outside the parties, in the given instance outside our own Party, who are being won over to the dogmatist-sectarian policy of the C.P.C. leaders. These are the ones who unconditionally support the position of the C.P.C. leaders.

"Trotskyism, the representative of Marxism-Leninism," we read in the Statement of the self-styled political bureau of the Trotskyite Workers' Party of Argentina, "foresaw this course and paved the way for it by its revolutionary activity. Its role is of decisive importance for the political and ideological revolution of the Chinese comrades, for a return to Lenin, inasmuch as Trotskyism upholds the historical continuity of Leninism against the bureaucratic and counter-revolutionary degeneration of neo-reformism." And for this purpose they "urge the workers to speak up at meetings in support of the theses formulated in the 25 points by the Chinese comrades, to discuss and analyze them. We call on the revolutionary and class wing of Peronism to join our Party in discussing these theses in order to build up the revolutionary leadership of the masses in our own country and in the world".

Another group of renegades expelled from the Party supports the Chinese leaders' proposal concerning "the general line of the international Communist movement" as coming from a "fraternal party which in the course of the revolutionary history of its people has achieved the historic distinction of leading the working class, the peasantry and the greater part of the population to socialism", "which proclaims solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the colonial peoples and attaches the same importance to this world struggle as to the building of socialism in its own country". It urges "rejecting servile kowtowing to the authority of chieftains" and setting up "an organization based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the struggle of the working class and the popular masses; an organization that would maintain a high standard of national unity".

Another Trotskyite grouping calls for support for C.P.C. policy on the grounds that "the Chinese government represents the upsurge of the world revolution" as distinct from the Russian government which "reflects the world counter-revolution and hatred for the mass movement". And it urges combating "the counter-revolutionary treaty signed by Washington and Moscow" since the "true purpose of the pact is to prevent China from carrying out the nuclear tests that would enable her to become a nuclear power".

Still another Trotskyite grouping attacks the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union, declaring that "the only thing that can effectively prevent world war is a proletarian revolution in all countries of the world".

These are a few samples of the "Marxists-Leninists outside the parties" — all of whom could fit into the palm of your hand — on whom in our country, and evidently in other parts of the world as well, the Chinese leaders can rely upon for support in carrying out their policy.

As you see, comrades, the support the Chinese leaders have won is questionable, both as regards quality and quantity. Nevertheless we must not relax our vigilance and we must bear in mind that these minor groupings possess ample facilities for waging the struggle through the medium of propaganda printed matter sent in from abroad or published locally.

As for the propaganda published inside the country we have never seen such a variety of publications defending a policy diametrically opposed to the policy of the C.P.S.U. and our own Party.

As regards materials published in China, our country is being literally flooded with them. Moreover, while Marxist-Leninist literature is confiscated by the postal authorities, these publications are being circulated almost without hindrance.

As regards the reprints of C.P.C. documents put out in Argentina, these too are circulated in large quantities with introductions vilifying the policy of the C.P.S.U. and the Communist Party of Argentina.

Some idea of how the C.P.C. circulates its publications in our country may be gained from the following letter from Peking published in the reactionary, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist newspaper *Correo de la Tarde*:

"Dear friend,

"In compliance with your request we shall be very glad to send you our journal *Peking Review* regularly. To ensure better service we would ask you to let us know at your convenience whether or not you are receiving it regularly. We usually send the journal by airmail on the day of publication or the following day."

After a few more remarks of this kind, the letter goes on:

"If you know of anyone who would like to subscribe to the journal for any length of time or for separate issues, kindly give us their names and address and we shall send them the journal direct. In

token of our gratitude we are sending you a few jubilee stamps which we hope will be of interest to you."

However, according to information our Party has received, notwithstanding the flood of propaganda, the ideas of the Chinese leaders have not penetrated the working-class and popular movement, with the exception of the few minor groups I have mentioned above.

As regards our own Party, it is solidly united around its Central Committee and wholeheartedly supports the political and tactical line laid down by the Twelfth Congress, the correctness of which is daily being demonstrated with increasing clarity to the working class and the whole people.

A Step Towards Peace

Recently a limited nuclear test-ban treaty was signed in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, as the culmination of negotiations conducted over a long period of time by the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, the powers possessing nuclear weapons and means for their delivery.

The Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, indeed all peoples, have been waging a struggle against nuclear weapons tests, for the prohibition and destruction of these weapons, ever since 1946. The United States, however, has opposed these legitimate demands, hoping that nuclear weapons will enable it to realize its dream of world domination, not to speak of the fact that the manufacture of these weapons is a source of fabulous profits for a number of the biggest North American companies. Britain has also been opposed to any satisfactory agreement.

Several years ago the Soviet Union on its own initiative stopped nuclear testing and the United States and Britain were compelled to follow suit. There were no nuclear tests for more than two years, until provocative moves by the Western powers and their threats to take aggressive action in Germany and other areas of the world compelled the Soviet Union to resume the tests it had unilaterally discontinued. By doing so the Soviet Union issued a clear warning to the imperialists that they would be destroyed if they unleashed war.

Long negotiations followed, with France refraining from taking part despite the fact that it had already produced its own atom bomb. The French government is opposed to any agreement concerning nuclear weapons not only because it is pursuing an adventurist policy but especially because it counts on being able to establish itself on a level with the great powers of the world through possession of nuclear weapons, by speaking in the language of "nuclear strength".

Needless to say, the French nuclear weapon is in no way comparable to those created by the Soviet Union and the United States. But jingoistic nationalism impels the French government to continue investing billions of dollars in its military nuclear programmes while increas-

Editorial in the August 22, 1963, issue of *Verdad*, underground organ of the Guatemalan Party of Labour.

ingly hampering the achievement of an agreement which would take the demand of the peoples into account.

The treaty signed in Moscow bans only testing in outer space, under water and in the atmosphere, since the unacceptable demands put forward by the Western powers made it impossible to agree on the prohibition of underground tests. Nevertheless the treaty is a step forward on the way to peace. Clearly, it is necessary to intensify the struggle waged by the peoples and to redouble the efforts of the socialist and other peace-loving governments in order to take further steps, such as the termination of underground tests, banning of nuclear weapons, destruction of these weapons, etc. *Peace cannot be achieved in one leap, the road to it is a long way with a multitude of obstacles.* Peace has to be won, it has to be imposed on the imperialists.

The Discreditable Position of the Chinese

In connection with the conclusion of the partial test-ban treaty, the government of the Chinese People's Republic issued an astounding statement condemning the treaty as a fraud, an imperialist manoeuvre, an instance of the Soviet Union submitting to imperialist *diktat*, and, worst of all, as a conspiracy of the imperialists and the Soviet Union against all countries that do not possess nuclear weapons.

Simultaneously with the violent campaign conducted by the Chinese press against the treaty, the government of the Chinese People's Republic addressed a proposal to the governments of all countries that a world conference be convened to ban nuclear weapons and to decide on the destruction of these weapons, abolition of foreign war bases, etc.

It would seem absurd for anyone advocating the prohibition of nuclear weapons to condemn a treaty representing the first step towards such a ban. The Communist Party of China knows well that the Soviet Union has on many occasions proposed that nuclear weapons be destroyed, the aircraft and missiles serving as a means of delivery of these weapons scrapped, foreign war bases abolished, etc. It is also clear to everybody that to achieve such far-reaching aims tremendous effort and years of struggle against imperialism are still needed. It is also clear to all that so long as there is no agreement on general disarmament, partial agreements are acceptable and very valuable. In this sense the limited test-ban treaty is preferable a thousand times over to continuation of tests. The conclusion of this treaty will no doubt open the way to further negotiations.

Since all this is clear as daylight, the position adopted by the Chinese Communists should be condemned inasmuch as it not only completely contradicts their earlier statements but also deepens the differences in the Communist movement and violates the principles of proletarian internationalism, subjecting the Soviet Union to crude accu-

sations which put it on a level with the imperialist powers. This has nothing in common with *ideological* differences. Communists do not go in for such attacks and we wish to make it clear that we reject them.

At the same time we voice our confidence that the peoples will redouble their efforts for the total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, for measures aimed at general disarmament, and for negotiations which would do away with the threat of war and strengthen peace throughout the world. On this issue the governments of all socialist countries, all other peace-loving governments and all democratic organizations, and in particular all the Communist and Workers' parties which stand united under the international banner of Marxism, the banner of Labour and Peace, must do everything in their power.

Excerpt from Article by Gus Hall

We must find the strength to raise the level of our work in these times. This new political upsurge requires a higher standard. We must adjust our regulators and governors upward. This means a higher degree and quality of initiative, militancy and speaking out as a party. We must also develop that quality which makes us stand out as part of the parade.

We are not alone on the speedway, but our role must serve to accelerate the whole procession. We should be neither reckless drivers nor roadhogs. Reckless acceleration will drive us off the road. Our task is to come fully abreast of the advance elements on this fast-moving highway of mass action.

The fight for the Party is not an abstraction. It is a fight for this Party and for the specifics of Party organization. The Party must always have an organizational form, for that which has no form does not exist, and that which is beginning to lose its form is also starting to disappear.

To speak of fighting for a Marxist-Leninist Party and not to fight for this Party is demagoguery. There are those who say they are eager to build a new party if this one dies. But all experience shows that such a demise would be used only to bury the science of Marxism-Leninism itself. Fortunately, the wishful thinkers in the enemy camp who want to exterminate this Party have been repeatedly disappointed, and both the science and the Party live.

Not to fight for this Party is to accept the advice of "flee to the wilderness". It is to accept the reasoning of the Monthly Review that the working class today is not able to sustain a party of scientific socialism. The two concepts together add up to no fight for our Party and nothing else on the horizon.

Nor must any idea be permitted to take root that this is an "interim party", to continue only until "something new" comes along. Such an idea is a liquidationist death warrant. No serious Marxist-Leninist Party can be an "interim party".

* The Worker, November 17, 1963. The present article is a section of an extended report given in October to a gathering of leading personnel.

If any comrade has ideas that there are competing trends of Marxism-Leninism, such a comrade will not fight for the Party. We cannot accept such a concept. There can be only one science of Marxism-Leninism, only one scientific socialism.

That science cannot be correctly represented by two parties and two policies in a single country. There are opportunistic swings from the correct path of that science. There can be differences in tactics, as the science is applied and as it develops, but there cannot be two varieties of that science. One cannot fight for this Party and for Marxism-Leninism if one has the idea that these are conflicting entities.

More than any other aspect of politics, words are not enough when it comes to Party organization. The test is how one fights for organizational forms, for a system of Party organization, for Party structure as well as for policy.

Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain

(November 1963)

Resolution on the Situation in the Communist Movement

For Unity of the International Communist and Working-Class Movement

The Communist Party of Spain expresses its deep concern at the sharp form the differences in the international Communist and working-class movement has acquired.

Our Party has done everything to keep the discussion on a principled plane, has avoided making denunciatory statements that cannot be retracted. Even at the present sharp stage of these differences it is necessary to show great patience if unity is to be restored.

Confident that we express the thoughts of the worker and peasant masses and of the progressive intellectuals of Spain we want to say this to the Chinese comrades:

Discussion? Yes, but to the extent that it is necessary. Patience? Yes, but to the extent that it is called for. But do not encroach on the unity of the socialist camp! Do not encroach on the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement!

This unity is sacred to us. Nobody has the right, no matter the pretext, to split the socialist camp, the international Communist and working-class movement. Whoever does so will have much to answer for to the forces of the revolution, democracy and world peace.

For us who have to carry on the struggle in conditions of illegality, who are fighting a regime of tyranny, a split would signify a real stab in the back.

Question of War and Peace. Path of Revolution and Socialism Eliminates Nuclear War

The central issue in the differences with the Chinese comrades is how should the character of the present epoch be assessed. The existence of the socialist world system (which decisively contributed to the collapse of the colonial regime), and the alliance of the socialist system with the newly emergent countries are the decisive factor of our time. The sweeping scientific and technological revolution which

we are witnessing is also having its tremendous impact on contemporary developments and this impact will steadily grow.

This revolution creates more favourable conditions for the liberation of man, confirms the truth of materialism and Marxist humanism that human knowledge is infinite.

The scientific and technological revolution rests on the sum total of knowledge accumulated by man. It is further stimulated by the triumph and consolidation of the socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R. and in a number of other countries, and by the victories of the national-liberation movement. The socialist revolution acted as an accelerator of scientific and technological progress. Even in the developed capitalist countries the fact that they have to compete with the socialist system has to a large extent spurred technological progress.

We revolutionary Marxists-Leninists must be able to assess the possibilities which our forces, the forces of the socialist system, the forces acquired by the world revolution open before us; we must also be able to assess the social impact of the new means of production.

The fundamental contradiction of our time is the contradiction between imperialism and socialism. With the rise of communism, capitalism as a social system cannot exist indefinitely; its doom is irrevocable. It can retard man's advance toward communism only at the price of suicide, at the price of incalculable misfortune for the whole of society.

If communism is to triumph it is essential to pursue a policy that will take into account the following two elements: the might of the socialist camp and the imperative necessity to prevent nuclear power from being used to destroy civilization instead of for the purpose of promoting its further impressive advance.

The giant strides made in the development of the productive forces is the basic reason why it has become the prime task of the Communist movement to avert a thermonuclear holocaust.

What would such a war mean? Comrade Mao Tse-tung admits that as a result of atomic bombing half of mankind would perish. Suppose we accept this evaluation, terrible though it is, what about the other half of mankind? What will happen to those who will remain alive? In what kind of a world, on what material basis, with what means of production, subsisting on what kind of food will they be able to begin a new life?

It is said that imperialism will be destroyed. True enough. But who can guarantee that its place will be taken by communism and that there will not be a reversion to primitive society?

The thesis of the Chinese comrades regarding the so-called "two possibilities of the transition to socialism"—one without a nuclear war and the other *through a nuclear war*—apart from the fact that it is a monstrous one, does not take into account reality and is utterly wrong. We cannot accept it. The "second possibility", that of the

transition to socialism through a nuclear war does not exist, it is a fatal mistake to think so. We reject the assertion that a nuclear war will bring the triumph of world socialism. Socialism on a world scale can be achieved only if a nuclear war is averted. There is only one reliable possibility of advancing towards socialism on a world scale: through peaceful coexistence.

Hence the fight to prevent a nuclear war is an essential component of any genuine and effective struggle for revolution and communism.

When the C.P.S.U. and other Communist parties clearly and realistically, without any embellishment, showed what would be the fatal consequences of a nuclear war for human life, and hence for the revolution and communism, the leaders of the Communist Party of China accused them of "advocating capitulation to imperialism".

There could be nothing further from the truth. The path we propose is the path of struggle by the peoples against the nuclear weapon, against nuclear war.

We Communists are accustomed when mobilizing the masses to tell them the truth and we do this because we before all else believe in the masses, do not consider them merely an *instrument*, and appeal to their reason and conscience. It is this that makes the masses an invincible revolutionary force. Those who do not think it necessary to tell the masses the truth, although in words they extoll them, thereby show that they have no confidence in them.

Deliberately ignoring our position, the Chinese comrades accuse us of "embellishing" imperialism and denying its aggressive nature. Just the reverse is the case: the C.P.S.U., all the Communist parties have always maintained, and this is repeated in the Statement of the 81 Parties, that the rapacious and aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. However, although it has not changed, it is held in check today by the rockets and nuclear weapons in the possession of the Soviet Union.

When the Caribbean crisis broke out in October 1962, it was the firm policy of the Soviet Union, which based itself on its nuclear power, that enabled the socialist camp to prevent a new Munich which could have had catastrophic consequences.

World peace and the Cuban socialist revolution were saved.

It is therefore utterly absurd to accuse the U.S.S.R. of adventurism or capitulation as the Chinese leaders are doing. The Communists, the working masses, and people of Spain who regard the Cuban revolution as their vital concern and want to avert a war, express their support of the policy of the Soviet Union and their gratitude to it.

The logic of facts is compelling the more sober-minded representatives of imperialism to realize that it has nothing to gain in a nuclear war.

Imperialists unleash wars as a means of securing a new redivision of colonies, as a means of obtaining new sources of raw materials and new markets. Such was the case as regards wars in the past.

In our day, however, the question is: will a world war give imperialism colonies, markets and raw material sources? Will a war from their standpoint be a rational continuation of their usual policy of plunder and domination?

A thermonuclear war would signify the physical annihilation of imperialism's principal centres, of the markets it had planned to win, the destruction of the productive forces it had planned to dominate and exploit. In other words, such a war would be suicidal for imperialism.

In the light of these facts how can one assert that the conditions which in the past enabled the imperialists to regard war as a continuation of their policy of rapine and domination have not changed?

With the appearance of the nuclear weapon and with the socialist camp having possession of this weapon, the thesis that imperialist world war is the continuation of imperialist policy no longer holds true.

It is true that there are dangerous maniacs who dream of establishing world supremacy with the help of the nuclear weapon. It is likewise true that in the imperialist groups there is, besides the trend of the moderates who realize that a nuclear war spells terrible danger, the trend of the "wildmen" who refuse to accept the fact that the socialist system is growing stronger and consolidating itself.

But it is precisely the battle for peaceful coexistence that is helping to isolate these "wildmen"; to weaken their influence. And if the people are told the truth about the effects and consequences of a nuclear war it will only rouse them to take more vigorous and resolute action against the imperialist warmongers. On the other hand, silence, attempts to have people believe that a nuclear war would not be very much more destructive than the classical type of war, disarm and lull the masses and untie the hands of the warmongers.

In short, with the appearance of the socialist system and the rapid development of the means of production, of science and technology—factors which act as a deterrent on imperialism's bellicose trends—the question of war and peace has to be treated differently.

Liberation Wars

If the imperialists are beginning to realize that a nuclear war would be suicidal for them, if even the local wars started by them have not yielded the desired results, if the support which they have been giving the reactionary ruling cliques waging civil war, as in South Vietnam, for example, is boomeranging against them, undermining their own prestige and interests, the *liberation wars started by the peoples of the oppressed countries where the objective and subjective conditions for waging an armed struggle are ripe, have, on the contrary, proved their effectiveness and have brought victory for the peoples concerned.*

What does this signify? That civil and liberation wars where con-

ditions favour this are the continuation of a just policy by other means, a means which the oppressed classes and peoples do not reject and have no reason to reject. Even more. The might of the socialist system and the policy of coexistence limits the possibilities of intervention by imperialism against the peoples concerned, clears the way to the victory of these liberation wars. It was in such a situation that the Chinese revolution triumphed in 1949 and later the revolution in Cuba and Algeria, to cite the most significant examples.

The Chinese comrades allege that the C.P.S.U. and the other Communist parties are by their position on the question of war and peace "hindering" other peoples from carrying out a revolution. *But they do not, and cannot for that matter, cite a single fact, a single concrete instance to prove their assertion.*

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have rendered, and are continuing to render, every assistance to the fighting peoples, without any fanfare.

In reality the Chinese comrades are reproaching us for not accepting their thesis concerning the so-called "second possibility" of the transition to socialism on a world scale, that is, their reckless idea that we can achieve socialism through a nuclear war. We are also reproached for opposing the idea that a socialist state can start a "revolutionary war" against bourgeois states, a purely Trotskyite idea alien to Leninism and outrightly condemned by the international Communist movement in the Statement of the 81 Parties which clearly states that revolution cannot be exported.

The Chinese leaders consider that rejection of these two theses is "modern revisionism". We, however, will continue to affirm that Trotskyism and a nuclear catastrophe have nothing in common with modern Leninism.

The Moscow Treaty

Peaceful coexistence is a multiform, complex and active policy, *it is a struggle*. Peaceful coexistence is not a matter of relations between antagonistic classes within a country; it is a matter of relations between states with differing social systems, of class antagonisms in the sphere of *state* relations.

The maintenance and consolidation of peaceful coexistence demands, on the one hand, the broad mobilization of the masses and, on the other, the conclusion of agreements, necessary compromises between socialist states and capitalist states.

In theory not even the Chinese comrades are opposed to concluding such agreements with imperialism; they have as a matter of fact often had recourse to them, even in the case of their mortal enemy Chiang Kai-shek.

How then account for the negative attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to the Moscow Treaty?

The Moscow Treaty contains a simple agreement to cease nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and under water. It is, in the final analysis, a question of stopping the pollution of the air we breathe and the food we eat, of preventing the spread of illnesses produced by radioactivity, of preventing the danger of the monstrous deformation of the human race. It is a demand that conforms with the sentiments of the peoples, a demand voiced by scientists, by the international Communist and working-class movement, the Chinese comrades included.

They condemn this treaty because, according to them, it deprives the countries of the socialist camp of the possibility of carrying out nuclear tests and hence of the possibility of producing the nuclear bomb if they want to. But the socialist countries have had no need to do so for they have been protected by the Soviet nuclear bomb.

The leaders of the Chinese People's Republic propose to produce their own nuclear weapon. It is quite understandable when various imperialist powers want to obtain possession of the nuclear weapon, heedless of the fact that this would lead to the proliferation of this weapon to all parts of the world. For the imperialist camp is rent by antagonistic contradictions. But this question cannot be raised in the same sense when it is a matter of the socialist countries. They need the nuclear weapon in order to compel imperialism to respect them, to compel it to abandon all its intentions to attack them or the people who have won their national liberation, in order to prevent war and to defend the revolution.

The decision of the Chinese comrades to produce their own nuclear weapon speaks of their desire to pursue an international policy different from the policy pursued by the socialist world system.

Their calls to organize a revolt inside the Soviet Union to overthrow Comrade Khrushchov, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Government of the U.S.S.R.; their attacks on the policy of the world Communist and working-class movement and their attempts to split some of the parties represent an international policy aimed at separation from the socialist camp, at breaking with it.

The Influence of Communist Ideas

The Chinese comrades are up in arms against the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and its epochmaking decisions which they themselves wholeheartedly endorsed at the time. They have now changed their tune and are taking exception to the condemnation of the cult of the individual and the thesis concerning the peaceful transition to socialism. They maintain that the Twentieth Congress was a source of "contemporary revisionism" and that it undermined the faith of the masses in Communist ideas.

The Twentieth Congress marked the beginning of a new epoch not only for the C.P.S.U. but for the world Communist movement as a

whole. It condemned the grievous consequences of the personality cult and advanced important theses representing a sincere and courageous effort to return to the original sources of Marx and Lenin, to restore Marxist-Leninist principles and methods.

Our adversaries tried to take advantage of the initial shock caused by the exposure of the Stalin cult to strike a blow at the parties and undermine the prestige of communism in the eyes of the masses. But this temporary trauma was overcome and the prestige and power of attraction of communism became if anything greater than before. The Twentieth Congress gave communism a fresh impetus. A profound and unbiased explanation was given of the role of Stalin, in both its positive and negative aspects. The strict observance of the principles of democratic centralism strengthened the Communist parties internally.

Ever since the Congress there has been a more creative approach to the problems of our time.

On no account can we approve of the attempt to revive the cult of the individual. We vehemently object to Marxism being placed once again on a dogmatic footing. We stand for the virile and creative spirit of Marxism, which was introduced by the Twentieth and later the Twenty-Second Congresses of the C.P.S.U.

It was by applying the virile, creative and revolutionary spirit of Marxism, and not sticking to the letter of formulas that had been rejected by social development that Lenin led the great October Socialist Revolution to victory and ushered in the socialist era in human history.

Guided by this same method, we must today apply the living spirit of Marxism-Leninism in face of the new features of social development, the new problems arising as a result of the existence side by side of two social systems, the collapse of the colonial system and the scientific and technological revolution.

At the same time the Communist parties must be on their guard against opportunistic tendencies that are liable to appear under certain conditions. We must not forget, however, that this is creative work, that proceeding from what has already been accomplished, we must develop and enrich Marxist thought through analysis of the new experience.

Socialism today is not only a system of ideas, a political opposition group; it is not even a single state encircled and attacked from all sides. Socialism today is a practical reality, a social system existing over a vast area of our planet and embracing more than a thousand million people.

This reality exerts a permanent political and ideological influence on the modern world, giving rise to new phenomena peculiar to our epoch. Take the Algerian revolution for example: a political party, the F.L.N., starting out as a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement, hostile to Marxism, assumes the leadership of the liberation movement of its people and, upon conquering power, discards its bourgeois leaders and,

while not accepting Marxism, behaves in many respects as a Marxist party would by setting its sights on socialism.

The force of our ideas fortified by the existence and the achievements of the U.S.S.R. and the socialist world system is becoming an increasingly potent factor in the world today.

Concerning the Possibility of the Peaceful Road

From this reality, from the tremendous impact of communist ideas, the revisionists seek to draw such conclusions as, for example, that socialism today can triumph as a result of the spontaneous play of economic factors, viz., the scientific and technological revolution, and that hence the struggle of the revolutionary vanguard, the organization and militant action of the masses, in short, revolution, is no longer necessary.

The international Communist movement and our party included has always rejected such concepts.

But if mistakes of this kind are made by opportunists, the dogmatists, on the other hand, do not take into account the new factors, they continue to repeat old formulas applicable to entirely different situations; they do not see the new possibilities which the Communist parties are afforded today for contact with the masses, they underestimate the power of our ideas and overestimate the strength of the enemy.

The international Communist movement maintains that there exist two possible ways of passing over to socialism in each country: the peaceful way and the way of armed struggle.

The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. obviously laid the emphasis on the peaceful way not because it excludes armed struggle but because throughout the preceding period the accent had been made exclusively on the latter, because for so many years we regarded armed struggle as the only way to socialism; this boiled down to the idea that the revolution would triumph everywhere by following exactly the same pattern as the Russian revolution. The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. stressed the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in some countries, the possibility that, given a revolutionary situation and by combining mass action in the streets with parliamentary forms of struggle, the conquest of power could be accomplished without recourse to civil war.

Taking this concept and our own experience into account, the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain set forth the perspective of a peaceful transition to socialism in our country.

Without excluding the path of armed struggle, without ruling out the possibility of such an alternative, it was essential to examine and analyze this new path.

The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. clarified the concept of the

dictatorship of the proletariat and freed it from schematism. It took into account the experience of other socialist revolutions and revived Lenin's thesis that in the future, the dictatorship of the proletariat in other countries might take forms which would differ substantially from the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia.

The war of 1936-39 in Spain when the republican government acquired the character of a people's democracy with a coalition of parties based on parliament, also testifies that the present policy of our party and the prospect that Spain will take its own way to socialism drawing simultaneously on the experience of other parties, are deeply rooted in the rich experience of the Communist Party of Spain.

It is not excluded that after the fall of Franco a new coalition will be formed which will avoid past mistakes, wage a vigorous political struggle against reactionary forces and, combining the militant action of the masses with parliamentary struggle, proceed to carry out structural changes of a democratic nature that will bring it to a point where the dialectic of the struggle itself will confront it with the need for socialist transformation. Besides Communists, such a coalition could include the Socialist Party, petty-bourgeois groups and even some progressive Catholic forces.

Such a course would help to narrow down the camp of anti-communism, to dispel apprehensions and overcome opposition within other political groups by offering them the prospect of playing their part under socialism and reassuring them that a victorious revolution would not necessarily mean their withdrawal from the scene; this path, moreover, would help bring over to the side of the revolution those forces among whom reformist tendencies prevail at the present.

At the same time we do not rule out the possibility of armed struggle should it be forced upon us by the stubbornness of the ruling classes and the lack of understanding and resolution on the part of the leaders of other groups whose participation in the peaceful transition to socialism is both possible and desirable.

At any rate an open and positive course toward cooperation with these groups would help to win over the broad masses to the side of the revolution. And this is indispensable whatever path we take.

The Chinese comrades reject the peaceful path, saying that "this has never happened before". This way of thinking is alien to our Marxist-Leninist methods and conceptions. The Chinese comrades themselves have at various times attempted to take the peaceful road. And if they employed both forms alternately, by what right do they seek to impose the thesis of "people's war" upon all peoples and in the most diverse historical situations? Moreover we regard as impermissible the charge of "modern opportunism" they have levelled at the C.P.S.U. and the other Communist parties simply because these parties uphold the theory of the possibility of the peaceful transition in definite countries and under definite conditions.

The New Perspectives

Today the masses are advancing towards communism along broader and more diversified avenues than we could foresee in the past.

As the socialist system, proving its superiority over capitalism, becomes the determining force in world development, it will become increasingly possible that part of the Social Democratic rank and file and even some of their leaders will break with the policy of class collaboration and pass over to an effective policy of fighting for socialism.

The Catholic masses are increasingly coming under the influence of socialist ideas and awakening to the need for socialism.

What in the past used to be the position of the more farsighted or non-conformist Catholics is becoming today a mass trend. But to conclude from this that the Church is leaning towards socialism is just as absurd as to approach these questions in exactly the same way as 30 years ago, ignoring the realities of life.

Ours is a scientific, materialist ideology the soundness of which is daily corroborated by the advance of science and which is steadily forging ahead. We shall defend and popularize this ideology, but we shall also respect the beliefs of others who set themselves lofty humanist aims. We take full cognizance of every possible point of contact between Christian humanism and Marxist humanism and, on this basis, work for cooperation between Christians and Communists to transform this "vale of tears" into paradise for man. If our struggle to abolish exploitation under the banner of the hammer and sickle is joined by those who pay obeisance to the cross, we shall only welcome them.

Today, as the popular masses are joining the nationalist movements in our country, we can discern in them a growing trend towards cooperation with the Communists and an increasing readiness to accept socialist solutions.

We must avoid repelling people who are gravitating towards socialism in ways different from those that predominated when its power of attraction was less than it is now.

We should stimulate all trends tending towards socialism by means of rational activities characterized by positive criticism, a desire to achieve mutual understanding and to help these trends find their way forward, and not withdraw within a rigid dogmatic shell.

The development of the forces of communism is naturally linked with the numerical, political and ideological strengthening of our Party which is an essential condition of victory. But it is also linked with the growing gravitation towards socialism on the part of other groups with which we must establish close contact.

The rigidity which the Chinese comrades propound in an attempt to fit all forms of the revolution into a few static patterns allegedly valid for all countries and as sound today as they were 50 years ago, and

their denunciation of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the C.P.S.U., congresses that marked the beginning of an open, creative and profoundly Marxist-Leninist approach to the new problems and phenomena arising before the revolutionary movement, are positions which are generally known in the Communist and working-class movement as dogmatism; if these positions typified in the policy of the Chinese comrades were allowed to gain ground, they would present a formidable obstacle to the advance of the revolution and socialism.

A movement for the regeneration and strengthening of democracy is developing in the West-European countries. The great battles fought by the working class in France, Italy, Belgium, Spain and other countries have risen to a new level. The peasant actions in the various countries have demonstrated that the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois sections are also becoming increasingly aware of the need to combat the big monopolies. The alliance of the anti-monopoly forces and the forces of peace and socialism is growing.

All this can lead to a situation rising in Europe which will greatly intensify the struggle for peace and for the revolution.

In view of this the scorn shown by the Chinese comrades for the working class and the Communist parties of the capitalist countries, and their total lack of understanding of the complex conditions in which the revolutionary struggle is developing in these countries, are to be regretted.

A dogmatic and disruptive policy of the kind the Chinese comrades are pursuing would greatly increase the difficulties confronting the Communist parties in Western Europe.

Combating the Methods of the Personality Cult

The denunciation of the personality cult has had a profoundly beneficial effect on the Communist movement. The Stalin cult had nothing in common with respect for leaders; genuine respect is perfectly compatible with keeping the masses informed of the reasons for one or another decision.

There can be no return to a system when whatever a leader said went merely because he had said it, to the "Party is me" principle. It is necessary to explain things, to convince people. The masses and the Party rank and file deserve the greatest respect of the leaders: they are not soldiers who blindly obey orders, still less are they "robots". Lenin said that the Party and the masses will correctly implement a policy only when they understand it, when it becomes their own cause.

A revolutionary party must combine prompt action with discussion, neither suppressing discussion nor indulging in idle talk. In the course of its activity it must be able to display political initiative and rectify its mistakes and shortcomings without delay. Hence action must be combined with discussion, with criticism and self-criticism.

The Communist movement cannot turn back after the step forward made by the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U.; it must continue to advance in the direction then taken. It cannot allow itself to regress as regards assessment of the lawlessness of the Stalin period or combating the methods that made that lawlessness possible.

The way the debate has been conducted by the Chinese comrades, who have resorted to slander, condemnation, charges of betrayal and capitulation and invective, and who have turned a comradely discussion into a "struggle against the enemies of the revolution", is a continuation of such methods. Such a policy, no matter who pursues it, is an insult to all Communists, all revolutionaries and progressives.

The World-Wide Impact of the Economic Advance of Socialism

The very existence of the socialist system renders decisive support to the liberation struggle of the oppressed classes and peoples. It would be a mistake to see this support consisting only of aid with armaments to the embattled peoples or the newly-independent countries.

The Leninist thesis that victorious socialism exerts its main influence through economic construction, a thesis reaffirmed in the 81-Party Statement, is, as experience has shown, the basic principle to be borne in mind.

If one or another newly-independent underdeveloped country embarks on a non-capitalist or even a socialist path, this is due not only to the fact that the masses and leaders of these countries suffered from imperialist oppression, but to a large extent also to the fact that the experience of the socialist countries shows that socialism makes it possible to develop the means of production and the economy as a whole far more rapidly than capitalism.

At the same time, in contrast to the neo-colonialist manoeuvres, socialism renders the newly-emerging nations fraternal economic aid which accelerates their economic advance and enables them to part company with imperialism.

The rapid growth of the international prestige of the Soviet Union in recent years has been partly due to its achievements in such new branches of science and technology as the nuclear power industry and space research.

The economic advance of socialism and the rising standard of living which accompanies it are a magnet that attracts to socialism the sympathies of people throughout the world.

Imperialism seeks to make the most of the fact that thanks to the colonial exploitation of the greater part of mankind, the imperialist countries have accumulated vast wealth and achieved an economic level enabling the masses to enjoy a relatively high standard of living.

But the successes achieved by socialism in spite of the difficulties that have had to be overcome testify that the day is not far off when

the socialist countries will surpass the most developed capitalist states in per capita production. This will signify the complete and absolute victory of socialism over capitalism, i. e., our victory will be final in the sphere of economic construction.

To claim, as the Chinese comrades do, that to defend this Leninist principle means to count on economic competition spontaneously resolving the problem of the victory of the revolution, that it means reducing the class struggle to economic competition of the two systems, is a distortion of the truth, as is the assertion that we advocate a wait-and-see policy, passivity and class collaboration.

The C.P.S.U. and other Communist parties maintain that the revolution triumphs as a result of the growing mass struggle in each particular country. Victory can be won provided both the objective and the subjective conditions for it exist. It is not easy to create such conditions, and as regards objective conditions, this depends not only on the will of the revolutionaries. But this will, the conscious activity of the vanguard, the militancy, organization and struggle of the masses in each country represent the decisive force of the revolution, without which not a single people can win its freedom, even if the international situation in the sphere of the competition between the two systems afforded the optimal conditions.

If such is the attitude of the C.P.S.U. and the Communist parties, why misrepresent it? Why ascribe to us what we have never said or intended to say?

But these errors which the Chinese comrades invent and ascribe to others, are not the only possible errors in this sphere. It is possible, for example, that the real difficulties standing in the way of solving the economic problems of socialist construction in an underdeveloped country at the desired rate may give rise to a desire to postpone this task until imperialism is finally abolished. If this error is made the point of departure, any adventurist solution is possible. War, even nuclear war, may seem acceptable, and one may think: "Let us postpone economic construction which gives us so much trouble until we put an end to imperialism."

The problems of economic construction are indeed extremely complex; historical experience bears this out.

These problems can give rise to certain contradictions inside socialist countries or between the countries of the socialist camp. Indeed, not only the possibility but the actual existence of contradictions in the socialist camp and within the socialist countries cannot be denied. As a matter of fact progress is possible only on the basis of overcoming contradictions. Were there no contradictions of some kind or other, life would come to a halt.

Contradictions of the kind mentioned above do not originate in class or national exploitation, but are caused by economic progress. They are not antagonistic contradictions. But if they are ignored and left

unresolved, they can grow sharper, assume a malignant character and develop into grave conflicts.

The Spanish Communists, like the Communists of other countries, are anxious to know why the Chinese comrades started the controversy in the International Communist movement and the socialist camp. We ask: *why* have the Chinese comrades, who have carried out a great revolution, who have set an example of sagacity and who have talented leaders, committed such grave blunders?

It would be an over-simplification to say that there was a time when they were "good" and that now they are "bad", i. e., to approach the problem from the standpoint of abstract morals. Yet the fact remains that at one time they contributed much to the common cause whereas today they are committing errors detrimental to all of us.

We are not in a position to give an exhaustive explanation of the causes that gave rise to such an attitude. This is one of the weak points in our discussion. Only a self-critical attitude on the part of the Chinese comrades would enable us to get to the root of the matter now. Lacking this we are obliged to ask questions at the risk of failing to find the clear answer. And if in the future it will be of paramount importance to grasp these reasons, i. e., to make a thorough study of the problem of contradictions in the socialist countries and in the socialist camp as a whole, today we must tackle the most pressing thing: *answer the erroneous claims of the Chinese comrades and combat their mistakes, their attempts to cause a split.*

It is in the interests of our Party and the Communist movement as a whole to do everything to keep the polemics within the bounds of ideological and political discussion, of a struggle of principle.

Our Conclusions

Limiting ourselves, for reasons stated above, to criticizing those erroneous theses of the Chinese comrades which most directly affect the Communist movement as a whole, we arrive at the following conclusions:

We emphatically reject the Chinese thesis about the "possibility of advancing to socialism through nuclear war". There is no other way to socialism on a world scale than that of removing the danger of nuclear war, the way of peaceful coexistence. The struggle for the revolution and for socialism is, then, closely linked with the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Hence it is necessary to work indefatigably to alert the peoples to the consequences of nuclear war in order to heighten their vigilance, stimulate their struggle and enable them to take action against the possible instigators of war before they can unleash a war.

Nuclear war no longer is a continuation of policy by other means. It is necessary to remove the possibility of nuclear war by waging a vigorous and incessant struggle for the prohibition and destruction

of nuclear weapons, for disarmament, for a world without armaments and armies.

In view of this the Moscow test-ban treaty is a positive and valuable step inasmuch as it creates a more favourable climate for international negotiations. We support this treaty, which is an outcome of the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of the struggle of the peoples for peace.

The fundamental contradiction of our time is that between the socialist system and the imperialist system. The socialist system is the bulwark and vanguard of the entire revolutionary movement and the struggle for peace. It is in the best interest of the labour movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement to strengthen their mutual link, to support and be supported by the socialist camp, to repel all disruptive manoeuvres.

The decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the C.P.S.U. are of universal significance; this has been confirmed by the march of events. We reaffirm our solidarity with these decisions.

We have condemned and shall continue to condemn the personality cult and the methods and concepts associated with this distortion of Marxism-Leninism. We oppose any return to the practices associated with the cult, to the dogmatic concept embodied in the attitude of the Chinese comrades, a concept which would divorce the Communist parties from the masses and make it more difficult for them to fulfil their historic revolutionary mission.

We reaffirm once again the thesis of the Communist movement concerning the two ways—peaceful and non-peaceful—of transition to socialism in *each country*, and hold that the Party of each country should choose the best way, taking into account the objective and subjective conditions.

To sum up, we declare: We Spanish Communists continue firmly to adhere to the line of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the Moscow meetings, and resolutely support the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the C.P.S.U.

We protest against the slanderous attacks launched by the Chinese leaders against Comrade Khrushchov, against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union, attacks that are also deeply insulting to the working people and revolutionaries of Spain.

We vigorously reject the attempts of the Communist Party of China to split the international Communist and working-class movement and to counterpose the national-liberation movement to the socialist camp and to the working-class and Communist movement.

This policy of our Party on international issues is by no means motivated by the fact that we stand for the peaceful way of solving the problems of our country. Should the situation change and compel us to change our political line and take the path of armed struggle, we shall continue to adhere to the same position on the question of the

polemics in the world Communist movement, a position opposite to that of the Chinese comrades.

There is a precedent in the history of our Party which entitles us to say so. At the time of the 1936-39 war against fascism our Party did not seek a solution in spreading the war to other countries, in turning it into a global war. On the contrary, it opposed such adventurous ideas which cropped up in Spain at that time. Fighting arms in hand, dying in the trenches, our people took pride in the fact that they were defending world peace.

Our Party's traditions of working for peace did not prevent it from taking to arms each time the need arose, or from playing an outstanding and heroic role in the anti-fascist war our people waged for three years.



We maintain that in the present circumstances it would be useful to convene a conference of the world Communist movement. Early this year, when things had not yet reached the point they have today, we thought it necessary to conduct work before such a conference to bring the diverging views and positions closer together and to lessen the tension. Today the situation is different.

Since other means have failed, we must try to bring the viewpoints closer together through collective discussion with the participation of all parties.

If agreement is reached to hold such a conference, we shall attend it not in order to sit in judgement of one or another party and to condemn it. We shall go to the conference prepared to engage in comradely discussion in order to achieve agreement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. And even should such an agreement prove impossible at this juncture, we would come to the meeting with a desire to strengthen and not break the existing ties, with a desire to promote unity and to continue the discussion in a calmer atmosphere. We would come with the conviction that only discussion and experience can help the Chinese comrades rectify their mistakes and prevent a split in the world Communist movement.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg meeting in Esch-Alzette on September 1; 1963 and having heard and discussed the report of Comrade D. Urbany on the situation in the international Communist movement and on the talks between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

declares that it is in full agreement with this report and with the conclusions contained in it;

states that the preservation of peace on earth, the relaxation of international tension, the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, general disarmament and the promotion of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems are the No. 1 tasks of the international working-class movement, for in conditions of peace the working class and oppressed peoples can successfully wage their struggle for socialism, democracy and national freedom, whereas a new world war, which would be a nuclear war, would throw the working class and socialism a hundred years back;

welcomes therefore the wise and firm policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is imbued with a sense of responsibility, a policy supported by the vast majority of the Communist and Workers' parties, a policy which delivered the world from a new unprecedented catastrophe and has led to the first success on the way to a detente and disarmament—to the Moscow nuclear test-ban treaty;

regrets the incomprehensible attitude of the Communist Party of China which underestimates the decisive significance of this policy for the working class and oppressed peoples, negates and minimizes this policy;

condemns the attempts of the leadership of the Communist Party of China to cause confusion and a split in the ranks of the Communist movement, to undermine confidence in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to replace the policy of peaceful coexistence with an adventurist and sectarian policy;

Zeitung vom Letzburger vollek, September 3, 1963.

stands for unbreakable unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and firm friendship with the Soviet Union and its Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.



The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Luxembourg is firmly convinced that the policy for easing international tension and steadily growing superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system give also the Luxembourg working class, the people of Luxembourg generally, better possibilities for carrying out a social, democratic and national policy aimed primarily at

the complete abolition of obligatory military service,

the withdrawal of our country from disastrous military alliances,

the complete restoration of our national independence, i.e., complete independence from foreign militarist and monopoly institutions of the capitalist world,

and, last but not least, at overcoming the political and trade union split in the ranks of the Luxembourg working class and for creating a broad united front of all working people and peace-loving Luxembourgiens against monopoly capital and reaction.

For Peace and Socialism

Resolution of the National Conference of the Swiss Party of Labour

In 1957 and 1960 meetings of leading representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of nearly all the countries of the world were held in Moscow. The meetings discussed international developments and the tasks confronting the parties in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism and adopted documents defining the general line of the international Communist movement.

The principal feature of international development is the rapid growth of the socialist world, the disintegration of the colonial system and the intensification of class struggle in the capitalist countries. The superiority of the forces of socialism over the forces of capitalism, the forces of peace over the forces of war is becoming increasingly more marked.

The world socialist system has become the decisive factor in the development of human society.

The most burning issue of our time is the issue of war and peace. Since the last world war new and monstrous means of mass annihilation have been developed. The use of these weapons in another war would wreak untold destruction and reduce key centres of industry and culture to a heap of ruins. Hundreds of millions of people, entire nations would be wiped out.

But the socialist countries, the working class of the whole world, the national-liberation movement, states and peace-loving men and women opposing war can, by their joint efforts, prevent another world war.

The Communists therefore consider the struggle for peace their paramount and most urgent task.

Socialism has no need of war. The contest between the old and new systems, between socialism and capitalism must be resolved not by means of war but on the plane of peaceful competition, competition for a higher level of economy, science and technology, culture and living standards.

The alternative to a destructive nuclear war is peaceful coexistence. The Communists are working for the termination of the cold war, the

Vorwärts, September 20, 1963.

dissolution of military blocs, the removal of war bases, general and complete disarmament, the settlement of outstanding international disputes through negotiation, for peaceful economic, political and cultural relations between states and peoples irrespective of their social systems.

The peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems or a war of annihilation—that is how the matter stands. There is no other way out.

But peaceful coexistence does not mean reconciliation between the socialist and capitalist worlds, does not mean abandonment of the struggle for a socialist world; nor does peaceful coexistence mean rejection by the still dependent nations of struggle for their national independence, rejection of the class struggle; on the contrary, it presupposes intensifying the struggle of the working class for its economic, political and cultural demands. None of the three main revolutionary forces—the socialist countries, the colonial countries fighting for their full independence and the working class in the countries still under capitalism—should be under-estimated.

Both the 1957 and the 1960 documents stress the significance of that struggle and point out in that connection that the main blow must be directed against the big capitalist enterprises and monopolies which are the bulwark of reaction, the arms race and aggression.

Both documents also contain the idea that a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is possible, that under present conditions the working class of one or another capitalist country may be able, on the basis of cooperation and alliance with other parties and organizations and relying on the powerful mass movement, to win state power without civil war and secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people.

The 1960 Statement ends with an appeal for unity of the international Communist movement. "The meeting," reads the Statement, "sees the further consolidation of the Communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working-class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world Communist and working-class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism."

The documents of 1957 and 1960 bear the signatures also of the representatives of the Communist Party of China. They too pledged to carry out the principles laid down in these documents. It soon transpired, however, that the leaders of the Communist Party of China have taken a different stand. In an interminable flood of speeches, statements, leaflets, party and government pronouncements they have been giving their own interpretation, reading their own meaning into the general line set forth in the documents. They interpret it in their own way, which they consider to be correct, ignoring the actual situation

in the different countries, and disregarding the opinions of the other Communist and Workers' parties. They even attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other Communist and Workers' parties in order to impose the line of the Chinese Communist Party on them or to win supporters for that line. Although they did declare themselves in agreement with the proposal made by Comrade Khrushchov at the VI Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany that both sides discontinue the polemics and begin talks between the delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, they nevertheless continued the polemics, moreover in a tone utterly impermissible between fraternal parties.

On March 30, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in which it reminded the latter of the agreement concerning the talks, set forth some fundamental ideas essentially based on the 1957 and 1960 documents and indicated the area of discussion. The letter was couched in the most comradely terms, it contained no polemics and was permeated with the spirit of complete confidence. It concluded with these words: "We know that this meeting is being looked forward to by our friends in all the countries of the world, who pin great hopes on it. On us, on our will and reason depends whether results gladdening our friends and disappointing the enemies of communism will be achieved at the meeting. This will be our common contribution to the cause of the struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed, for the victory of peace and socialism on earth, for the triumph of the great revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism."

The talks were scheduled to be held on July 5, and Communists the world over awaited positive results. But on June 14 there appeared under the title "Proposals concerning the general line of the international Communist movement" the reply of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March 30.

The leaders of the C.P.C. counterposed their own general line to the general line of the world Communist movement.

The Chinese leaders hold that the decisive factor of revolutionary development is not the socialist system but the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their national, political and economic independence. Here, they aver, are the "storm-centres of world revolution" and "in a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges in the final analysis on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

According to the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, the peace policy of the Soviet Union, its policy of struggle for disarmament, peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition leads not to peace, but to illusions of peace, to capitulation to imperialism, betrayal of the

national-liberation struggle, abandonment of class struggle and the struggle for socialism.

The C.P.C. leaders declare that the advent of the nuclear weapon essentially changes nothing in the nature of war and that all the "commotion" around the nuclear weapon merely frightens people and discourages them from joining in revolutionary struggle.

Peaceful coexistence, they maintain, must on no account be termed the main content of the transition from capitalism to socialism and it is wrong, they aver, to make peaceful coexistence the general line of foreign policy of the socialist states. Although the leaders of the Communist Party of China do not openly oppose the policy of peaceful coexistence, in practice, however, they balk at every concrete step conditioned by the policy of peaceful coexistence. For instance, they call the settlement of the crisis in the Caribbean betrayal of the Cuban people, and the Moscow treaty on partial prohibition of nuclear tests a fraud calculated to deceive the peoples of the whole world.

The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party deny—but again not openly, not in theory but in practice—that the socialist revolution can develop in a variety of ways and that there are different roads to socialism, including the peaceful road.

The Chinese leaders brand as harmful the struggle against the personality cult, maintaining that it disgraces the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to them, to expose the abuses of power by Stalin is "opposing the masses to the leaders", to disclose the crimes committed by Beria and his gang merely "weakens the fighting capacity of the Party and demoralizes the Party ranks".

They devote a special section of their letter to the Yugoslav Communists. Without going to the trouble of acquainting themselves with the facts and with the actual developments in Yugoslavia, they repeat their old attacks against the Yugoslav comrades, insult them, calling them "the shock unit of American imperialism" and describing as "utterly impermissible" the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties to return the Yugoslav League of Communist to the ranks of the international Communist movement.

The proposal concerning the general line of the international Communist movement advanced in reply to the letter of the Soviet Communist Party, and moreover on the eve of the July 5 talks, was in effect, a blow at the talks themselves and at the attempts of the Soviet comrades to reach an understanding. It is now quite clear that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, notwithstanding all their assurances to the contrary, are seeking to split the socialist world and the international Communist movement. Clearly they consider themselves the only true interpreters of Marxism-Leninism and the only ones destined today to lead the international revolutionary working-class movement.

The position adopted by the Communist Party of China is regrettable, it weakens the international Communist movement, does it grave harm and provides grist for the mill of all reactionaries, warmongers and

enemies of the peoples. But the Communist and Workers' parties will not be diverted from their path. For them Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, not a collection of quotations, but a mighty creative force, a guide to action, the cornerstone of the edifice of the new world.

The Swiss Party of Labour in its 1959 Programme defined the ultimate goal of the party, the general line of its policy and its activity. Basing itself on an analysis of the present situation, international developments and the situation in Switzerland, the Party elaborates its own general line and the means of carrying it out. But already before this, the Party, upholding the state policy of neutrality, made its contribution to the struggle for the preservation of peace.

The principal directives of the Programme accord with the main line of the Moscow documents of 1957 and 1960:

The fight for peace, for disarmament and peaceful coexistence as the immediate task for Switzerland as well. The struggle against the rule of the monopolies, the big banks and trusts. Democratization of the economy, consolidation and extension of economic and cultural ties with all countries, including the socialist countries. The struggle for a higher living standard for the working people, for social security for all, for safeguarding and extending the democratic rights of the people.

The Programme points the way to socialism, the way of "broad unity of all forces of the people in the struggle to uphold their immediate interests, their rights and freedoms, and their human dignity". And further: "This is our own road, the road that can lead our people to a socialist Switzerland and it can be founded on the democratic institutions already existing in our country. This is the foundation on which the working class and its allies rely in order gradually, through struggle and by peaceful means to build a social system of a higher order."

Our Party rejects the claims of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to leadership of the world Communist movement and repudiates their unjust attacks on the Soviet Union. The concrete results of the policy of the Soviet Union, its economic policy, its science and technology, its social and cultural accomplishments, the results of its peace policy, the settlement of the Cuban crisis and the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty — all this hastens man's progress toward socialism, not hinders it, as the Chinese Communist Party leaders claim. Peace and Socialism are indivisible. The firmer and more enduring the peace, the stronger and more enduring the influence of the socialist world on the peoples still living under capitalism; the firmer and more lasting peaceful coexistence, the more the ideas of socialism, its scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism, will capture the minds of people; the firmer and more enduring the unity of the world Communist movement, the more resolutely will the workers of the world fight for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

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