

The National Liberation Movement

OUR CRITICS MAKE AN ERRONEOUS AND ILL-INFORMED criticism of the C.C. Draft on this point, commit mistakes in formulations and understanding, and adopt a wrong attitude toward the role of the socialist camp in relation to the national liberation movement and in effect adopt a bourgeois-nationalist standpoint on this question. They think they are talking high revolutionary stuff, but in reality they wander into

the morass of bourgeois nationalism and liquidate the role of the socialist camp. In the bargain they make hopelessly contradictory statements.

They say that it is the duty of the international working class movement to give all its support to the national liberation movement. It is the duty of the socialist countries to give ideological, political, economic and military support—to help the liberation movements to achieve complete success. So far so good. Everyone will agree with them.

But then they must find fault with the C.C. Draft. They say that the C.C. has failed to understand the national liberation struggles as playing *the decisive* role for the final destruction of imperialism. Instead of this, the Draft says that a revolutionary combination of 'socialist diplomacy' and the 'armed might of the socialist camp' are essential factors for the complete victory of the liberation struggles. Is it your contention, friends, that socialist diplomacy and armed might of the socialist camp are not essential for *the complete* victory of the national liberation struggles? Is this the meaning of your statement that the national liberation movement has become the decisive force? Does it mean, therefore, that it stands in no need of help from the socialist camp? If that is so, why are you shouting against the revisionists for not helping the national liberation movement? And, why are you stating that the socialist camp must render every help including military help to this movement? Or, have you forgotten that this is just what you have stated?

However, if this is your position, then it is a bourgeois-nationalist position according to which the national movement can achieve its objective in isolation from the socialist camp; it is not based on proletarian internationalism; it does not regard the national liberation movement as a component of the world proletarian revolution but only of a bourgeois democratic movement.

To counterpose the importance of the national liberation movement to help from the socialist camp, to suggest that insistence on such help in any way minimizes the importance of the liberation movement, is to be guilty of downright bourgeois nationalism despite protestations of being unalloyed revolutionaries. Because the revisionists distort the conception of help and

try to eliminate the role of the national liberation movement itself, that is no reason why Marxist-Leninists should throw it out, reject it and isolate the liberation struggle from the socialist camp.

What is it that they are objecting to in the C.C. Draft? The relevant passages run as follows: "No Marxist would dispute the fact that imperialism today has been tremendously weakened on a world scale. Forces of revolution—the countries that have already come under the socialist system, the proletarian revolutionary movements in the advanced capitalist countries, the national liberation movements and forces in the newly liberated and colonial countries, the widespread popular movements against war and in defence of peace—are today so powerful that they can unitedly inflict defeat after defeat on imperialism and its allies. However, the process of mobilizing and uniting these revolutionary forces is no simple task. It involves a revolutionary combination of socialist diplomacy, calculated to isolate the most reactionary imperialist groups, with the use of the armed might of the socialist camp against such reactionary powers as resort to aggression on peace-loving countries or try to drown the national liberation movement in blood. This requires the ever growing unity of the international Communist movement—a unity in which the ruling parties of the socialist countries, render all forms of practical aid, including direct military intervention, to the revolutionary proletarian movement in the capitalist countries as well as the national liberation movements in underdeveloped countries."

Can any sane person object to these passages? Can any person calling himself Marxist-Leninist object to this demand on the socialist camp, on the Communist movement that it must render all aid, including armed aid, to the revolutionary movements? How is it that our critics are objecting to this, though they themselves say that it is the duty of the socialist camp to render all aid?

The key lies in their wrong understanding of the role of the national liberation movement. It is not accidental that they think that the C.C. Draft underestimates the importance of the liberation movements. For, they virtually think that the national liberation movement is the only revolutionary form of our

times ; the socialist camp, the proletarian movement virtually do not count in their opinion. They say that national liberation struggles have become *the* decisive force for the final destruction of imperialism. No Marxist-Leninist Party has made such strange formulations.

It is on the basis of these erroneous formulations that they criticize the C.C. Draft as underestimating the role of the national liberation struggle. The C.C. Draft states the position correctly when it says that "the contradiction between the camp of socialism and the camp of imperialism remains as the central one among the fundamental contradictions of our time. Notwithstanding the fact that it is so, do we not find that another contradiction, namely, the one between the imperialists and oppressed nations has got accentuated and assumed the acutest form, culminating in the outburst of national liberation revolutions in a series of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the intensification of this contradiction is, of course, influencing the course of all other contradictions, their growth and development? This is exactly what is meant...when they say that the contradiction between the oppressor states and oppressed countries, at this stage of development of world history, has become the focus of all the contradictions of our times."

The critics are not satisfied because they do not have a correct understanding of the epoch based on the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement which many Marxist-Leninist Parties regard as the common programme of the international Communist movement. "The two documents point out the characteristics of our epoch and the common laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction and lay down the common line of all the Communist and Workers' Parties. They are the common programme of the international Communist movement."

The 1960 Statement does not describe our times as only a time of national liberation revolutions. It says: "it is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, a time of breakdown of imperialism, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale." "It is the principal charac-

teristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society." Our critics want to turn the epoch topsy-turvy and announce that the content of the present epoch is not transition from capitalism to socialism but national liberation, and that it is not the socialist camp that is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society but the national liberation movement has become the decisive force.

There is no doubt that the revisionists betray the national liberation movements by asking them to follow peaceful paths, band the revolutionary struggles and trust in the peaceful competition between the socialist and imperialist worlds. All this has to be unmasked and fought.

But that is no reason why a correct relation between the socialist camp and the national liberation movement, between the proletarian revolutionary movement in capitalists countries and the national revolutionary struggles should be thrown overboard by the Marxist-Leninists. The national liberation movements of our times are a component part of the world proletarian revolution whose creation is the socialist camp.

The Communist Party of China, after stating that "*in a sense* the whole cause of international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas...", does not conclude that these struggles have become the decisive force. After stressing their importance it says: "Therefore the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not a matter of regional importance but of overall importance for the whole course of proletarian world revolution." This, of course, is correct. But this has nothing to do with the strange formulation of our critics that the national liberation struggles have become the decisive force for the final destruction of imperialism. Or with the formulation that in the present era they are the decisive force in determining the course of world socialist revolution.

Our critics liquidate the role of the socialist camp, the victorious socialist revolutions, and the proletarian revolutionary movements. With this outlook the emphasis on national liberation movement becomes an apologia for a bourgeois-nationalist

outlook and loses all contact with proletarian internationalism.

Our critics are not aware that the Soviet leaders had charged the CPC with advocating that the national liberation struggles had become the decisive force and that the CPC had repudiated the charge.

The open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU of July 14, 1963 accused the Chinese Communist Party of putting forward a "new theory". It said :

"...according to the new theory the main contradiction of our time is, you see, contradiction not between socialism and imperialism but between the national liberation movement and imperialism. The decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, the Chinese comrades hold, is not the world system of socialism, not struggle of the international working class, but again the national liberation movement."

The CPC replied : "In the first place, this is a fabrication. In our letter of June 14, we pointed out that the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world are the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradiction among imperialist groups.

"We also pointed out : The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp. But Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

"Our view is crystal clear.

"In our letter of June 14, we explained the revolutionary situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the significance and role of the national liberation movement. This is what we said :

"1. '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.'

"2. 'The revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time.'

"3. 'The national democratic revolutionary movement is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.'

"4. 'The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace.'

"5. '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, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population'.

"6. 'Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance but is one of overall importance for the whole course of proletarian world revolution.' "

The CPC said that the allegation that it considered the national liberation struggles have become the decisive force, that it considered the main contradiction was only between the national liberation movement and imperialism—was a fabrication. It stated that the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America was of overall importance for the whole course of the proletarian revolution. Will our critics now at least understand that their formulation is hopelessly wrong, that it cannot be accepted by any Party which claims to be a Marxist-Leninist Party, and that their extreme revolutionism just lands them in extreme Rightism, bourgeois nationalism? Will they see the error of their ways?

It is wrong to declare that the national liberation movement has become the decisive force; this is a total underestimation of the whole epoch which is an epoch of proletarian revolution. The criticism made against the C.C. Draft that it underestimates the role of the liberation struggles is made on the basis of the wrong premises and is not justified; the criticism against the C.C. Draft for stating that the socialist camp should help the libera-

tion struggles with arms, etc., is unprincipled and anti-Leninist.

The various formulations and the criticism, in the end, amount to opposition to proletarian alliance of socialist countries with national liberation movements, opposition to efforts for unity of the socialist camp, united efforts of the Communist movement to help the revolutionary movement. It is an outlook which isolates the national revolutionary movements, berates the world socialist revolutionary movement and the socialist camp and brings grist to the mill of bourgeois nationalism in the liberation movement. Instead of rousing the proletarian international consciousness of the freedom fighters, instead of training them to regard the world proletarian movement and the socialist camp as a firm ally, it panders to bourgeois egoism and will only create the danger of disintegration for the liberation movement. The experience of the South Viet Nam struggle itself shows that without the active help of socialist states freedom struggle becomes extremely difficult. Is it denied that the aid given by the PRC has been of tremendous help to the fight in Viet Nam? The experience of Korea and Viet Nam shows that armed help is essential for the success of the struggle.

The correct formulation is that the national liberation movements and the world revolutionary proletarian movements mutually support each other; the socialist camp, the creation of the world revolutionary movement, is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society; and at the present juncture the national liberation movements, embodying all the contradictions, have become the storm centres where the world proletarian movement must win its battle to march forward to the world revolution. One should not forget Lenin's words: "World imperialism shall fall when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country, overcoming resistance from petty bourgeois elements and the influence of the small upper crust of labour aristocrats, merges with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who have hitherto stood beyond the pale of history, and have been regarded as the object of history" (*Report on International Situation to the Second Congress of the Communist International, Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 232).

In passing, it should be noted that Marxist-Leninists fighting

the battle of national liberation have also proletarian international duties, and that the national liberation struggle of our times cannot be carried on in isolation from the socialist camp or the world proletarian movement. It is the duty of the proletarian revolutionaries to create strong ties between the liberation movement and the proletarian revolutionary movement and make the liberation movement realize that the latter is its firm ally, just as it is the duty of the socialist camp and world proletariat to lend every help so that its class mission in regard to such movement is fulfilled.

While it is entirely correct to say that the main brunt of the struggle in any particular country must be borne by the people of the country, this cannot mean a fight in isolation, with the socialist camp as an observer. The slogan of reliance on oneself should not degenerate into bourgeois separatism from the world forces of revolution. One who talks only of the responsibility of the socialist camp for the national liberation movement, but keeps silent about the international duty of the proletarians in the national liberation struggles is just a bourgeois-nationalist. Stalin has warned: "Hence that necessity of fighting against the national insularity, narrowness and aloofness of the socialists in the oppressed countries who do not want to rise above their national steeple and who do not understand the connection between the liberation movement in their various countries and the proletarian movement in the ruling countries. Without such a struggle it is inconceivable that the proletariat of the oppressed nations can maintain an independent policy and its class solidarity with the proletariat of the ruling countries in the fight for the overthrow of imperialism; without such a struggle internationalism would be impossible" (*Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, p. 66). On this point Stalin quotes Lenin: "But in all cases he (Social-Democrat of a small nation) must fight against small-nation narrowmindedness, insularity and aloofness, he must fight for recognition of the whole and the general, for the subordination of the interests of the particular to the interests of the general."

The vital importance of the national liberation struggles should not make any one ignore this warning of Lenin and Stalin. The betrayal by the revisionists should not make one

take a position which divorces the national liberation movement from the world proletarian movement. □

VI

On the Concept of Peaceful Coexistence

OUR CRITICS SAY THAT INSTEAD OF RUTHLESSLY exposing the deception of the CPSU leadership, the C.C. Draft explains it away as though the CPSU leadership's estimation of the new epoch is due to an erroneous definition, "oversimplified formulas subjectively drawn, presenting utopian and false perspectives", etc.

The dissatisfaction arises because for them no analysis is necessary of the CPSU leadership's formulations, nor any arguing about them. For them the only thing that is to be stated in the controversy is that the CPSU leaders are imperialists who, like any other imperialists, are seeking for world domination. Let them then be frank and say openly that they regard the Soviet Union as an imperialist Power. This is really what they want to convey. And their criticism and anger follow from the fact that the C.C. has not described the Soviet Union as collaborating with American imperialism for world domination; their anger comes from the fact that the C.C. document describes the Soviet Union as a socialist country.

Their arguments lead to the conclusion that a socialist Soviet Union is no longer in existence; therefore a socialist camp does not exist. The logical conclusion of this line is that there should be a world struggle against the joint domination of these two Powers, the Soviet Union and the USA, and, therefore, it is futile to propose any joint action with the Soviet Union. If you put all the pieces of their wonderful reasoning together this is