

CHAPTER VII

Developments in the Socialist Camp

185. The immensely increased strength of the socialist camp is a great factor in the international situation today. Truly, the East Wind often prevails over the West Wind in the present day world, and imperialism can no longer dictate the course of events.

186. Much of the credit for this favourable turn in the world situation must be given to the Soviet people and their leaders, who transformed a backward semi-colonial country into the most advanced state of the world in the course of less than fifty years inspite of imperialist intervention, encirclement, and fascist military attack. The remarkable advances made by the Soviet people in respect of science and technology give grounds for great assurance for the future of mankind.

187. The Chinese people and their leaders must be congratulated for their great victory against the forces of imperialism and feudalism, and their achievements in the building of socialism. The example of the Chinese people's progress against heavy odds will always inspire the toiling peoples of underdeveloped countries.

188. In the very recent period the victory of the Cuban people's revolutionary struggle for

liberation and their forward stride to socialism have demonstrated the strength of socialism in a spectacular fashion, and enriched the international struggle with very valuable lessons.

189. The successful termination of the Algerian people's heroic struggle for national liberation and their decision to build socialism without going through a painful period of capitalist development have further demonstrated the truth of the statement that socialism is bound to win against the heaviest odds.

190. The other socialist states, too, have contributed to the strength of the socialist camp, and their strength and prosperity are extremely important for the success of the struggles of the Indian working class and toilers and enslaved peoples all over the world.

Weaknesses in the Socialist Camp

191. Along with this strength, however, certain weaknesses in the socialist camp have also to be taken into account. A new element has recently developed in the international situation as a result of the sharpening of differences between the Soviet leadership and the leadership of China. The unity of the socialist camp has been seriously disrupted and imperialism is taking advantage of this in various ways.

192. In so far as the present differences between the CPSU and the CPC are direct results of the

revisionist pronouncements and disruptive activities of the leadership of the CPSU, particularly N. S. Khrushchov, the main responsibility for the difficulties created must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the leaders of the CPSU. Starting from the 20th Congress of the CPSU the Soviet leadership carried on an ideological campaign for revisionism and against the revolutionary content of Marxism. They have indulged in slander campaigns against those who differ with them, and by their ugly and public criticism of the Albanian leadership they initiated the campaign of mutual slander which has now taken the place of objective discussion and criticism. It has to be said that the Soviet leadership under N. S. Khrushchov has often used their pre-eminent position in the international socialist movement for purposes of silencing their critics ; they have used economic pressure and threats against those states in the socialist camp which have differed with them ; Great Nation Chauvinism has sometimes played a part in their dealings with the other socialist states.

193. In so far as the Chinese Communist Party initiated a course of ideological struggle against the revisionist pronouncements of the Soviet leadership and raised a powerful voice against the revisionist and reformist trends within the international socialist movement, they must be congratulated. A socialist camp united on the basis of correct programmes and principles is a source of strength for the people in the rest of the world. But a socialist camp unitedly pursuing wrong programmes and principles can be a source of many

difficulties. Therefore, the undisputed rule of revisionism, reformism, and right-wing opportunism in the socialist camp cannot be upheld on the ground of requirement of unity only.

194. Nevertheless, the disunity presents a problem which cannot be removed by mere fixing of blames and responsibilities. A solution of this problem is a necessity for the next forward steps of socialism in the rest of the world. Complications of various kinds, and serious obstacles may arise in the path of the world struggle for socialism if this problem remains unsolved for any length of time.

195. Solution of this problem is, however, no longer an exclusive responsibility of the Soviet and Chinese leaders. Some of the main differences between them are concerning the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism and the forms of struggle against imperialism. On these questions the working class of the capitalist countries and colonies and underdeveloped countries, which are directly concerned, can make important contributions. Without such contributions from the working class in these countries, based on the objective analyses of the concrete situations in these countries and the experiences of their struggles, the differences between the Soviet and Chinese leaders cannot be resolved. It is the working class in the capitalist part of the world who are primarily responsible for solving the problem of transition from capitalism to socialism, and the Soviet or Chinese leaders can at best advise them and support them in their activities. That is why the varied and rich

experiences of the working class in different countries still under capitalism must be brought to bear upon the ideological questions involved. Without such active participation of the working class in other countries controversy can only generate inflexible subjective attitudes.

196. The Indian working class, therefore, must clearly state its views on some of the questions involved in the controversy, questions that directly concern the Indian working class.

197. Thus, the working class must state that the Khrushchov programme of coming to power through parliamentary democracy and using the parliamentary democratic state for building of socialism is not only *not* applicable in India, it has also greatly weakened the liberation struggle here. The Indian working class must state that the Soviet leaders have from time to time indulged in such eulogies of the Congress government that this government has been able to hide its moral bankruptcy behind them. The Soviet attitude has partially strengthened the Congress rule.

198. The Soviet leaders' campaign against Stalin, degenerating into non-political personal slanders against him, has not earned prestige for the Soviet Union. It is only the Indian bourgeoisie and their henchmen who have welcome such attacks on the memory of the man who in his life time struck terror in bourgeois hearts all over the world. Confusion and loss of confidence have been the only results of this anti-Stalin campaign so far

as the toiling masses of India are concerned. Deification of individuals, cult of personality, are always to be condemned ; but past mistakes in this respect cannot be really overcome by a swing in the other direction.

199. The Soviet leadership under N. S. Khrushchov was responsible for confusions and erroneous ideas about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Reacting against some of the excesses committed under Stalin, they gravitated towards bourgeois ideas of democracy, and began to declare that the Soviet state was no longer a dictatorship. This was against the basic Marxist teaching about the state.

200. Connected with this erroneous view of the Soviet state, is the Soviet leaders' illusions about building up Communism in the USSR, while imperialism continues to exist and the danger of aggression and aggressive activities from the imperialists remain, and bourgeois ideology and bourgeois habits continue to percolate inside the USSR. Achievement of Communism implies withering away of the state. In the present epoch the Soviet state should be stronger and stronger, its defensive strength must not slacken, and it should be in a state of readiness to meet the imperialist danger anywhere in the world. To talk of building up Communism in such circumstances may be encouraging only for unthinking people, but cannot be serious scientific leadership.

201. On the other hand, behind such erroneous conceptions is another erroneous and subjective

attitude, that considers the Soviet state to be entirely self-sufficient and unrelated to the rest of the world. The Soviet leadership should realize that the Soviet state in its infancy was helped and supported by the working class in other countries, and without such support of the toilers all over the world the history of the USSR might have been quite different. They must also realise that the successful achievement of Communism in the USSR requires successes in the struggles of the toiling people and the enslaved people in the capitalist part of the world. Soviet aid to other peoples must not be viewed in a one-sided manner. The very struggles of other peoples against imperialism are helpful for the Soviet state too. We help the USSR by fighting for our liberation, even if we cannot render much material help.

102. This leads to a question that has assumed some importance through the controversy between the CPSU and the CPC. The CPC, speaking of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, in its letter to the CPSU of the 14th June, 1963, said, "*In a sense, the whole case 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.*" The CPSU found fault with this statement, ridiculed it, and proceeded to declare that this was a departure from the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties which said that the main content of our epoch

was transition from capitalism to socialism. It was the CPSU which counterposed the two statements ; starting from the premise that the main contradiction in the present world-situation was that between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, they drew the conclusion that the contradiction between imperialism and the enslaved peoples was of secondary importance.

203. In our view the tasks of the working-class are different facets of a single programme, and no part of the programme can be inconsistent with or counterposed against another. The CPC statement regarding the decisive importance of the anti-imperialist struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America is quite sound. But if from this sound statement one proceeds to conclude that the building up of economic prosperity and defensive strength of the socialist countries can be neglected or given only secondary importance, one would be very seriously mistaken ; in fact, the success of the anti-imperialist struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America depends on the economic prosperity and military strength of the socialist countries. Equally interrelated are the struggles of the working-class in the imperialist countries and capitalist countries against their ruling class, and the struggle for world peace.

204. Similarly again the perfectly sound statements that the main content of our epoch is transition from capitalism to socialism, and that the main contradiction of our epoch is that between capitalism and socialism, must not be interpreted

to imply that the struggle of the people in colonies and semi-colonies is of secondary importance, or that the people in the non-socialist part of the world have now merely to wait for the final victory of socialism in the socialist countries. Such an interpretation turns these sound statements into advice of inaction and virtual collaboration with imperialism.

Rash Trend in Chinese Communist Party

205. While criticizing the Soviet leadership under N. S. Khrushchov for their mistakes and revisionist pronouncements, we must however sound a serious note of warning about a trend in the CPC that leads to rash and tactless pronouncements and actions on occasions. The CPC, as the leading force of the struggle against revisionism, has enormous responsibilities. It should not permit impulsive and impetuous words and deeds to injure its position and strengthen the hands of revisionism in effect. The manner in which the partial atomic tests ban treaty between the USSR and USA-UK was condemned is an example of such impulsive actions. The positive proposal of the Chinese Government asking for a conference for complete disarmament, which deserved unequivocal support, found very little publicity, and the grievous charges levelled against the USSR by the Chinese leaders received all the attention. It cannot be said that China's prestige was enhanced as a result.

206. In the same category of impulsive actions falls the vituperative condemnation of Soviet

withdrawal of the missile weapons from Cuba. There is no doubt that the entire course of the Soviet Government's actions in this respect was ridden with mistakes. There is some truth in the Chinese Communist Party's view that the placing of these weapons in Cuba was an adventurist mistake. There is also no doubt that the withdrawal of these weapons after N. S. Khrushchov's blustering pronouncements created a difficult situation for the Cuban people, among other things. It must also be stated that Khrushchov's conciliatory attitude in respect of the US Government's demand for a right to inspect Cuba's weapons was carrying conciliation to the point of capitulation and the Cuban Government must be congratulated for refusing to agree to this. But with all this valid criticism of the Soviet Policy it has to be said that the Soviet action in withdrawing the missile weapons thoroughly demonstrated to the peace-loving people of the whole world the genuineness of the Soviet desire for peace and was congratulated by many people. Moreover, the Chinese Communist Party ought to recognize that the adventurist error of placing these weapons in Cuba committed by the Soviet Government had to be liquidated at one time or another. Adventurism leads to retreat ; it is not praiseworthy to continue with an adventurist policy on grounds of prestige. The CPC's condemnation of the withdrawal of the missile weapons created an impression that they wanted the Soviet Government to continue a course of action which according to the CPC was adventurist.

207. We must also say that certain pronouncements of the Chinese leaders regarding nuclear weapons appear to underestimate the disastrous consequences of a nuclear war. We fully agree that people must not submit to nuclear blackmail of the imperialists, and the campaign against nuclear weapons must not be used to generate panic and despair in the ranks of the fighters against imperialism. But one must not preach indifference to the consequences of nuclear warfare. That cannot be the way to win over the peace-loving people and organize the desire for peace into a mass struggle against imperialism, war-mongering and armaments drive.

Towards a Solution

208. The ideological controversy between the CPSU and the CPC soon developed into massive and bitter campaigns waged by the two sides against each other, and many things were said which were not relevant to the controversy but were merely abusive and slanderous in character. We must not allow such charges and counter-charges to cloud and confuse the main ideological issues. Thus charges of 'imperialism,' 'agency of imperialism,' 'white racialism' or 'coloured racialism' 'autocracy,' etc. and exaggerated and distorted emphasis on difficulties and short-comings in the internal conditions of either of the two countries should not become a part of the main ideological discussion. Such things do not help the international proletarian movement.

209. The Indian working-class has a very important contribution to make to the solution of this controversy. A favourable situation may have been created by the removal of N. S. Khrushchov from the leadership of the Soviet Union, and the way for mutual discussions between the CPSU and CPC may be opened again. It may be hoped that discussions will now be conducted in an atmosphere free from irreconcilable animosities. But it would be a mistake to imagine that all the differences can be resolved overnight in a manner helpful to the international proletarian movement. Placed as they are in an underdeveloped capitalist country not formally allied to the imperialist camp, engaged as they are in developing a very massive struggle against their own ruling capitalist class, connected as they are with the anti-imperialist struggles all over the world, the experiences of the Indian working-class and the path that they determine for themselves can be of vital importance for a satisfactory solution of this controversy.